This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

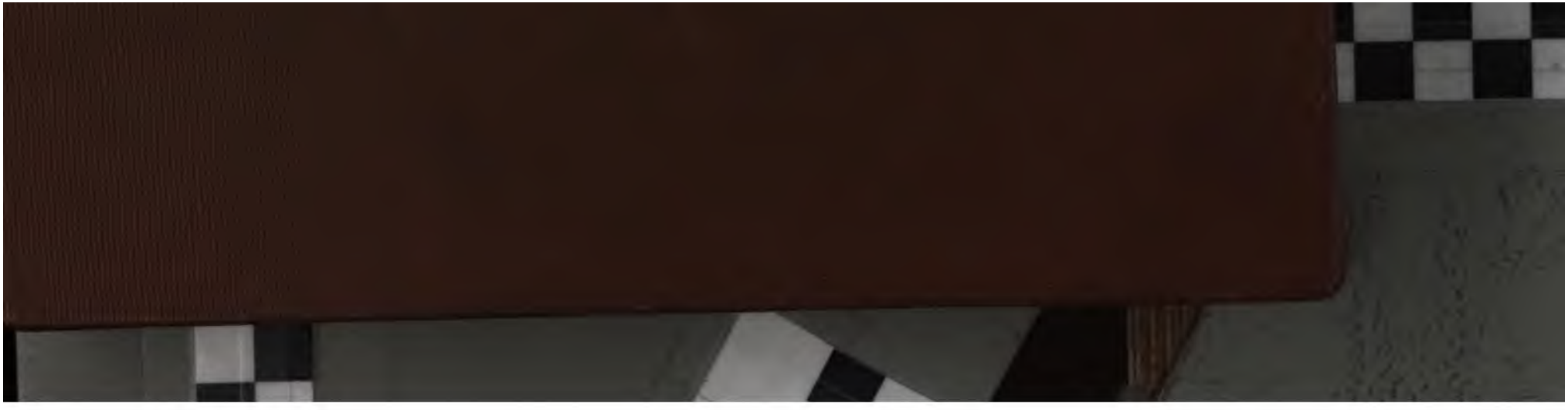
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`



THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Ecclesiastical History Society.

Established for the publication and republication of Church Histories, &c., 1847.

OF THE CHURCH,

FIVE BOOKS.

BY

RICHARD FIELD, D. D.,

DEAN OF GLOUCESTER.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING AN APPENDIX TO THE THIRD BOOK,
AND THE FOURTH BOOK.

CAMBRIDGE:
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,
FOR
The Ecclesiastical History Society.

M.DCCC.XLIX.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
55328
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.
1897.

NEW YORK
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

THE TABLE.

AN APPENDIX TO THE THIRD BOOK, WHEREIN IT IS PROVED THAT THE LATIN CHURCH WAS AND CONTINUED A TRUE ORTHODOX AND PROTESTANT CHURCH, AND THAT THE MAINTAINERS OF ROMISH ERRORS WERE ONLY A FACTION IN THE SAME, AT THE TIME OF LUTHER'S APPEARING.

PAGE

An answer to M. Brerely's objection concerning the mass publicly used in all churches at Luther's appearing 5

CHAPTER I.

Of the canon of the Scriptures 104

CHAPTER II.

Of the sufficiency of the Scripture 126

CHAPTER III.

Of the original text of Scripture, of the certainty and truth of the originals, and of the authority of the vulgar translation . 140

CHAPTER IV.

Of the translating of the Scripture into vulgar languages; and of the necessity of having the public liturgy and prayers of Church, in a tongue understood 141

CHAPTER V.

Of the three supposed different estates of mere nature, grace, and sin: the difference between a man in the state of pure and mere nature, and in the state of sin: and of original sin 176

CHAPTER VI.

Of the blessed Virgin's conception 205

CHAPTER VII.

Of the punishment of original sin: and of *Limbus puerorum* . 223

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the remission of original sin: and of concupiscence remaining in the regenerate 227

CHAPTER IX.

PAGE

Of the distinction of venial and mortal sin 239

CHAPTER X.

Of free will 244

CHAPTER XI.

Of justification 268

CHAPTER XII.

Of merit 343

CHAPTER XIII.

Of works of supererogation and counsels of perfection . . 358

CHAPTER XIV.

Of election and reprobation depending on the foresight of something in the parties elected or rejected 360

CHAPTER XV.

Of the seven sacraments 361

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the being of one body in many places at the same time . 363

CHAPTER XVII.

Of transubstantiation 364

CHAPTER XVIII.

Touching oral manducation 369

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the real sacrifice of Christ's body on the altar, as a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead 370

CHAPTER XX.

Of remission of sins after this life 371

CHAPTER XXI.

Of purgatory 375

CHAPTER XXII.

Of the saints hearing of our prayers 377

CHAPTER XXIII.

PAGE
Of the superstition and idolatry committed formerly in the worshipping of images 379

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of absolution 380

CHAPTER XXV.

Of indulgences and pardons 381

CHAPTER XXVI.

Of the infallibility of the pope's judgment 384

CHAPTER XXVII.

Of the power of the pope in disposing the affairs of princes and their states 385

THE FOURTH BOOK IS OF THE PRIVILEGES OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Of the divers kinds of the privileges of the Church; and of the different acceptions of the name of the Church . . . 391

CHAPTER II.

Of the different degrees of infallibility found in the Church . . 392

CHAPTER III.

Of the meaning of certain speeches of Calvin, touching the erring of the Church 397

CHAPTER IV.

Of their reasons who think the present Church free from all error in matters of faith 400

CHAPTER V.

Of the promises made unto the Church, how it is secured from error: and of the different degrees of the obedience we owe unto it . 404

CHAPTER VI.

PAGE

Of the Church's office of teaching and witnessing the truth; and of their error who think the authority of the Church is the rule of our faith, and that she may make new articles of faith 409

CHAPTER VII.

Of the manifold errors of Papists touching the last resolution of our faith; and the refutation of the same 411

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the last resolution of true faith, and whereupon it stayeth itself 420

CHAPTER IX.

Of the meaning of those words of Augustine, that he would not believe the gospel, if the authority of the Church did not move him 427

CHAPTER X.

Of the Papists preferring the Church's authority before the scripture 428

CHAPTER XI.

Of the refutation of their error who prefer the authority of the Church before the scripture 431

CHAPTER XII.

Of their error who think the Church may make new articles of faith 434

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the Church's authority to judge of the differences that arise touching matters of faith 438

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the rule of the Church's judgment 441

CHAPTER XV.

Of the challenge of Papists against the rule of scripture, charging it with obscurity and imperfection 445

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the interpretation of scripture; and to whom it pertaineth . 446

CHAPTER XVII.

PAGE
Of the interpretation of the fathers, and how far we are bound to admit it 449

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the divers senses of scripture 451

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the rules we are to follow, and the helps we are to trust to, in interpreting the scriptures 458

CHAPTER XX.

Of the supposed imperfection of scriptures, and the supply of traditions 460

CHAPTER XXI.

Of the rules whereby true traditions may be known from counterfeit 471

CHAPTER XXII.

Of the difference of books canonical and apocryphal . . . 473

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the canonical and apocryphal books of scripture . . . 476

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of the uncertainty and contrariety found amongst Papists touching books canonical and apocryphal now controversed . . . 486

CHAPTER XXV.

Of the divers editions of the scripture; and in what tongue it was originally written 493

CHAPTER XXVI.

Of the translations of the old testament out of Hebrew into Greek. 499

CHAPTER XXVII.

Of the Latin translations, and of the authority of the vulgar Latin. 505

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Of the truth of the Hebrew text of scripture 510

CHAPTER XXIX.

PAGE
Of the supposed corruptions of the Greek text of scripture . 512

CHAPTER XXX.

Of the power of the Church in making laws 518

CHAPTER XXXI.

Of the bounds within which the power of the Church in making laws is contained; and whether she may make laws concerning the worship of God 520

CHAPTER XXXII.

Of the nature of laws; and how they bind. 528

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Of the nature of conscience; and how the conscience is bound . 529

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Of their reasons who think that human laws do bind the conscience 533

OF THE CHURCH.

APPENDIX

TO

THE THIRD BOOK.

AN APPENDIX,

WHEREIN IT IS CLEARELY PROVED THAT THE LATINE, OR WEST CHVRCH

IN WHICH THE POPE TYRANNIZED, *VVAS, AND CONTINV*ED A TRVE ORTHODOXE AND *PROTESTANT CHVRCH; AND THAT* THE DEVISERS AND MAINTAI*NERS OF ROMISH ERROVRS and superstitious abuses, were onely a* faction in the same, at the time when *Luther,* not without the applause of all *good men, published his propositions against the prophane abuse of Papall indulgences.*

TO THE READER.

THIS Appendix, when first published by the author, contained only some brief quotations upon several points of difference between us and the papists; showing that the now Romish faith was never generally received in the Western or Latin Church in the days of our fathers; no not then, when the dark mist of popery seemed to have overshadowed all things. The author, not long before he died, intended an enlargement of it, in the several particulars; but being prevented by death, lived not to finish what he had begun. So much as was finished of it coming to my hands, I thought myself bound in duty not to deprive the world of. I have therefore so far adventured to hazard the credit of the author as to make it public, though something imperfect, and wanting that lustre and beauty, which it might have received from the last hand of the author, if God had lent him longer life. As it is, it may serve, if for no other use, yet for this, as a platform to shew what might be done in this kind and what the author intended. I make no question, but a favourable reader will look on it as we use to look on the foundations of stately buildings, the finishing whereof hath been hindered by some fatal accident; the very ruins whereof breed in us astonishment and amazement, while we consider, not what they are, but what they might have been. The twelve first chapters of this Appendix are enlarged; the rest remain as they were formerly set forth. The quotations contained in that part

which hath been added, I have compared, and amended, if anywhere they differed from the originals whence they were taken; and the truth of them I am able to justify. If the world shall reap any benefit by the work, or if I may be thought, by my pains bestowed on it, to have performed that duty which I owe unto the memory of a dear father, I have my desire, and so I rest.

Yours in all due respect,

NATHANIEL FIELD.

AN ANSWER

TO

MR BRERELY'S OBJECTION CONCERNING THE MASS,

PUBLICLY USED IN ALL CHURCHES AT LUTHER'S APPEARING.

WHEREAS, to silence our adversaries, who never cease challenging us for departing from the faith of our fathers and the doctrine of the Church wherein they lived and died, I affirmed, in my third book, that none of those erroneous positions, which, at this day, they of the Romish faction do defend, and we impugn, were ever constantly received in the days of our fathers, as the doctrine of that Church wherein they lived and died, but only doubtfully disputed of, as things not clearly resolved, or broached only as the private fancies and conceits of particular men; and, for proof hereof, heretofore added an Appendix, wherein I produced the testimonies of sundry worthy pastors and guides of the Church in every age, teaching as we do, touching the points now controverted: it hath pleased some of the adverse faction to take exceptions to the same my assertion. I will first, therefore, set down such objections as they have made, and answer the same; and then enlarge my former proofs, that all that will not be wilfully blind may see the truth of that which I affirmed.

The principal man that shewed himself in this kind is Mr Brerely, the author of the book entitled the "Protestant Apology." And, after him, the author of the Answer to Mr D. White's "Way to the Church." Mr Brerely[1], in the first

[1] "The Protestants Apologie for the Roman Church," John Brereley, Priest, Tract I. §. iii. Subd. 16. "To forbeare their exceeding boldness in alledging *Erasmus* and *Picus Mirandula* as members of their Protestant Church, yt is beyond beliefe, and a very wonderment, that *M. D. Field* (a man otherwyse graue and learned) should not be

tract, page 139, hath these words: "It is beyond belief and very wonderment, that Dr Field, a man otherwise grave and learned, should not be abashed, by his public writing so confidently to aver, of our so many Christian Catholic Churches dispersed through the world at Luther's first appearing, that they were all of them the true Protestant Churches of God; and that they which then believed those damnable errors which the Romanists now defend, were a particular faction only; contrary to the confession of so many learned Protestants." And in his[1] second Tract, cap. II. sect. ii. page 329, he hath these words: "In this undue sort doth Illyricus place in his catalogue of Protestant witnesses, Gerson, Aquinas, and sundry of our schoolmen; all of them, undoubtedly, known Catholics: and we could give like farther example of St Bernard, Erasmus, Mirandula, and sundry other known Catholic writers, whom our adversaries, in like manner, do unjustly claim to be of their Church. Dr Field, a prime adversary (and for such, was, together with the bishops and deans, summoned to the con-

abashed by his publique wryting, so confidently to auerre of our so many Christian Catholicke Churches, dispersed through the world at Luther's first appearing; that they were all of them (sayth hee) *the true* (Protestant) *Churches of God, and that they which* (then) *belieued those damnable errours which the Romanistes now defend, were a particuler faction only:* most directly against that which so many learned Protestantes haue, as from common knowledge, most playnly and fully *confessed to the contrary.*—Prot. Apol. John Brereley, p. 139. 4°. n. p. 1608. [Brereley, '*assumed name for Anderton.*' MS. note in Cat. Bodl. at "(sayth hee)" a marginal note refers to "D. Field of the Church, l. 3. p. 76. post med. and 72 ante med."]

[1] Ibid. Tract II. cap. ii. §. 2. "In this vndue sort, lastly, doth Illyricus place in his *Catalogue* of Protestant witnesses *Ioannes Gerson, Thomas Aquinas,* and sundry of our schoolemen; all of them vndoubted and known Catholickes. And we could giue like further example of *S. Bernard, Erasmus, Mirandula,* and sundry other knowne Catholicke writers, whome our aduersaries do in lyke manner most iniustly clayme to be of their Church, *M. D. Field (a prime aduersary)* not forbearing in these straytes to inforce like vndue and intollerable bould clayme to the many Catholickes (a supposed particuler *faction of them only* excepted) dispersed through the Christian world at and next before Luther's first appearing; during which very tyme so many of his owne breethren are to the contrary inforced to confesse, that their Church was then *inuisible and could not then be shewed.*"—[The words "and for such was, *&c.* p. 329. . . . conference" occur on the *next page* as a note on "a prime adversary."]

ference before his majesty, in January, 1603, as appeareth by the said conference) forbeareth not in these straits to enforce the like undue and intolerable bold claim to the many Catholics (a particular faction of them only excepted) dispersed through the world at and next before Luther's first appearing." And in his third book of the Church, cap. XII. p. 85, saith, "Nothing is done in the Protestant reformation, which Camaracensis[1], Picus, Savanarola, Gerson, and innumerable other worthy guides of God's Church, long before thought not fit to be done." And page 330, Mr Brerely addeth these words[2]: "Dr Field Of the Church," l. 3, c. 6, saith, "It is most

[1] Ibid. p. 329, *note.*

[2] Ibid. p. 330, *note* on "intollerable bould." vid. sup. "M. Doctor Field of the Church, *l.* 3. *c.* 6. *initio pag.* 72. *ante med. sayth:* "It is most fond and friuolous that some demaund of vs where our Church was before Luther began? For we say it was where now it is. If they aske vs which? wee answere it was the knowne and apparent Church in the world, wherin all our Fathers liued and died, wherin Luther and the rest were baptized, &c. *And most exceeding bouldly he there further sayth:* None of the poyntes of false docrine and error which they now mantayne, and wee condemne, were the doctrines of that Church, &c. *And ibidem l.* 3. *cap.* 8. *p.* 76. *paulo post med. he procedeth yet further with lyke incredible bouldnes saying:* Wee most firmely belieue all the Churches in the world wherin our Fathers liued and dyed, to haue bene the true (*Protestant*) Churches of God, in which vndoubtedly saluation was to be found, and that they which taught, imbraced, and belieued those damnable errours which the Romanistes now defend against vs, were only a faction, &c.: *who can without amazement and wonder behould this incredible bouldnes? For was not the Mass (wherin are comprehended so many chieffe pointes of our Religion) the publique Liturgy solemnely celebrated in all Churches at Luther's first appearing? Was the then externall face of religion any other then our now professed Catholicke fayth? or was Protestancy then so much, as but in being? No marvaile, therefore, if our aduersaries doubt not to make vndue and pretended clayme to the ancient Fathers, seeing they blush not to affirme thus exceeding bouldly and vntruly of the tyme in which Luther first beganne, which is yet within in memory of this present age."* 4. [note on 'inuisible,' vid. sup.] That the Protestantes Church was then *inuisible and could not be shewed,* is generally affirmed aud confessed by Ionnes Regius, M. Jewell, M. Parkins, and many others alledged hereafter..... most directly against that which M. D. Field hath as next heretofore so bouldly affirmed, into which his bould assertion he aduentured only therby to auoyd the other absurd paradox of their supposed Churches being then inuisible, in which so many learned Protestantes haue also disclaymed heretofore..... As on the other part those who so affirmed

fond and frivolous that some demand, where our Church was before Luther began. For we say it was where now it is, and that it was the known and apparent Church in the world, where all our fathers lived and died. And most exceeding boldly he there farther saith, None of the points of false doctrine and error, which the Romanists now maintain and we condemn, were the doctrines of that Church, constantly delivered or generally received, but doubtfully broached and factiously defended by some certain only." And book the third, cap. VIII. page 76, he proceedeth yet farther with like incredible boldness, saying, "We must farther believe that all the Churches in the world, wherein our fathers lived and died, were the true Churches of God, and that they that taught the errors the Romanists now defend against us, were a faction only, as they that denied the resurrection, urged circumcision, and despised the apostles of Christ, were in the Churches of Corinth and Galatia. Who can without amazement and wonder behold this incredible boldness? For was not the Mass, wherein are comprehended so many chief points of our religion, the public liturgy, solemnly celebrated in all Churches at Luther's first appearing? Was then the external face of religion any other than our now professed Catholic faith? Was Protestancy then so much as in being? No marvel, then, if our adversaries doubt not to make undue and pretended claim to the ancient Fathers, seeing they blush not to affirm the same, exceeding boldly and untruly, of the time in which Luther first began, which is yet within the memory of this present age. Others affirm the Church to have been then invisible, directly against that which M. D. Field next before so boldly affirmed; into which bold assertion he ventured, only thereby to avoid the other absurd paradox of the supposed Churches being invisible, which so many learned Protestants have also disclaimed heretofore; as, on the other part, they who so affirmed their Churches then being invisible, affirmed the same, as enforced thereunto, in regard of the

their Churches then being inuisible, affirmed the same as inforced therto in regard of the knowne pregnant vntruth of *M. D. Fieldes* other assertion, in affirming as before their Church to haue bene then knowne and visible. Vpon such dangerous extremes are our aduersaryes driuen in their thus sayling betweene *Scylla* and *Carybdis*."—Prot. Apol. pp. 330, 331.

known pregnant untruth of M. D. Field's other assertion, in affirming the Church to have been then known and visible. Upon such dangerous rocks are our adversaries driven in their thus sailing between Scylla and Charybdis."

Here we see is much ado, as if something had been written by me that were beyond all belief, and a very wonderment. But what strange thing is it that is thus wondered at? Surely it is nothing else but that I have affirmed, that all those Christian Catholic Churches in the West part of the world, where the pope formerly tyrannized, and where our fathers lived and died, were the true Protestant Churches of God; and that the maintainers of those errors, superstitious abuses, and papal tyranny, which we dislike, were, in that they maintained the same, and so far forth as they maintained any of them, but a faction only in those Churches. If this be all, I doubt not but so to make good what I have written that Mr Brerely shall in the end wonder at himself, why he contradicted it. For if by a Protestant Church we mean a Church believing and teaching in all points as Protestants do, and believing and teaching nothing but that they do, it shall be proved and demonstrated, that the Latin or West Church, wherein the pope tyrannized before Luther's time, was and continued a true Protestant Church. For the Church that then was, believed and taught all that we do, and nothing else: it condemned those profane and superstitious abuses which we have removed; and groaned under that tyranny, the yoke whereof we have now cast off: howsoever there were many in the midst of her that taught otherwise, that brought in and maintained intolerable and superstitious abuses, and sought to advance the Pope's over-ruling greatness and supremacy. But if by a Protestant Church they understand, a Church that not only complaineth of papal tyranny and usurpation, and sheweth her dislike of the same, but that hath cast off the yoke; and that not only disliketh abuses, but removeth them; and that not only teacheth all necessary and saving truth, but suffereth none within the compass of her jurisdiction to teach otherwise; we confess that no part of the Western Church was in this sort a Protestant Church, till a reformation was begun of evils formerly disliked. But Mr Brerely saith, Protestancy was not in being before Luther's time; and that, therefore, the Christian Catholic Churches wherein our

fathers lived and died, could not in any sort truly be said to be Protestant Churches. Whereunto our answer is, that if by Protestancy be meant, the believing of all that, and that only, which they that are now named Protestants do believe, and the professing of a dislike of such abuses and papal usurpations, as they have now cast off; it was in being many ages, and long before Luther was born; and all those Christian Catholic Churches, wherein our fathers lived and died, were Protestant Churches. But this Master Brerely thinketh unanswerably to confute, because the Mass, where so many points of the Romish religion are contained, was the public liturgy solemnly celebrated in all Churches at and before Luther's appearing, and the external face of religion was no other than the now professed Roman faith. For answer whereunto, I will first shew that the using of the Mass as the public liturgy, is no good proof of that Master Brerely undertaketh to prove. Secondly, I will make it to appear that the external face of religion before Luther's time, was not, as Master Brerely would make us believe, the Roman faith now professed.

Touching the Mass four things are to be observed: the name; the canon itself; the sinister consecrations and manifold abuses in practice, besides and contrary to the words of the canon and the intendment of them that first composed the same; and lastly, sundry apocryphal vain superstitious and idle things crept into the public service of the Church.

Touching the first, it is known that the celebration of the holy mystery and sacrament of the Lord's body and blood, had the name of Mass, from the dismissing of all non-communicants before the consecration began, so that none stayed but such as were to communicate. The ancient custom was, saith[1] Cassander in his Consultation, that none might be pre-

[1] "De Articulis Religionis in Catholicos et Protestantes controversis Consultatio."—Georg. Cassandri, Art. XXIV. "Nam cum olim neminem consecrationi mysteriorum interesse licuerit, nisi sacramenta participaret, aut saltem participatione sacramentorum fuisset dignus, consequitur sane omnes eos qui hisce mysteriis intersunt, ita corporatos esse debere, vt laudis et precum sacrificium vna cum sacerdote offerre, et sacramenta diuina, si non ipsa symbolorum perceptione, certe religiosa animi affectione participare queant, qua de re Chrysostomus: Quemadmodum, inquit, nemini eorum qui initiati non sunt,

sent at the consecration but such as were to communicate. For, as Chrysostom sheweth, as they that were not baptized might not stay, no more might they that were impure and guilty of any grievous sin, so that they were not fit to communicate. And[1] to this purpose was that most ancient obser-

adesse licet, ita neque initiatis, si sordidi fuerint. Ibidem ait eos, qui indigni sunt participatione sacramentorum, indignos quoque esse ea communicatione, quæ in precibus est. Huc certe pertinet antiquissima omnium Ecclesiarum atque in primis Romanæ Ecclesiæ consuetudo, qua voce diaconi, post Euangelij lectionem, non communicantes mittebantur, id est, abire iubebantur, in quo solenni ritu, quo primum Catechumenis, et non communicantibus, ante consecrationem, et postea fidelibus post consecrationem et participationem, Missa seu Missio denunciabatur, Missæ nomen in vulgus obtinuit, quamvis quod hoc loco vrget Chrysostomus, vt qui huic mysticæ actioni intersunt, de mensa quoque Domini vna communicent, id vt effici possit, vix operandum est, quando ne ipsius quidem ætate hoc obseruatum fuerit. Monendi tamen sunt homines, ne tantis ministeriis interesse audeant, si ex conscientia grauioris peccati indignos si [*se?*] participatione sacramentorum esse sentiunt, vt qui in vsura, scortatione, ebrietate, blasphemia, odio fraterno persistunt, illi quoque qui manifestis sceleribus obnoxij sunt, Ecclesiastico iudicio ab his mysteriis essent arcendi. Hoc de ea parte huius sacræ actionis intelligendum est, in qua consecratio et mystica oblatio et participatio fit, quæ Missa fidelium dicitur; nam illi parti, quæ institutionem tantum habet, et euangelica lectione et verbi Dei prædicatione finitur, omnibus olim interesse licebat."—G. Cassandri Opp. pp. 994, 995. fol. Par. 1616.

[1] "Annotationes in librum de Corona Militis" Beati Rhenani. "Sed quoniam in missæ mentionem incidimus, quod vocabulum in scholiis quartilibri in Marcionem (ubi de remissa disputauimus) a missa, ... hoc est, missione cum alta voce diaconi Missam esse dicentis, catechumeni, energumeni, desertores et pœnitentes, quem ordine. Magnus ille Dionysius tradit, post psal. decantatos, et sacram aut alicuius Prophetæ aut Pauli et Evangelii lectionem atque enarrationem priusquam consecrationis mysterium ordiretur sacerdos, foras agerentur, sacrosancto Eucharistiæ sacrificio, quod tum incipiebat, a vulgo tributam diximus, ab unico actu præcedente si ita velis, vel certe intermedio, totis solennibus denominatis: quia, inquam, missæ facta est mentio, operæ precium videtur hic studiosis aperire quid de hac compertum habeant, qui vetustos sacrarum literarum interpretes, videlicet Originem et similes, cum judicio diligenter excuserunt. Et arbitrantur quidem illi missam incepisse, dicente sacerdote, Dominus vobiscum: et mox, Sursum corda. deinde, Gratias agamus domino deo nostro: et iterum, Vere dignum, et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, domine sancte Pater omnipotens æterne deus,

vation of all Churches, that by the voice of the deacon, *missa seu missio denunciabatur, catechumenis et non communicantibus ante consecrationem*, that is, that the catechumens and all non-communicants were dismissed before the consecration; the deacon crying out with a loud voice, *Si quis non communicet, exeat; si quis non communicet, det locum;* "If any communicate not, let him depart." So that hence it came, that the name of Mass was given to sundry parts of the liturgy; for whereas all might be present at some part of the divine service, that part was called *missa catechumenorum*, for that the catechumens might be present at it; and it was ended before their dismissing. But the other part, which consisteth in the consecration, oblation, and participation, is called *missa fidelium;* for that the faithful only who were fit to communicate might be present at it, all non-communicants being first dismissed and sent away. This maketh against the present abuse of the Roman Church, wherein all stay, and yet none communicate but the priest alone: and many are made believe it is sufficient to be present, though they do not prepare themselves so as to be fit to communicate; nay, oftentimes such as would communicate are repelled. This was the fault of some in the Church wherein our fathers lived, but not without the dislike of the better sort. And therefore, as Cassander telleth us[1], *Henricus de Gorrichem in tractatu de effectu*

per Christum dominum nostrum. Post quæ verba putant illum statim subdidisse, Qui pridie quam pateretur, &c. Te igitur clea quodam conscriptum aiunt, cui scholastico nomen fuerit: et indicat hoc diuinus Gregorius paulo ante suam ætate factum, Et alium habet Ambrosius: Id quod verum arbitror quod ad priorem illius partem. Nam posteriores invocationis et benedictionis preces ipsissimam antiquitatem præ se ferunt, et admirabilem spirant sanctitatem."—Beati Rhenani in Tertull. Annott. p. 40, 41. Tertull. Op. ed Jac. Pam. fol. Frennek. 1597, seorsim additæ.

[1] 'De Art. Consultatio,' G. Cassand. Art. XXIV.—"Neque vero adeo difficile esset priscum hunc morem restituere, si ad modum quem supra diximus per dies festos in Ecclesiis Parochialibus Missæ celebrentur, facile enim ex multitudine populi, aliqui semper suppeterent, qui una cum sacerdote synaxim faceret, et sacramenta participaret, nam quod rarius, et rariores e populo communicent, in causa sunt, potissimum ipsi pastores, qui populum ad frequentiorem communionem non invitent, quod patet ex scripto Theologi cujusdam* non indocti superiore

* "Henri. de Gorghem in tract. de effect. Missæ, prop. 23." [margine citatus], p. 996.

missæ propos. 23, reprehendeth certain pastors of his age, who could hardly endure that some of their parishioners desired every Sunday to receive the sacrament, though they lived laudably. And he addeth, that seeing the same devotion that was in the primitive Church, when men communicated every day, is still to be found in some, the pastor should not dislike it, if any amongst the common people be so devout as to desire to communicate every Sunday, and some other days also. So that there wanted not of the people in former times that desired to communicate as well as to be present; nor of the guides that encouraged them so to do: and therefore hitherto nothing can be proved against my assertion. Wherefore let us come to the Mass itself.

Amongst all the sacraments of the Church, that is the principal, saith Durandus[1], that is celebrated upon the table

sæculo, quo scripto reprehendit Pastores quosdam suæ ætatis, qui ægre ferebant, quod nonnulli ex suæ Parochiæ subjectis singulis Dominicis diebus sacramentorum communionem peterent, etiamsi laudabiliter viverent. Addit autem quum apud quosdam fideles ea devotio, quæ erat in primitiva Ecclesia, in qua quotidie communicabatur, adhuc hodie vigeat, non debere pastorem indignari, si qui e vulgo sint, qui singulis Dominicis, aut etiam aliis diebus ad Communionem sacrosanctam accedere cupiant"

[1] "Rationale Divinorum Officiorum," Lib. IV. cap. i. § 1—6. "De Missa, et singulis, quæ in Missa aguntur."—"Inter cuncta ecclesiæ sacramenta illud constat esse præcipuum quod in Missæ officio supra mensam sacratissimi celebratur altaris, illud Ecclesiæ repræsentans convivium, in quo filio revertenti pater occidit vitulum saginatum, panem vitæ, et vinum quod miscuit sapientia, proponens. Hoc autem officium ipse Christus instituit, cum novum condidit testamentum disponens hæredibus suis regnum, sicut Pater suus sibi disposuit, ut super mensam ejus edant et bibant, in regno, quod ecclesia consecravit. Cœnantibus enim illis, accepit Jesus panem, et gratias agens, benedixit ac fregit, deditque discipulis suis dicens, Accipite et comedite: hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur: hoc facite in meam commemorationem. Hac igitur institutione formati cœperunt Apostoli sacrosanctum frequentare mysterium, propter causam, quam Christus expresserat, et formam servantes in verbis, et materiam tenentes in rebus, sicut Apostolus Corinthiis protestatus dicens, Ego accepi a Domino, quod et tradidi vobis, quoniam Dominus Jesus, in qua nocte, &c. . . . . Sane (ut præmissum est) Missam instituit Dominus Jesus, sacerdos secundum ordinem Melchisedech, quando panem et vinum in corpus et sanguinem suum transmutavit, dicens, Hoc est corpus meum: hic est sanguis meus: subjungens, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem.

of the most holy altar, representing that feast and banquet of the Church, wherein the father, upon the return of his lost son, caused the fatlings to be slain; and setteth out the bread of life, and the wine which Wisdom hath mixed for her friends and lovers. These mysteries, and this holy sacrament, Christ then instituted, when he made his new and last testament, disposing to his heirs a kingdom, as his Father had disposed to him, that upon his table they might eat and drink, in his kingdom, that which the Church hath consecrated; for, as they were at supper, "Jesus took bread, and when he had given thanks, blessed it, brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, and eat, this is my body which shall be given for you; do this in remembrance of me." The Apostles following this institution, began to celebrate these mysteries for the same end that Christ had expressed, keeping the same form in words, and using the same matter of bread and wine that he did; as the apostle witnesseth to the Corinthians, where he saith: "What I have received of the Lord, I have delivered unto you, who, the same night that he was betrayed, took bread, &c., and added to the form of words used by Christ, the Lord's prayer. And St Peter is said in this sort to have celebrated first of all in the East parts. Wherefore in the beginnings of the Church these mysteries were celebrated in another sort than since they have been. Afterwards, the reading of some parts of sacred scripture, and, particularly, of

Apostoli autem hanc missam adauxerunt, dicentes in missa non solum verba præmissa, verumetiam dominicam orationem superaddentes. Unde beatus Petrus sic Missam primus dicitur celebrasse in partibus Orientalibus, ubi post Domini passionem quatuor annis cathedram tenuit sacerdotalem. Deinde vero accepit cathedram Antiochiæ, ubi tres orationes ad Missam adjecit. In primordio ergo nascentis ecclesiæ Missa aliter dicebatur, quam modo, sicut in vi. parte sub titulo de parasceue dicetur. Sequenti vero tempore Epistola tantum et Evangelio recitatis Missa celebrabatur. Subsequenter Cœlestinus papa instituit introitum ad Missam cantari, prout sub Introitu dicetur. Cætera diversis temporibus ab aliis papis et a Galatio Cœlestino et Gregorio et aliis diversis temporibus leguntur adjecta, prout Christianæ religionis cultu crescente visa sunt decentius convenire.—*Cf. etiam.* Ibid. Lib. v. cap. ii. § 2. In primitiva tamen ecclesia diversi diversa quisque pro suo velle cantabant, dummodo quod cantabant, ad Dei laudem pertineret. *&c.* p. 212. Rat. Div. Opp. Gul. Durandi, ed. Jo. Beletho, 8vo. Lugd. 1684. pp. 876, 88.

the Epistle and Gospel, was added. Pope Cœlestinus instituted the *Introitus;* and other things were added at other times and by others. Howsoever, this is certain, there were, and are at this day, divers forms of celebrating this mystery. For the forms of the East Churches are different from those of the West: and it appeareth that anciently, in France, Spain, and sundry parts of Italy, they had other forms than now are used, more like to those of the East; which being in some things enlarged and perfitted by St Ambrose, were called the Ambrosian forms of divine service. These continued till the time of Charles the Great. For though Gregory[1], as Jo. Diaconus tells us, taking the forms of celebrating Mass which Gelasius had composed, adding some things, detracting others, and changing others, brought in a new form, which the Church of Rome followed, yet the other churches of the West

[1] Ibid. Lib. v. cap. ii. § 4, 5. "Gregorius vero Introitus cum cantu ordinavit. Legitur in vita B. Eugenii, quod dum adhuc officium Ambrosianum magis, quam Gregorianum ab ecclesia servaretur, Adrianus Papa concilium convocavit, ubi statutum est, quod Gregorianum deberet universaliter observari; ad quod Carolus Imperator omnes clericos minis et suppliciis per diversas provincias cogebat, libros Ambrosiani officii comburens. Beatus vero Eugenius ad concilium quoddam propter hoc convocatum veniens, invenit concilium per ipsum, concilium per triduum jam solutum, inducens dominum Papam quod omnes prælatos quo concilio interfuerant, et jam per tres dies recesserant, revocaret. Concilio igitur iterum congregato, omnium Patrum fuit una sententia, quod Missale Ambrosianum et Gregorianum super altare S. Petri Apostoli poneretur, plurimorum Episcoporum sigillis munita, et fores ecclesiæ clauderentur: et ipsi tota nocte orationi insisterent, ut Dominus per aliquod signum indicaret, quod horum magis ab ecclesia servari vellet, sicque per omnia factum est. Mane igitur ecclesiam intrantes utrumque Missale super altare apertum invenerunt, vel, ut alii asserunt, Missale Gregorianum penitus dissolutum, huc illucque dispersum invenerunt: Ambrosianum vero solummodo apertum super altare in eodem loco, ubi positum fuerat, invenerunt. Quo signo edocti sunt divinitus Gregorianum officium per totum mundum dispergi, Ambrosianum vero tantum sua ecclesia observari debere, et sic usque hodie servatur. Siquidem tempore Caroli Imperatoris officium Ambrosianum præcipue dimissum est, et Gregorianum, Imperiali authoritati plurimum adjuuante, divulgatum."—"De quibus rebus ad Missæ officium spectantibus." Bernonis Augiensis Abbatis; cap. i. "In nostri quoque monasterii archivo habetur Missalis longe aliter ordinatus, quam Romanæ Ecclesiæ se habeat usus." "Speculum Missæ," a Joanne Cochleo, p. 166, 8°. Ven. 1572.

retained the old forms which they had received from their ancestors. And to this purpose it is that Berno Augiensis testifieth, that amongst the monuments of his abbey there was found an old missal much different from those of Rome. But Charles the Great sought to bring the provinces subject to his empire, to receive the Roman form by threats and punishment. We read, saith Durandus in the Life of blessed Eugenius, that while the form of divine service, which was named the Ambrosian form, was more followed and observed by the Church than that of Gregory, Adrian the pope called a council, in which it was ordered that the Gregorian form should everywhere be observed. To the observation whereof Charles the Emperor by threats and punishments forced the clergy in sundry provinces, burning the old Ambrosian books. And further he addeth, that Saint Eugenius coming to a certain council called about this business, finding that the bishops were gone and the council ended three days before his coming, induced the pope to call the bishops back again, which he did; and the council being again renewed, it was agreed on by common consent, that both the missals, both that of St Ambrose and the other of St Gregory, should be laid on the altar of St Peter the apostle; that the doors of the church should be fast locked and sealed with the seal of sundry bishops; and that then they should spend the whole night in prayer, beseeching God that he would shew by some sign which of these he would have to be observed in his Church: and in the morning entering, they found that of Gregory torn in pieces and scattered all over the church; the other opened, but yet still lying entire and open on the altar: of which accident they made this construction, that that of Gregory was to be used everywhere throughout the world, the other only at Milan in St Ambrose's own church; and so, saith St Durand, it is used unto this day. For by the help of Charles the Great, that of Ambrose was disused in many Churches, and that other brought in place.

Only the Christians of Spain admitted not this alteration, notwithstanding all these endeavours, till the time of Gregory the Seventh, what time they were constrained by Alphonsus the Sixth to give way; which they did most unwillingly, and not without tears. Rodericus[1] reporteth, that when this alter-

[1] "De Rebus Hispaniæ, Libri IX." Roderici, archiep. Tolet. Lib.

ation was urged by the pope's legate and the king, there being an assembly of all the states; the clergy, nobility, and

VI. cap. XXV. "Et quia adhuc litera Gotthica, et translatio Psalterii, et officium Missæ institutum ab Isodoro et Leandro pontificibus, quod cum translatione et litera dicitur Toletanum, per totam Hispaniam seruabatur, ad instantiam vxoris suæ Reginæ Constantiæ, quæ erat de partibus Galliarum, misit Romam ad Gregorium Papam Septimum, vt in Hispaniis omisso Toletano Romanum seu Gallicanum officium seruaretur, &c.—Ibid. cap. XXVI. "Gregorius autem Septimus, de quo diximus, ad petitionem Regis Aldefonsi misit quendam Ricardum, Abbatem Sancti Victoris Marsiliensis, vt ecclesias Hispaniæ tot persecutionibus perturbatas, ecclesiastico moderamine ordinaret. Qui minus religiose officium peragens cœpit irregularius se habere. Quod attendens Toletanus electus per maris et terræ pericula se Romani Pontificis conspectui præsentavit, et Gregorio Septimo viam universæ carnis ingresso inuenit Vrbanum Secundum in sede Apostolica substitutum. A quo gratanter et benigne susceptus, consecrationem, pallium, et privilegium obtinuit, et primas institutus Hispaniarum, Apostolicæ sedis benedictione suscepta, et per Tolosam rediens ibidem cum episcopis Gotthicæ, Galliæ, et Narbonensi archiepiscopo concilium celebravit. . . . . Verum quia Ricardus legatus se gerebat in aliquibus minus caute, religione et auctoritate compescuit attentata, adeo quod ille Ricardus legatione priuatus, fuit ab Vrbano summo Pontifice revocatus. Verum ante revocationem clerus et populus totius Hispaniæ turbatur, eo quod Gallicanum officium suscipere a legato et principe cogebantur, et statuto die, rege, primate, legato, cleri et populi maxima multitudine congregatis, fuit diutius altercatum, clero, militia, et populo firmiter resistentibus ne officium mutarotur, rege a regina suaso contrarium, minis et terroribus intonante. Ad hoc ultimo res pervenit militari pertinacia decernente, vt hæc dissensio duelli certamine sedaretur. Cumque duo milites fuissent electi, unus a rege, qui pro officio Gallicano, alter a militia et populis, qui pro Toletano pariter decertarent, miles regis ilico victus fuit, populis exultantibus quod victor erat miles officii Toletani. Sed rex adeo fuit a Regina Constantia stimulatus, quod a proposito non discessit, duellum indicans ius non esse. Miles autem qui pugnauerat pro officio Toletano, fuit de domo Mantantiæ prope Pisoricam, cujus hodie genus extat. Cumque super hoc magna seditio in militia et populo oriretur, demum placuit, ut liber officii Toletani et liber officii Gallicani in magna ignis congerie ponerentur. Et indicto omnibus ieiunio a primate, legato, et clero, et oratione ab omnibus deuote peracta, igne consumitur liber officii Gallicani, et prosiliit super omnes flammas incendii, cunctis videntibus et Dominum laudantibus, liber officii Toletani illæsus omnino, a combustione incendii alienus. Sed cum rex esset magnanimus, et suæ voluntatis pertinax executor, nec miraculo territus, nec supplicatione suasus voluit inclinari, sed mortis supplicia et direptionem minitans resistentibus, præcepit ut

people, resisted mainly against it; whereupon in the end it was resolved that that matter should be tried by combat, and one being chosen for the new, and another for defence of the old, he that undertook the defence of the old prevailed, which caused a great rejoicing among the people. But the king not regarding this trial, nor thinking it to be any sufficient clearing of the matter questioned, it was agreed that both the books should be cast into the fire, that that which should be preserved in the fire might be allowed as best, which accordingly being done, the book of the old form came forth untouched, and the other was consumed: yet would not the king be persuaded to desist, but threatening death and utter confusion to all gainsayers, made this innovation in his Church and kingdom, all his subjects weeping and sorrowing, and then began the proverb, *Quo volunt reges vadunt leges.* So that we see, howsoever our adversaries would make the simple believe that things were ever as now they are, yet there have been great alterations in the form of divine service; and it is not to be doubted, but that the ancient forms, as different from the latter, were more pure and sincere than they that are now used.

They that have diligently looked into the monuments of antiquity, saith Rhenanus upon Tertullian's book *De Corona Militis,* do think, that anciently the mass began when the priest did say, "The Lord be with you," and immediately after, "Lift up your hearts," and "Let us give thanks to our Lord God;" and again, "It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times and in all places, give thanks unto thee, Holy Father, Almighty and everlasting God, through our Lord Jesus Christ;" and that then immediately followed these words, "Who the night before he suffered, took bread," &c. For they think that howsoever the latter part of the Roman canon now used, *ipsissimam præ se ferat antiquitatem et admirabilem spiret sanctitatem,* that is, appears to be ancient and breathing forth nothing but admirable sanctity, yet the former parts of it do not so; and that they were composed by Scholasticus, not long before the

Gallicanum officium in omnibus regni sui finibus seruaretur. Et tunc cunctis flentibus et dolentibus inoluit proverbium: 'Quo volunt Reges vadunt Leges.'"—'Rerum Hispanicarum Scriptores aliquot.' Ex Bibl. Rob. Beli, Tom. I. pp. 240, 241, 242. fol. Francof. 1579.

time of Gregory the First, as himself telleth us. What is to be thought of this Scholasticus, whether he were a man so named, or whether Gregory, more to express unto us the quality of him that composed the canon, that he was but a man though a professor of learning, and that therefore he might add the Lord's prayer unto that form that had but a man for the composer of it, I leave uncertain, because some think it was composed by Gelasius, and that he was styled Scholasticus before he was bishop. But this is certain, that some things have been added to the canon since the time of Gregory, and that in the celebration of the holy mysteries, so many tautologisms and barbarisms are found, that ingenuous men abhor from the celebration thereof, as Platina testifieth, and so many and so gross corruptions are crept into the service of the Church, that all good men long since and yet still complain of it. Claudius Espencæus[1] affirmeth, that the pub-

[1] "Apocryphorum in Ecclesiam irreptio." "Atque utinam quod hæreticis commune est, nescio quas res friuolas et deliramenta comminisci, sic illis proprium esset, ut non haberent Catholici, quod ad Ecclesiam, vt ad Synagogam olim, sic lamentarentur, 'Prophetæ tui viderunt tibi falsa et stulta, nec aperiebant iniquitatem tuam, vt te ad pœnitentiam provocarent, viderunt tibi assumptiones falsas et eiectiones,' Hier. ii. Commonstrauimus in Digressionibus, lib. I. cap. ii. dolorem nostrum cum plerisque bonis omnibus communem, de iis quæ in publicum Dei cultum irrepserunt Apocryphis," . . . . . *subinde citat*, "Petrum, venerabilem Cluniacensem Abbatem, ante annos plus minus 400 sic scribente, lib. 5, epistola 29: 'Nosti quantum me pigeant falsa in Ecclesia Dei Cantica, quantum nugæ canoræ mihi odibiles, inter quas (nam plurimæ sunt) cum nuper in festo magni patris Benedicti hymnum præter sententias, metricam legem, seriemque verborum peroptimam, et cantari audirem, et cantare cogeret, nimium, sed non tunc primum, ægre tuli, et tanti viri veras laudes mendaciter proferri erubui. Nam præter aptitudinem sententiarum, quæ nulla est, mendacia ad minus 24 cauticum id citato percurrens animo reperi, cum de tot tantisque sancti viri miraculis vix unum attingat.' Respondet Epist. 31 Petrus Pictaviensis, credere se præ melioribus ab eodem compositis hymnis, Cluniacensis solum super aquas currentem D. Mauram, assidue cantitando, inepto et falso iam carmine pertæsos, non ulterius cruciandos." . . . . . "Legeram, sed exciderat, quod Cardinalis Aliacencis de Reformatione Ecclesiæ inter cætera, tertia consideratione, Constantiensi Synodo suggesserat, quia prælatis specialis de diuino cultu cura esse debet, necessario providendum, vt non in ecclesiastico servitio tam onerosa prolixitas, quam deuota et integra breuitas seruetur, non in festis, præsertim nonis, Scripturæ apocryphæ, hymni novi, velorationes, seu aliæ

lic services are full of old fables, and allegeth Petrus, Abbas Cluniacensis, Lib. v. cap. 29, saying, that the songs and hymns of the Church had very many toys, as namely a hymn in the praise of St Bennet; in the which, though reading it over somewhat hastily, and not staying to search all, yet he found at the least four and twenty lies. He allegeth likewise Petrus Pictaviensis, Epis. xxxi., reproving a false and fond hymn in the praise of Mary running upon the waters; and Cardinal Cameracensis *De Reformatione Ecclesiæ*, consideration the third, advising the council of Constance to take order that unsound writings might be no longer read in the Church, and the oration of Picus Mirandula to the same purpose; and Volateran, complaining that in the daily prayers there are read manifest lies: to whom he addeth Adrian the Sixth, afterwards pope, misliking superstitious forgeries in holy matters, and concludeth, that the Catholics may lament on the behalf of the Church, as Hieremie lamented on the behalf of the synagogue, "Thy prophets have seen false and foolish things for thee," and addeth, that the grief which he doth feel and express for these toys and dotages, is common to him with all good men for the most part. Bishop Lindan[1] to the same

voluntariæ nouitates legantur, omissis antiquis et authenticis, et iam in Ecclesia consuetis, quodque generaliter omnis nouitas, varietas, usuum diversitas in horis aliisque diuinis officiis (quantum fieri posset) vitaretur, iuxta decretum Concilij Toletani II. ca. 3." . . . . . "Non ita nuper Raphaël Volaterranus, magnus certe historicus, si non theologus, lib. 16. dum Joannem Euangelistam recenset, ausus est scribere dolendum, aperta in horis canonicis legi mendacia, non sine illorum magno dedecore, quorum est officium hæc interpolare. Nuper item admodum Ioannes Franciscus Mirandulanus orationem ad Leonem X. et Concilium Lateranense habitam et publicatam hac coronide conclusit, in studiis sacras literas vtriusque testamenti recognoscendas, et cum antiquis et castigatis primæ originis exemplaribus conferendas, ut ab erratis quæ vitio temporum, et librariorum incuria irrepserant, omnino purgentur, quotidianas preces in probatum statum redigendas, et veras historias ab apocryphis nugis segregandas."—"In post. D. Pauli Apost. ad Tim. Ep. Commentarius," Claud. Espencæi, Cap. IV. Digres. xxi. pp. 423, 424. fol. Lut. Par. 1619.

[1] "Quod si Episcopus hic diligentissimus nunc nostra conspiceret aut Antiphonaria aut Missalia, Deum immortalem, quo eos pingeret nomine? Vbi non apocrypha modo ex evang. Nicodemi et aliis sunt inserta, sed ipsæ adeò secretæ preces, (imo ipse, pro pudor et dolor! canon et varians et redundans) sunt mendis turpissimis conspurcatæ."

purpose hath these words: *Quod si nostra conspiceret Agobertus, episcopus Lugdunensis, antiphonaria; Deum immortalem! quomodo ea pingeret? ubi non Apocrypha modo ex evangelio Nicodemi et aliis nugis sunt inserta, sed ipsæ adeo secretæ preces sunt mendis turpissimis conspurcatæ.* That is, "If Agobertus, sometimes bishop of Lyons, that could not endure the corruptions of his time, were now alive, and should see our antiphonaries; good God! how would he paint them out? in which not only apocryphal things out of the gospel of Nicodemus, and such other toys are interlaced, but even the very prayers themselves named *secretæ*, are defiled with most gross and vile absurdities and faults." Many things, saith Picus Mirandula, which in the decrees are accounted apocryphal and are so censured by Hierome, are in the service of the Church; and many things also that by many are not thought to be true. I mean not, saith Melchior Canus[1], to defend all the histories which are everywhere read in the Church; I see there are so many of the vulgar sort and condition, not only amongst those of the laity, but of the clergy also, that most willingly embrace those fables which the Church long since exploded. In this kind it behoveth the bishops to do something; but they must be wise, as well as

"De optimo Scripturas interpretandi genere, Libri III."—Lindani, Lib. III. cap. iii. p. 102, b. 8°. Colon. 1558.

[1] "Tertium decimum argumentum parua difficultate nos implicat Nec enim historias omnes tueri est animus, quæ passim in ecclesia lectitantur. Video tantum vulgi non solum in laicis, sed in ecclesiasticis etiam esse, vt eas quoque fabulas oppido quam libenter accipiant, quas iam diu ecclesia explosit. In his certe pontificum non diligentia modo, verum etiam prudentia desideratur. Quidam namque dum redimiam curant, capti incommodant. Videlicet historias graues pro apocryphis reddunt quidem, sed divinum ecclesiæ officium usque eo præter solitum immutant, vt vix vlla antiquæ religionis forma in quotidianis precibus relicta esse videatur. Qua ex re quam multa et magna mala ecclesiæ Dei accidant, non est huius loci et temporis dicere. . . . . Quod si ex quibusdam fictis falsisque narrationibus, historias gentium æstimemus, nulla omnino erit, quam non similiter illudamus. Id si hominum imprudentium, atque adeo stultorum est, maneat, divorum gesta, quæ in ecclesia legi solent, despici nullo modo oportere. Quamquam nonnulla ex his incerta sunt, apocrypha, leuia, falsa. Nam et pleraque credibila ac vera sunt, quædam etiam certa." Melchior Canus, "De Locis Theolog. cap. v. de Humanæ Hist. Auctor." pp. 510, 511. Col. Agr. 1605.

diligent, lest while they go about to cure the looseness of the skin about the fingers, they hurt the head. These, happily, go about to put grave histories into the place of such as are apocryphal, but they change the divine service of the Church so much that scarce any shew of the old religion seemeth to be left in the daily prayers: wherefore this must stand firm, that the histories of the saints which are wont to be read in the Church, must not be despised; though some of them be uncertain, apocryphal, light and false; for they are credible, and true for the most part, and some of them certain.

Ferdinand caused it to be proposed to the Council of Trent, amongst other articles of reformation, that the breviaries and missals might be purged, that all things that are found in them not taken out of the scripture might be taken away, that the prolixity of prayers and psalms might be abridged, good choice being made of such as should be used. *Apud Goldast. Imper. Const.*[1] Tom. II. p. 376. These, it seemeth, are those mysteries of Romish religion found in the liturgy of the Church, at and before Luther's time, whereof M. Brerely speaketh; but they had no general approbation, but the dislike of all good men, as it appeareth by that which hath been said. For otherwise the very form and words of the liturgy, condemn the abuses of private Masses, and half communions, and make nothing of that propitiatory sacrifice, whereof the Papists fable, which are those greatest mysteries of Romish religion, that they insist upon in their Mass.

Touching the first of these parts of Romish religion, which is that of their private Masses, wherein the Priest receiveth alone without any communicants, making the people believe that that which he doth is a propitiatory sacrifice, and that he can apply the benefit of it to whom he will, and that it is enough for them to be present, or to give something for the procuring of it; their error is clearly refuted by the form of prayers that are used in the Mass, which shew that they only have the benefit that is here sought, that communicate. For immediately after the consecration, the Priest and people

[1] "12 Breviaria et Missalia purganda, resecandaque omnia, quæ non ex divinis sint desumpta literis, et tædiosam prolixitatem psalmorum et orationum, habito delectu, contrahendam."—Melch. Goldastus, Collectio Const. Imp. Tom. II. p. 376. fol. Franc. ad Moen. 1615.

pray in this sort: *Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens Deus, jube hæc perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum, in conspectu divinæ majestatis tuæ, ut quicunque ex hac altaris participatione sacrosancti Filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione cœlesti et gratia repleamur, per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum, Amen.* That is, "We, as humble suppliants, beseech thee, O God Almighty, to command that these our sacrifices and oblations, may be carried by the hands of the holy angel to thy altar on high, and to the sight of thy divine majesty, that so many of us as shall receive the sacred body and blood of thy Son, by partaking of this altar, may be filled with all benediction and grace, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen." And, after the communion, they pray again in this sort, Grant, Lord, that we may receive with a pure mind what we have received with the mouth[1]. And again: Let this communion, O Lord, purge us from sin, and make us partakers of the heavenly remedy[2]. Whereupon Micrologus[3] inferreth, that they must not neglect to communicate that think to have any benefit by those prayers. These prayers remain as witnesses of the old observation. Durandus[4] saith, that in the primi-

[1] "Canon Missæ." "Supplices te, &c." ["ut *quotquot*," pro "*ut quicumque*," legitur] "nostrum, Amen."—Missale Romanum, p. 225, fol. Antverp. 1619.

[2] "Quod ore sumpsimus, Domine, pura mente capiamus: et de munere temporali fiat nobis remedium sempiternum."—Ibid. p. 231.

[3] Micrologus, 'De Missa rite celebranda.' Cap. XIX.—"Quæ utique orationes, non pro his, qui communicaturi sunt, sed qui jam communicauerint, juxta proprietatem sui nominis agunt. Ergo et ante ipsas communicare non negligant, quicumque earundem orationum benedictione foueri desiderant."—Apud 'Speculum Missæ,' Joannis Cochlei, p. 145 b, 8vo. Ven. 1572.

[4] Durand. 'Rationale Div. Officiorum.' Lib. IV. cap. liii. § 3. "Cæterum in primitiua Ecclesia, omnes, qui celebrationi missarum intererant, singulis diebus communicare solebant, eo quod Apostoli omnes de calice biberunt, Domino dicente, Bibite ex hoc omnes.... Offerebant enim magnum panem, et omnibus sufficientem, quod adhuc Græci seruare dicuntur. Sed excrescente fidelium multitudine, traditur institutum ut tantum diebus Dominicis communicarent.... Postmodum autem, quia nec digne hoc potuit obseruari, tertia secuta est institutio, vt ter saltem in anno quilibet Christianus acciperet Eucharistiam, ea. d. et si non frequentius, vel hodie ad minus in pascha, extra de pœnitentia et remissione, omnis. hoc inuento remedio,

tive Church all that were present at the celebration of the Mass were wont to communicate every day, and that to this purpose they did offer a great loaf, that might suffice for the communicating of them all: which custom, saith he, the Grecians are said to keep still. Afterwards, when the multitude of believers increased, and devotion increased, it was ordained, that at least every Sunday they should communicate. In process of time, when this could not be kept, there was a third constitution[1], that at least thrice every year each christian man should communicate, if not oftener. In the end it was ordered, that, at the least, at Easter every one should come to the sacrament: and instead of the daily communicating, the priest gave daily the kiss of peace to the minister, saying, in some places, Take you the bond of peace and love, that you may be fit for these sacred mysteries; which were words that were wont to be used when they used to salute one another before the communion, and did import an ensuing communion[2]. The anthem which is named *Postcommunio*, is so named, because it is sung after the communicating, or in sign that the communion is past. For in the primitive Church all the faithful did daily communicate; and presently after their communicating, this song was sung, that it might appear the people did give thanks to God for the body and blood of Christ

ut videlicet pro eo quod singulis diebus communicabatur, singulis diebus osculum pacis daretur, pro ministerio vnitatis, quod sacerdos dans ministro dicit in quibusdam locis, sumite vinculis pacis et dilectionis, vt apti sitis sacrosanctis mysteriis, quasi dicat, Sumite ex hoc omnes et dividite inter vos, et pro communione, quæ singulis diebus Dominicis fieri solebat, daretur in diebus Dominicis panis benedictus sanctæ communionis vicarius, q. et eulogia dicitur." p. 201, b.

[1] Petr. Lombard. "Sententiarum Liber." Lib. iv. Dist. xii. "Sed non frequentius, saltem ter in anno homines communicent, nisi forte quis criminalib. impediatur: in Pascha, sc. et Pentecoste, et Natali." p. 747, 8vo. Mogunt. 1632.

[2] Durand. 'Rationale Offic. Divin.' Lib. iv. cap. lvi. 'De Postcommunione.' "Antiphona, quæ Postcommunio a pluribus nuncupatur, ideo sic appellata est: quoniam post communionem, siue in signum, quod communicatio expleta est, concinitur. In primitiua namque ecclesia omnes fideles, qualibet die corpore et sanguine Christi communicabant, ... et statim post communicationem cantus iste fiebat, vt populus ostenderetur gratias et laudes agere de Christi corpore et sanguine susceptis." p. 205, b.

which they had received[1]. Odo Cameracensis saith, that in old times there was no Mass celebrated without some assembly of such as might offer together with him that celebrated, and partake with him of the sacrament. Generally we may say, saith Durandus[2], that that is a lawful Mass at which are present the priest, such as answer unto him, and such as offer and communicate. And Walafridus Strabo[3] agreeth with him, saying, that the very form of the prayers used in the Mass shew so much, where there is mention expressly made of such as offer and communicate. And the book of ecclesiastical observations, intitled Micrologus, written five hundred years since, saith, it is to be known that, according to the ancient Fathers, only the communicants were wont to be present at the celebration of the sacred mysteries; and that the catechumens and penitents were all sent out, as not being fit to communicate. Which the very form of celebrating importeth, in which the priest prayeth, not for his own oblation and communion alone, but that of others also; and especially in the prayer after the communion he seemeth to pray only for the communicants. Neither can it properly be said to be a communion, unless divers do partake of the same sacrifice. Chrysostom[4], writing upon the Ephesians, saith, that he that standeth by, and communicateth not, is impudent and shame-

[1] Odo Eccles. Cameracens. Episc. Sacri Canonis missæ Expositio, Distinct. ii[m]. in verba ["et omnium circumstantium"] "cum primitus missæ sine collecta non fierent, postea mos inolevit Ecclesiæ, solitarias et maxime in cœnobiis fieri missas."—Bibl. Pat. Magn. Tom. XII. Par. i. p. 403, c. fol. Colon. Agripp. 1618.

[2] Durand. 'Rationale Offic. Divin.' Lib. IV. cap. i. § 39. "Generaliter autem dicendum est, quod illa est legitima Missa in qua sunt sacerdos respondens, offerens, atque communicans, sicut ipsa precum compositio euidenti ratione demonstrat." p. 92, b.

[3] Walafrid. Strabo, "De Exordiis et Incrementis rerum Ecclesiasticarum." cap. XXII. *ad fin.* "Quamuis autem, cum soli sacerdotes Missas celebrant, intelligi possit, illos eiusdem actionis esse co-operatores, pro quibus tunc ipsa celebrantur officia, et quorum personam in quibusdam responsionibus sacerdos exequitur: tamen fatendum est, illam esse legitimam Missam, cui intersunt sacerdos, respondens, offerens, atque communicans: sicut ipsa compositis precum euidenti ratione demonstrat." p. 79 'Speculi Missæ.'

[4] Chrysost. in Epist. ad Ephes. cap. i. Hom. iii.—Πᾶς γὰρ ὁ μὴ μετέχων τῶν μυστηρίων, ἀναίσχυντος καὶ ἰταμῶς ἑστηκώς. Tom. XI. p. 23, c.

less. And that not only they that sit down at table, but they that are present at this feast without their wedding-garment, are subject to a fearful judgment. For the master of the feast will not ask, Friend, how durst thou thou sit down? but, How durst thou come in, not having thy wedding-garment? thou abidest, thou singest the hymn with the rest, thou professest thyself worthy, in that thou goest not out with the unworthy; how darest thou abide and not communicate? They that are in the state of penitence are commanded out: if thou be in thy sins, how continuest thou? if thou be unworthy of the sacramental participation, thou art so also of the communion in the prayers. For the Spirit descendeth, and cometh by them, as well as by the mysteries there proposed. And, surely, how any can be present that are not fit, at least in desire and in as much as in them is, to communicate, I know not. In old time they communicated every day, or so often that they might seem to communicate every day; and the holy canons debar all such as did not communicate from hearing of the Mass, as it appeareth[1] *De Consecr.* dist. ii. can. peract. *Cajetan in tertiam Aquinat.*[2]: quæst. lxxx. art. 12. Yet so did devotion decay and abuses grow, that in many places the whole people stayed and were present, yet none but the clergy alone communicated; and afterwards, none but the deacon and subdeacon. Whence it came that whereas the mystical bread was wont to be broken in three parts, whereof the first was for him that celebrated, the second for the clergy,

[1] Gratian. De Consecr. Dist. II. c. xx. "Hi qui intrant in ecclesiam, et deprehenduntur numquam communicare, admoneantur. Quod si non communicant, ad pœnitentiam accedant; si communicant, non semper abstineant: si non fecerint, abstineantur." Coll. 2089, 2090. Ed. fol. Par. 1612.

[2] Cajetan. in Thom. Aquin. Partem iii. Quæst. lxxx. Art. x. "In Art. 10, circa quotidianam celebrationem, nota Aug. verbum.—Sic vive ut quotidie mereris accipere—quum per—sic vivere—intelligendum est, spiritualem vitam sic ducere, ut quotidianâ communione semper augeatur: alioquin non sic vivitur, ut quotidie mereamur accipere"... et Art. xii. "quod vero olim excellens fuerit profectus spiritus, patet et ex eo, quod quotidie aut quasi quotidie communicabant, et ex eo quod sacri canones excludebant ab auditione missæ omnes non communicantes, ut patet de consec. secunda, cap. peracta. Vide Thom. Aquinat. Op. cum Commentariis Thomæ de Vio Cajetani, Tom. VIII. pp. 266. 271. ed. fol. Venet. 1593.

and the third for the people[1]; in time it was so ordered, that a division being made into three parts, he took the one to himself, and gave the other two to the deacon and subdeacon; and in some places did eat all himself. Whatsoever the neglect or abuses were, it is evident by the composition of the canon[2], that the mystical action in which the canon is used was public, and that there were always some present that offered the sacrifice of praise together with the priest, and participated of the sacrament; as these words do clearly shew: *Quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem Filii tui sumpserimus. Item, prosint nobis Domini sacramenta quæ sumpsimus.* And therefore John Hofmeister, a learned man, expounding the prayers of the Mass hath these words[3]: *Res ipsa, inquit, clamat, tam in Græca quam in Latina Ecclesia, non solum sacerdotem sacrificantem, sed et reliquos presbyteros, diaconos, nec non et reliquam plebem, aut saltem plebis aliquam partem, communicasse: quod quomodo cessaverit mirandum est; et ut bonus ille usus in Ecclesiam revocetur, laborandum:* that is, "The thing itself proclaimeth it, that as well in the Greek as Latin Church, not only the priest which sacrificeth, but the other priests and deacons also; yea, and the people, or at least some part of them, did communicate: which good custom how it grew out of use I know not; but surely we should labour to bring it in again." That it was not lawful for the priest to celebrate without the deacon, who was to receive

[1] Durand. Rational. Lib. IV. cap. 54.—"Sane sacerdos ipse omnes partes hostiæ comedit. In quibusdam tamen ecclesiis ipse unam partem sumit, et reliquam eucharistiæ medietatem super patenam in duas partes dividit, quas ministris, s. diacono et subdiacono comedendas impendit." Tom. I. p. 203. ed. 8vo. Lugd. 1584.

[2] Cassand. Georg. Consultat. Art. XXIV. de Missâ.—"Nam cum olim neminem consecrationi mysteriorum interesse licuerit, nisi sacramenta participaret, aut saltem participatione sacramentorum fuisset dignus, consequitur sanè omnes eos qui hisce mysteriis intersunt, ita corporatos esse debere ut laudis et precum sacrificium una cum sacerdote offerre, et sacramenta divina si non ipsa symbolorum perceptione, certè religiosa animi affectione participare queant. p. 994. ed. fol. Par. 1616. Cf. et Canon. Missæ.

[3] "Quare et eruditus ille monachus Joannes Hoffmeisterus in hæc verba suam de hac re sententiam prodidit. Res ipsa, inquit, clamat, &c. &c." Ib. p. 865.

the sacrament at his hand, Cusanus sheweth by that which is in the Missal[1]. *Sumpsimus Domini sacramenta:* "We have received the Sacraments of the Lord," &c. In the Interim[2] published by the Emperor Charles V., in the Assembly at Augusta, on the 15th of May, 1548, we find these words: *Atque hic expedierit, cum verissimum illud et singulare sacrificium offertur, veterem Ecclesiæ morem revocare; quo non solum sacrificans ipse, sed et diaconi, et reliqui Ecclesiæ ministri, qui diebus solennioribus velut testes tanti sacrificii, et necessariorum ministeriorum coadjutores adhibentur, ut perceptionis corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi participes se preberent, seria canonum sanctione jubebantur; sed et fideles omnes, pro recolenda mortis Domini et nostræ redemptionis memoria, ad hoc Mediatoris nostri sacrificium confluentes, sedulis exhortationibus monendi et excitandi sunt, ut prius explorati, confessi, et absoluti, sacrosanctæ communionis gratiam sumant, et divinissimæ Eucharistiæ participationem una cum sacerdote sedulo et devote frequentent:* that is, "And here truly it were expedient, that, when that most true and singular sacrifice is offered, we should renew the old custom of the Church; by which not only he that celebrateth, but the deacons also, and the other ministers of the Church, which on the more solemn days are used as witnesses of so solemn an act, and as coadjutors in respect of sundry necessary ministeries, were commanded, by a serious sanction of the canons, to be partakers of the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood: but all such faithful and believing men, as resort to this sacrifice of our Mediator, to renew the memory of the death of our Lord, and our redemption by the same, should be admonished and stirred up, by effectual and often exhortations, having exa-

[1] Nic. Cusæn. Ep. iii. ad Bohemos.—".....Persuasibile tamen est, sicut non sine mysterio casus et declivitatis ecclesiæ, diaconi in parochiis destiterunt quorum officium erat prius Eucharistiam sub panis specie per sacerdotem traditam cum sanguine confirmare, ut in Ordinario Romano legitur," &c. p. 845, ed. fol. Basil. 1565.

[2] Interim. Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestatis Declaratio, quomodo in negocio religionis per Imperium usque ad definitionem concilii generalis vivendum sit, in comitiis Augustanis xv. Maii, Anno 1548, proposita et publicata; et ab omnibus Imperii ordinibus recepta, &c. &c. .. De communione cum sacrificio jungenda.—"Atque hic expedierit," &c. &c. Ed. 4to. August. Vind. sine anno. Bodl.

mined themselves, confessed their sins, and obtained absolution, to receive the grace of the holy communion, and carefully and devoutly to frequent the participation of the divine Eucharist together with the priest."

By this which hath been said, it appeareth, that the priest's receiving alone, and neglecting or excluding the communicating of others as not much necessary, (his act being available to apply the benefits of Christ's passion without receiving the sacrament), is indeed a point of Romish religion, but not contained in the Mass; for it is contrary to the name of the Mass, the words of the canon, and intendment of them that composed it; contrary to the old canons and the practice of the Church; it proceeded from the indevotion of the people; or, rather, the negligence or error of the guides of the Church, that either failed to stir them up to the performance of such a duty, or made them believe their act was sufficient, to communicate the benefits of Christ's passion to them; not without the dislike of the better sort. So that hitherto no proof is made, that the Church wherein our fathers lived and died was no Protestant Church; but rather the contrary; for this Church did ever protest against this abuse, professed her dislike of the same, and acknowledged that this custom was much different from the ancient.

Honorius in *Gemma Animæ* saith[1], It is reported, that anciently the priests were wont to receive meal in every house or family, which custom the Greeks are said to continue still; and that out of this they made the Lord's bread, which they did offer for the people; and, having consecrated it, distributed it to them. For every of them that offered this meal were present at the Mass, and respectively to them it was said in the canon, *Et omnium circumstantium, qui tibi hoc sacrificium laudis offerunt,* that is, "Consider the devotion of all that stand round about, who offer to thee this sacrifice of praise." But after that the Church increased in number, but decayed in devotion, it was decreed, in respect of carnal men, that they that could, should communicate every Sunday, or on the chief feast-days, or thrice in the

[1] Honor. "Gemma Animi," sive "De Divinis Officiis, et antiquo ritu Missarum." cap. lxvi. "Fertur quod olim sacerdotes e singulis domibus vel familiis farinam accipiebant, quod adhuc Græci servant." Vid. Patr. Bibl. Magn. Tom. XII. Par. i. p. 1026, D.

year. And now because, the people ceasing to communicate, so great a quantity of bread was no longer necessary, it was decreed that it should be formed in fashion of a penny; and instead of offering meal, they offered every one a penny, by which they acknowledged Christ's being sold for a certain number of pence. These pence were converted either to the benefit of the poor, or for providing of something pertaining to the sacrifice: and instead of the consecrated bread they were wont to receive, there was given them holy bread, as they called it. Whatsoever men think of this which Honorius hath, of offering meal, it is certain that in the primitive Church[1] they did offer those things that were to be consecrated in the sacrament; and that the bread that was there consecrated was usual and loafy bread, and in form round[2]; as it appeareth by Epiphanius *in Ancoratu*, and Gregory in his Dialogues, who calleth the bread of consecration *coronas*[3], round loaves: all which things shew a Protestant Church.

Wherefore, let us come to the next point of Romish religion, supposed to be contained in the Mass; which is, the depriving of the people of the one part of the sacrament, and the giving them the same only in one kind. In the primitive Church, saith Lyra[4], the sacrament was ministered

[1] Durand. 'Ration. Divin. Offic.' Lib. IV. cap. 53. De pacis osculo. "Offerebant enim magnum panem et omnibus sufficientem, quod adhuc Græci servare dicuntur." p. 201, b.

[2] Epiphan. in Anchoratu. Cap. lvii. τὸ μὲν γάρ ἐστι στρογγυλοειδὲς καὶ ἀναίσθητον, ὡς πρός τινα δύναμιν, κ.τ.λ. Illud enim rotundum est, et, quod ad vim attinet, sensus expers, &c. Tom. II. p. 60, B. ed. Petav. fol. Par. 1622.

[3] Gregor. Mag. Dial. IV. cap. 55.—δύο οὖν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ προσφορὰς λαβὼν ὁ πρεσβύτερος, ἐπορεύθη. "Tunc duas secum oblationum coronas detulit." Tom. II. coll. 463—4. Ed. Ben. fol. Par. 1705.

[4] Lyra, in Prov. cap. IX. ". . . . . Sacramentum Eucharistiæ in quo sub specie panis continetur corpus Christi immolatum: quod est fidelium cibus. Miscuit vinum, dedit nobis sanguinem suum, quod conficitur in vino aqua mixto. . . . . Venite et comedite panem meum, corpus meum sub specie panis exhibitum. Et bibite vinum quod miscui vobis, id est, sanguinem meum sub specie vini in quo admiscetur aqua. In utraque enim specie communicabant antiquitus fideles, sed propter periculum sanguinis effusionis, ordinatum est, quod datur laicis sub specie panis tantum." Expos. in Bibl. Tom. II. ed. fol. Romæ, 1472.

in both kinds. Dionysius Carthusinus[1] agreeth with him, affirming the same: which thing may be proved by innumerable testimonies of antiquity. Ignatius[2] saith, there is one bread broken to all, and one cup distributed to all. After the offering is made, let every one, saith Clement[3], in order take the Lord's body and his precious blood, with all reverent shamefacedness and fear. The bread, saith Dionysius[4], which was one, is broken in parts; and the cup that is but one, is divided amongst all. Justin Martyr[5], in his second Apology, saith, that after he that is the president hath finished his thanksgiving, and the people, by a joyful acclamation, have approved and consented to the same, the deacons and ministers divide unto every one of them that are present, that each one may partake of that bread, wine, and water, over which the blessing and thanksgiving hath been poured out; and they do bear the same to them that are absent. Of whose hand, saith Tertullian[6] (speaking of a

[1] Dionys. Carthus. in epist. ad Corinth. i. c. xi.—"In primitivâ namque ecclesia dabatur hoc sacramentum sub utrâque specie. Sed postea ordinatum est, ne detur populo sub specie vini, propter periculum effusionis." fol. 134. c. D. ed. 8vo. Par. 1548.

[2] Ignat. ad Philad. §. iv.—*μία γὰρ σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἓν ποτήριον εἰς ἕνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ.*—Cf. et epist. interpol. ad Philad. §. iv.—*μία γάρ ἐστιν ἡ σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἓν αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐκχυθέν· εἷς καὶ ἄρτος τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐθρύφθη, καὶ ἓν ποτήριον τοῖς ὅλοις διενεμήθη.* Tom. II. pp. 31, et 76, 77; Patr. Apost. ed. Coteler. fol. Amstel. 1724.

[3] Clem. Constitut. Apost. Lib. II. c. 57.—*μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γινέσθω ἡ θυσία, ἑστῶτος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ προσευχομένου ἡσύχως, καὶ ὅταν ἀνενεχθῇ μεταλαμβάνετω ἑκάστη τάξις καθ' ἑαυτὴν τοῦ κυριακοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος, ἐν τάξει, μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ εὐλαβείας, ὡς βασιλέως προσερχόμενοι σώματι.*—Patr. Apost. ad Coteler. Tom. I. p. 268.—fol. Amstel. 1724.

[4] Dionys. Eccl. Hier. cap. iii. Par. 3.—*τὸν γὰρ εγκεκαλυμμένον καὶ ἀδιαίρετον ἄρτον ἀνακαλύψας, καὶ εἰς πολλὰ διελὼν, καὶ τὸ ἑνιαῖον τοῦ ποτηρίου πᾶσι καταμερίσας, συμβολικῶς τὴν ἑνότητα πληθύνει καὶ διανέμει, παναγεστάτην ἐν τούτοις ἱερουργίαν τελῶν.* p. 103, fol. Lutet. Par. 1615.

[5] Justin. Mart. Apolog. i. §. 65.—*ευχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος, καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ, οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι, διδόασιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλάβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀποφέρουσι.* p. 83, A. ed. Maran. fol. Par. 1742.

[6] Tertull. ad Uxorem, Lib. II. §. 6.—"Cujus manum desiderabit, de cujus poculo participabit?" p. 170. A. ed. Rigalt. fol. Par. 1664.

faithful woman married to an infidel) shall she receive, and of whose cup shall she partake? Cyprian[1], in his Epistle to Cornelius, How do we teach or provoke them in and for the confession of Christ's name to shed their blood, if we deny unto them, when they are to enter into this warfare, the blood of Christ? or how shall we make them fit for the cup of martyrdom, if we shall not first admit them to drink the cup of the Lord, *jure communicationis*, "by the right of communicating?" and in another place[2]: Therefore they daily drink the cup of Christ's blood, that they may shed their blood for Christ. And in a third place[3], speaking of a certain child that had been polluted in the idol's temple, he saith: When as the solemnities were fulfilled, the deacon began to offer the cup to them that were present, and when other had received, her course came; but the little girl, by the instinct of God, turned away her face, and began to close her mouth with her lips, and to refuse the cup; but the deacon desisted not, but though she resisted, poured into her mouth out of the chalice. And, disputing against them that were named *Aquarii*, he saith[4], In ministering the cup to the people, contrary to that which Christ did and taught, they give water instead of wine. Let them tell us, saith Origen[5], what people that is that use to drink blood. Am-

[1] Cyprian, Epist. ad Cornelium, No. lvii.—"Nam quomodo docemus aut provocamus eos in confessione nominis sanguinem suum fundere, si eis militaturis Christi sanguinem denegamus? aut quomodo ad martyrii poculum idoneos facimus, si non eos prius ad bibendum in Ecclesiâ poculum Domini jure conjurationis admittimus?" p. 117. ed. Fell. fol. Oxon. 1682.

[2] "Considerantes idcirco se quotidie calicem sanguinis Christi bibere, ut possint et ipsi propter Christum sanguinem fundere."—Cyprian, Epist. lviii. p. 120. ed. cit.

[3] Cyprian, Serm. de lapso.—"Ubi vero solennibus adimpletis calicem diaconus offerre præsentibus cœpit, et accipientibus ceteris locus ejus advenit; faciem suam parvula instinctu divinæ majestatis avertere, os labiis obturantibus premere, calicem recusare. Perstitit tamen diaconus, et reluctanti licet de sacramento calicis infudit." p. 132. ed. cit.

[4] Cyprian, Ep. lxiii.—"... tamen quoniam quidam vel ignoranter vel simpliciter in calice Dominico sanctificando, et plebi ministrando, non hoc faciunt, quod Jesus Christus, Dominus et Deus noster, sacrificii hujus auctor et doctor fecit et docuit," &c. .... "Sanguis Christi non aqua est utique sed vinum." p. 149. ed. cit.

[5] Origen. in "Numer." Hom. xvi.—"Quomodo enim iste populus

brose[1]: If so often as the blood of Christ is poured out, it be poured out for the remission of sins, it behoveth me always to receive it, that my sins may be forgiven me. Laurence[2] the deacon saith, Sixtus the bishop committed unto him the dispensation of the Lord's blood, and made him his consort in consummating the sacraments. Hierom[3] upon Sophonie: The priests which do serve about the eucharist, and distribute the blood of the Lord unto his people, do wickedly against the law of Christ when they think that the words, not the life of him that prayeth, make the eucharist. Augustine[4]: *Cum frangitur hostia, dum sanguis de calice in ora fidelium funditur, quid aliud quam Dominici corporis in cruce immolatio, ejusque sanguinis de latere effusio designatur?* That is, "When the host is broken, and the blood poured out of the chalice into the mouths of the faithful, what other thing is represented thereby but the offering of Christ's body on the cross, and the pouring of the blood out of his

tam laudabilis, tam magnificus, de quo tanta præconia sermo Dei enumerat, in hoc veniet ut sanguinem vulneratorum bibat." Tom. II. p. 334, D. Op. fol. Paris. 1733.

[1] Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. IV. cap. vi. §. 28.—"Si quotiescumque effunditur sanguis, in remissionem peccatorum funditur, debeo illum semper accipere, ut semper mihi peccata dimittantur. Qui semper pecco, semper debeo habere medicinam." Tom. II. col. 372, E. ed. Ben. fol. Par. 1686.

[2] Ambros. de Offic. Ministr. Lib. I. cap. xli. §. 214.—"Non prætereamus etiam sanctum Laurentium, qui cum videret Xystum episcopum suum ad martyrium duci, flere cœpit, non passionem illius, sed suam remansionem. Itaque his verbis appellare cœpit: Quo progrederis sine filio, pater: quo, sacerdos sancte, sine diacono properas tuo? Numquam sacrificium sine ministro offerre consueveras. Quid in me ergo displicuit, pater? Num degenerem probasti? Experire certe utrum idoneum ministrum elegeris. Cui commisisti Dominici sanguinis consecrationem, cui consummandorum consortium sacramentorum huic sanguinis tui consortium negas?" Tom. II. col. 54, F. et 55, A. ed. cit.

[3] Hieron. in Sophon. Proph. cap. iii.—"Sacerdotes quoque qui Eucharistiæ serviunt, et sanguinem Domini populis ejus dividunt, impie agunt in legem Christi, putantes εὐχαριστίαν imprecantis facere verba, non vitam," &c. Tom. III. col. 1671. Op. fol. Par. 1704.

[4] "Aug. in sent. Prosp. et de Consecr. d. 2. c. cum frangitur." [Vid. Corp. Juris Canon. Decret. pars 3. de Consecrat. dist. 9. cap. xxxvii. col. 1159. Ed. Lips. 1839.]

side?" Nazianzen[1]: *Reverere mysticam mensam ad quam accessisti, panem quem participasti, poculum cui communicasti, passionibus Christi initiatus:* "Reverence the Lord's table to which thou hast access, the bread whereof thou hast been partaker, the cup in which thou hast communicated, being initiated in the passions of Christ." Cyril of Hierusalem[2]: *Concava manu suscipe corpus Christi dicens, Amen: tum vero post communionem corporis Christi accede, et ad calicem illius, &c. dicens, Amen:* that is, "Receive the body of Christ with a hollow hand, saying, Amen: and after the partaking of the body of Christ, come also to the cup of the Lord, &c., saying, Amen." And Chrysostom, most fully to this purpose[3]: "It is not now, as in the time of the old Testament, where the priest did eat some things, and the people some other; and where it was not lawful for the people to partake of those things whereof the priest did partake: but one body is proposed to all, and one cup." Gregory[4]: "His body is there received, his flesh is there divided for the salvation of the people; his blood is not now shed upon the hands of infidels, but into the mouths of believers." *Ordo Romanus*, put forth by Cassander[5]; The archdeacon taking the chalice, confirmeth all

[1] xl. *εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα.* §. 31. "*αἰδέσθητι τὴν μυστικὴν τράπεζαν, ᾗ προσῆλθες· τὸν ἄρτον οὗ μετείληφας· τὸ ποτήριον οὗ κεκοινώνηκας τοῖς Χρίστου πάθεσι τελειούμενος.*" Gregor. Naz. Orat. Op. Tom. I. p. 716. fol. Par. 1778.

[2] Cyril. Hieros. Catech. Myst. v. §. 18.—"*καὶ κοιλάνας τὴν παλάμην δέχου τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χρίστου, ἐπιλέγων, Ἀμήν.*" §. 19. "*εἶτα μετὰ τοῦ κοινωνῆσαί σε τοῦ σώματος Χρίστου, προσέρχου, καὶ τῷ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ αἵματος, κ. τ. λ. λέγων, Ἀμήν.*" p. 301. fol. Oxon. 1703.

[3] "*οὐ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς, τὰ μὲν ὁ ἱερεὺς ἤσθιε, τὰ δὲ ὁ ἀρχόμενος, καὶ θέμις οὐκ ἦν τῷ λαῷ μετέχειν ὧν μετεῖχεν ὁ ἱερεύς· ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν. ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἓν σῶμα πρόκειται, καὶ ποτήριον ἕν.*"—Chrysost. in Ep. ad Corinth. ii. Hom. xviii. Tom. x. p. 568. fol. Par. 1732.

[4] "*ἡ γὰρ αὐτοῦ σὰρξ ἐκεῖσε μερίζεται εἰς τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ σωτηρίαν. ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, οὐχὶ λοιπὸν εἰς χεῖρας τῶν ἀπίστων ἀλλ' ἐν στόματι πιστῶν ἐκχέεται.*"—Gregor. Mag. Dialog. Lib. IV. c. 58. Tom. II. p. 471. fol. Par. 1705.

[5] "Archidiaconus, recepto calice de manu Episcopi primi, confirmat omnes sanguine Dominico, quos communicaverit Pontifex corpore Dominico," atque infra. "Postea Episcopi sive Presbyteri communicant populum, et post eos Diaconi confirmant." Cassand. Ord. Rom. Liturg. cap. xxii. p. 51. fol. Par. 1616.

them with the Lord's blood, whom the pope had ceased to communicate in the body of the Lord. And again: As the archdeacon doth confirm those that the pope communicateth in the body of the Lord, so do the other deacons confirm them that the other bishops or priests communicate. *Liber Sacramentorum*, put out by Gregory[1], prescribeth thus: When the priest giveth the Lord's body, let him say, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ keep thee unto eternal life. Amen." And let him that receiveth, say: "I will receive the celestial bread, and will call on the name of the Lord." Also, when the priest giveth the cup, let him say: "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ keep thee unto eternal life;" and let him that receiveth it, say: "I will receive the cup of salvation." Beda[2]: "The body of Christ is not killed, nor his blood shed, by the hands of infidels, to their own destruction; but it is received by the mouth of believers to salvation." The eleventh council of Toledo[3] provideth, that such as through

[1] "Ex libro sacramentorum beati Gregorii: Dum Dominicum corpus sacerdos dat, dicat, Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat te ad vitam æternam. Amen. Accipiens dicat, Panem cœlestem accipiam, et nomen Domini invocabo. Item sacerdos calicem dando dicat, Sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat te ad vitam æternam. Amen. Accipiens dicat, Calicem salutaris accipiam."—Cassand. Georg. Liturg. cap. xxxi. p. 75, ed. cit.

[2] ". . . . . ; sicque corpus et sanguis illius non infidelium manibus ad perniciem ipsorum funditur et occiditur; sed fidelium ore suam sumitur in salutem."—Bedæ Homil. Hiem. de Sanctis. In Epiphan. Domini, Joann. I. Math. iii; Marc. i.; Luc. iii; Tom. VII. col. 320. Op. ed. fol. Colon. Agripp. 1612.

[3] "Cum nihil in divino canone debeat esse confusum, nihil dubium, nihil etiam indiscretum, in collatione nostri cœtus relatus est canon Toletani Concilii primi, in quo præceptum est, ut si quis acceptam a sacerdote eucharistiam non sumpserit, veluti sacrilegus propellatur: nec adjecta est ibi discretio voluntatum cum et infidelis infideliter hæc talia agat, et fidelis fideliter accipiat, quod naturalis illum necessitas deglutire non sinit. Solet enim humanæ naturæ infirmitas, in ipso mortis exitu prægravata, tanto siccitatis pondere deprimi, ut nullis ciborum illationibus refici, sed vix tantundem illati delectetur poculi gratia sustentari. Quod etiam in multorum exitu vidimus, qui, optatum suis votis sacræ communionis expetentes viaticum, collatam sibi a sacerdote Eucharistiam rejecerunt: non quod infidelitate hoc agerent, sed præter Dominici calicis haustum traditam sibi non possent Eucharistiam deglutire. Non ergo huiusmodi a corpore Ecclesiæ separandi sunt, qui talia non infidelitate, sed necessitate fecerunt, præsertim

weakness cannot receive the whole sacrament, but only drink of the mystical cup, shall not for this be separated from the body of Christ. Charles the Great[1]: "The mystery of the Lord's body and blood is daily received of the faithful in the sacrament." Rabanus Moguntinus[2]: "God would have the sacraments of his body and blood received into the mouths of the faithful, that by the visible work the invisible effect might be shewed." Paschasius[3]: "It is he only that breaketh this bread, and by the hands of his ministers distributes it to the believers, saying, Take ye and drink ye all of this, as well ministers as other believers: for this is the cup of my blood of the new and eternal Testament." Haimo[4], upon the 1 Cor. x.: "The cup is called a communication, as it were a participation: because all do communicate of it, and do take part of the blood of the Lord which it containeth in it." Rupertus Abbas[5]: "The priest distributeth the bread and wine, putting them into the mouths of the faithful." Anselm[6]:

de quibus nihil fidei sinistræ sentitur. Placuit ergo definire, quod nec fideli officiat, nec infideli inultum existat. Quicunque ergo fidelis, inevitabili qualibet infirmitate coactus, Eucharistiam perceptam rejecerit, in nullo Ecclesiasticæ damnationi subjaceat," &c.—Concil. Toletan. xi. can. xi. apud Binium. Tom IV. p. 824, F. col. 2, et 825, A. col. 1.

[1] "Corporis et sanguinis Dominici mysterium quotidie in sacramento a fidelibus sumitur."—Caroli Mag. de Imagin. Lib. IV. cap. XIV. [in Goldast. Imperialia directa de cultu Imaginum. Francf. 1610.]

[2] "Maluit enim Dominus corporis et sanguinis sui sacramenta fidelium ore percipi, et in pastum eorum redigi, ut per visibile opus invisibilis ostenderetur effectus."—Raban. Mogunt. de institut. cleric. Lib. I. cap. XXXI. (Tom. VI. p. xi. c. fol. Colon. Agripp. 1626.)

[3] "Hic solus est qui frangit hunc panem et per manus ministrorum distribuit credentibus, dicens, Accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes, tam ministri quam et reliqui credentes: hic est calix sanguinis mei novi et æterni testamenti."—Paschas. de Corpore et Sanguine Domini. cap. XV. Tom. IX. Pars 1. p. 132. E. Magn. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Colon. Agripp. 1618.

[4] "Appellatur et ipse calix communicatio, quasi participatio, quia omnes communicant ex illo, partemque sumunt ex sanguine Domini quem continet in se."—Haimo in 1 Corinth. x. 16.

[5] ". . . . sacrificium, quod cum in ora fidelium sacerdos distribuit, panis et vinum absumitur et transit."—Rupert. Abb. de Divinis Officiis, Lib. II. cap. IX. Tom. IV. p. 19. fol. Ven. 1749.

[6] "Omnes qui de uno pane ac de uno calice Domini sumimus unum corpus efficimur."—Anselm. in 1 Corinth. x. 17. Tom. II. p. 140. D. Colon. Agripp. 1612.

"All we which receive of one bread and one cup of the Lord are made one body." Lanfrancus[1] hath the same words that afore we cited out of Augustin. Algerus[2]: "Because we live so by bread and drink, that we cannot want either of them, Christ would have them both in his sacrament, lest, if either were wanting, the signification of life being imperfect, he might be thought to be imperfect life." Petrus Cluniacensis abbas[3]: "The flesh of Christ was given to man to be eaten under the form of bread, and the blood of Christ to be drunk under the form of wine; that as men do principally use bread and wine, for the maintaining of this present life, so for the life that is eternal they might be fed with the body and blood of Christ, here spiritually, and hereafter both spiritually and corporally." "In the primitive Church," saith Cajetan[4], "the people did communicate in both kinds, as appeareth in the 1 Cor. xi. This custom continued, not only in the time of persecution, and in the time of the martyrs, whom Cyprian would have to be comforted and strengthened with drinking the cup of the Lord before they came to drink of the cup of martyrdom, but even in the time of peace also. And therefore, we read not

[1] Lanfran. de Eucharist. de Corp. et Sang. Dom. advers. Berengar. cap. xiii. p. 240. c. fol. ed. Dacher. Lut. Par. 1648.

[2] "Quia cibo et potu ita vivimus ut alterutro carere nequeamus, utrumque in sacramento suo esse voluit; ne si alterutrum deesset quasi imperfecto vitæ signo ipse non plena sed imperfecta vita signari videretur."—Alger. de Sacramento. Lib. II. cap. v. [Tom. XII. Part 1. p. 437. H. Magn. Biblioth. Vet. Patr.]

[3] "Datus est caro Christi sub specie panis ad comedendum, datus est sanguis Christi sub vini forma hominibus ad bibendum, ut sicut pane et vino ad vitam mortalem principaliter homines utuntur, sic ad vitam immortalem quæ est ipse Christus, corpore Christi et sanguine hic spiritualiter, postmodum vero tam spiritualiter quam corporaliter in æternum pascantur."—Petr. Cluniac. Contra Petrobrusianos hæreticos. p. 238. F. (Magn. Biblioth. Vet. Patr.) Tom. XII. Part 2.

[4] "Secundo, exemplo primitivæ ecclesiæ; tunc enim populus communicabat sub utraque specie, ut patet ad Cor. ii. Tertio, exemplo diuturnæ perseverationis, nam hujusmodi consuetudo perseveravit non solum tempore martyrum (quos Cyprianus Dominico poculo præconfortandos censuit), sed ex tempore pacis ecclesiæ, cum legamus factas non solum patenas sed etiam calices ministeriales; quare enim ministeriales dicti sunt nisi quia non ad offerendum sed ad ministrandum populo Christi sanguinem deserviebant?"—Cajetan. In tertiam Aquin. 80. qu. art. 12. quæst. 3. p. 271. ed. fol. Ven. 1594.

only of the making and providing of dishes, but of ministerial chalices, much different from those wherein they now consecrate and out of which the priest receiveth; which were therefore named ministerial chalices, because they served, not to offer, but to minister the blood of Christ to the people." In the pontifical of Damasus[1], in the life of Sylvester[2], we read that Constantine builded a Church in the city of Naples, where he offered two plates or dishes, and ten ministerial chalices, weighing every one of them two pounds. Of this sort was that of blessed Remigius[3], as we find in Hincmarus, in which these verses were.

Hauriat hinc populus vitam de sanguine sacro, &c. That is, Let the people draw life out of this sacred blood. "Our Fathers," saith Joachimus Vadianus[4], "did see, in the greater Church of Sangalli, a chalice gilded with gold, that weighed threescore and ten marks of silver, provided, no doubt, for the public communion of the people formerly used." Beatus Rhenanus[5] saith, that "Conradus Pellicanus, a man of wonder-

[1] "Fecit basilicam beatissimus Constantinus Augustus in urbe Neapolitana, cui obtulit et dona hæc patenas argenteas duas pensantes sing. libras viginti quinque, calices ministeriales 15 pensan. sing. libras duas, ..." &c. Aliter Anastasius Bibliothecarius de Vitis Pontificum. (In corp. Hist. Byzant. scriptor. fol. Ven. 1729. Tom. XIX. p. 10. Pontifical of Damasus. citat. a Cassandro. Liturg. cap. XXXI. [p. 75. fol. Par. 1616.]

[2] "In vitis Pontificum Damasi, et præsertim in vita Sylvestri, subinde mentio fit calicum ministeralium, quos Imperatores et Pontifices, maxime autem Constantinus, Ecclesiis a se fundatis aureos et argenteos contulisse leguntur. Cur autem ministeriales dicti sint, declarat Caietanus," &c. &c. . . . ." Cassand. G. Liturg. cap. XXXI. p. 75, ed. cit.

[3] "Ejusmodi calicem ministerialem Icmarus in vita B. Remigii eum fieri jussisse, et in ejus circuitu hosce versiculos a se compositos insculpi curasse, tradit:

> Hauriat hinc populus vitam de sanguine sacro,
> Injecto æternus quem fudit vulnere Christus.
> Remigius reddit domino sua vota sacerdos."

Hincmarus in vita B. Remigii (in Cassandr. ubi supr.)

[4] "In nostra ecclesia majori Sangalli calicem viderunt patres nostri inauratum ponderis septuaginta marcarum argenti, ad plebeiam illam et publicam communionem haud dubie factum." Joachim. Vadian. Aphorism. de Eucharist. Lib. VI. p. 231. (Ed. 8°. Tigur. 1585.)

[5] "Idem nuper reperit in primis Cartusiorum constitutionibus Conradus Pellicanus, homo miræ sanctitatis ac eruditionis, ubi pro-

ful sanctity and learning, did find in the first constitution of the Carthusians, that they are forbidden to possess any vessels of price, besides a silver chalice, and a pipe with which the lay people might suck out the blood of our Lord. Besides, the book written more than four hundred years since, concerning the treasures of the Church of Mentz, amongst chalices of gold of a great weight having handles and golden crosses, &c., reckoneth also silver pipes, six in number, if I be not deceived, deputed to this use of sucking out the blood of our Lord; which I suppose, saith he, the archbishop was wont to use." Ordo Romanus[1] sheweth, that when the Bishop of Rome doth celebrate, the archdeacon giveth him to drink of the holy

hibetur ne quicquam preciosorum vasorum possideant, præter calicem argenteum et fistulam quâ laici Dominicum exsorbeant sanguinem. Præterea, libellus de veteribus thesauris ecclesiæ Magontiacensis abhinc annos quadringentos et eo amplius conscriptus, qui nunc non est ad manum, inter aureos calices ingentis ponderis ansatos, cruces aureas, ... fistulas quoque recenset argenteus, ni fallor, sex, in hunc hauriendi sacrosancti sanguinis usum deputatas, quibus arbitror archiepiscopum olim uti solitum."—Beatus Rhenanus in Tertull. de Coron. Milit. Tom. II. p. 860. Ed. Pamel. fol. Par. 1635.

[1] "Ipse pontifex confirmatur ab archidiacono in calice sancto, de quo parum refundit archidiaconus in majorem calicem, sive in scyphum quem tenet acolytus, ut ex eodem sacro vase confirmetur populus: quia vinum etiam non consecratum sed sanguine Domini commixtum sanctificatur per omnem modum. Accedunt primum episcopi secundum ordinem de manu pontificis communicare; et post eos ascendunt presbyteri omnes ut communicent ad altare. Cum autem communicaverit archidiaconus, calicem interea tenet primus episcopus. Sicut enim in Romana ecclesia summo pontifici ministrant episcopi, sic in cæteris ecclesiis debent episcopis facere presbyteri. Recepto calice, archidiaconus confirmat omnes sanguine Dominico quos communicaverit pontifex corpore Dominico. Hoc officio juxta altare peracto, et pugillari cum quo confirmetur populus per subdiaconum regionarium jam accepto, traditur calix ab archidiacono eidem subdiacono perferendus acolyto ut reponatur in paratorio. Deinde descendit pontifex cum primicerio notariorum et primicerio defensorum ut communicet principes populorum et matresfamilias eorum. Et sicut archidiaconus confirmat quos pontifex communicat, sic reliqui diaconi confirmant quos episcopi sive presbyteri post pontificem communicant. Sed cum cœperit pontifex clerum sive populum communicare, schola incipit antiphonam ad communionem psallere, ac deinde nutu pontificis, Gloria Patri, ..." &c.—Ordo Romanus. Tom. XIII. p. 666. Maxima Biblioth. Vet. Patr. de La Bigne. Lugd. 1677.

chalice, and afterwards poureth a little out of the same into a greater chalice or cup, which the acolyte doth hold, that the people may be confirmed, or receive the sacrament of the Lord's blood, out of the sacred vessel. For the wine that was not consecrated being mingled with the blood of Christ, is altogether sanctified. The bishops, therefore, come in order to receive of the hand of the pope, and after them all the priests come up, that they may communicate at the altar; and while the archdeacon communicateth, the chief bishop that is present holdeth the chalice: for as bishops attend the pope in the church of Rome, so priests should attend and assist bishops in other Churches. The archdeacon, after he hath communicated, receiveth the chalice back again from the bishop, and confirmeth all those with the Lord's blood, to whom the pope hath given the communion of the body of our Lord. This service being performed by the altar, having received by the subdeacon the pipe with which the people are to be confirmed, the archdeacon delivereth the chalice to be carried to the acolyte, to be laid up by him in the vestry. Then doth the pope go down, to give the communion to the princes of the people, and their wives; and as the archdeacon doth confirm those to whom the pope giveth the communion of the Lord's body, so do the other deacons confirm them, to whom (after the pope hath ministered to those of the better sort) the other bishops and priests do give the communion: and as soon as the pope beginneth to minister the communion to the clergy and people, the school of singers beginneth to sing the anthem appointed for the communion; and after that, when the pope thinketh fit, Glory be to the Father, &c."

Here we see a cloud of witnesses testifying for the communion in both kinds: whereupon Cassander[1] feareth not to pronounce, that he verily thinketh it cannot be shewed that the sacrament of the Eucharist was any otherwise ministered, in any part of the Catholic Church, to the faithful people in the holy assembly from the Lord's table, for a thousand years and more, but under both the sacramental signs of bread and wine. Neither can this saying of Cassander be refuted, by

[1] "Ecclesia Orientalis quidem in hunc usque diem, Occidentalis vero sive Romana mille amplius annis continuis, non aliter quam sub duplici hac specie .... sacramentum hoc .... administrasse legitur." —Cassander de Comm. sub utraque specie. (p. 1025. fol. Par. 1616.)

that in the second of the Acts, where the faithful are said to have continued in the breaking of bread and prayer; nor by that we read in antiquity of the lay communion, which Cajetan childishly urgeth: for sundry worthy divines in the Roman Church have sufficiently shewed the weakness of these silly allegations.

Let us see, therefore, how the Communion in one kind came into the Church. It appeareth, by Leo the First[1], that the Manichees, as they denied Christ to have been born in the truth of our flesh, so they denied him to have truly died and risen again; and therefore they used to fast upon that day that is to us the day of salvation and joy. And whereas, to hide their infidelity and heresy, they came sometimes to the Churches of Catholics, and were present at the celebration of the sacred mysteries, they did so temper the matter, that with unworthy mouths they received the Lord's body, but declined to drink the blood of our redemption. Leo carefully endeavoured to make this thing known to all, that by these signs they might be descried, that their sacrilegious dissembling might be found out, and that being discovered, they might, by sacerdotal authority, be cast out of the society of the saints. By this of Leo it appeareth, that the Manichees, out of an heretical conceit, began to communicate in one kind, and that all were wont to communicate in both kinds; that hereby the Manichees might be discovered, and known from other right believers, in that they would communicate but in one kind alone. Which thing also Andradius doth rightly note.

In the time of Gelasius there were certain found, that, out of some superstitious conceit, would not communicate in both kinds. We have found, saith Gelasius[2], that certain having

[1] "Manichæi, ... Christum Dominum nostrum in veræ naturæ nostræ carne vere natum, vere passum, vere sepultum, et vere suscitatum esse non credunt. Et ob hoc, diem salutis et lætitiæ nostræ sui jejunii mœrore condemnant. Cumque ad tegendum infidelitatem suam nostris audeant interesse mysteriis, ita in sacramentorum communione se temperant, ut interdum, ne penitus latere non possint, ore indigno Christi corpus accipiant, sanguinem autem redemptionis nostræ haurire omnino declinent."—Leo. Serm. de Quadr. iv. aliter Serm. XLI. cap. v. Tom. I. p. 217. 4°. Par. 1675.

[2] "Comperimus autem quod quidam, sumpta tantummodo corporis sacri portione, a calice sacri cruoris abstineant. Qui proculdubio

received a portion of the sacred body only, abstain from the cup of the most holy blood. Which men, because they are said to be holden with I know not what superstition, either let them receive the whole Sacrament, or let them be put and kept from the whole, seeing there can be no division of one and the same mystery, without grievous sacrilege.

Thirdly, whereas in case of necessity, as when children, or such as were sick and weak were to receive the communion, the ancients did sometimes dip the mystical bread into the consecrated wine, and so gave it unto them; as it appeareth by the history of Serapion[1], by that which Cyprian[2] and Prosper[3] report; and by that which the Council of Turon[4] prescribeth, that the Eucharist which is reserved for the

(quoniam nescio quâ superstitione docentur obstringi) aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur: quia divisio unius ejusdem mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire."—[Gratian. Decret. Part III. col. 2087. fol. Par. 1612.] Gelasius, Can. Comper. de Consecrat. distinct. ii. cap. xii.

[1] Σαραπίων τις ἦν παρ' ἡμῖν πιστὸς γέρων, ἀμέμπτως μὲν τὸν πολὺν διαβιώσας χρόνον, ἐν δὲ τῷ πειρασμῷ πεσών οὗτος πολλάκις ἐδεῖτο, καὶ οὐδεὶς προσεῖχεν αὐτῷ, καὶ γὰρ ἐτεθύκει· ἐν νόσῳ δὲ γενόμενος, τριῶν ἐξῆς ἡμερῶν ἄφωνος καὶ ἀναίσθητος διετέλεσε. βραχὺ δὲ ἀνασφήλας τῇ τετάρτῃ προσεκαλέσατο τὸν θυγατριδοῦν· καὶ μέχρι τίνος, φησὶν, ὦ τέκνον, κατέχετε; δέομαι σπεύσατε, καί με θᾶττον ἀπολύσατε, τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μοί τινα κάλεσον. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, πάλιν ἦν ἄφωνος. Ἕδραμεν ὁ παῖς ἐπὶ τὸν πρεσβύτερον· ἦν δὲ νύξ. Κἀκεῖνος ἠσθένει. Ἀφικέσθαι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐδυνήθη. Ἐντολῆς δὲ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δεδομένης, τοὺς ἀπαλλαττομένους τοῦ βίου, εἰ δέοιντο, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ καὶ πρότερον ἱκετεύσαντες τύχοιεν ἀφίεσθαι, ἵν' εὐέλπιδες ἀπαλλάττωνται, βραχὺ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἐπέδωκεν τῷ παιδαρίῳ ἀποβρέξαι κελεύσας καὶ τῷ πρεσβύτῃ κατὰ τοῦ στόματος ἐπιστάξαι. Ἐπανῆκεν ὁ παῖς φέρων· ἐγγύς τε γενομένου, πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν, ἀνενέγκας πάλιν ὁ Σαραπίων, Ἧκες, ἔφη, τέκνον; Καὶ ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος ἐλθεῖν οὐκ ἠδυνήθη, σὺ δὲ ποίησον ταχέως τὸ προσταχθὲν, καὶ ἀπάλλαττέ με. Ἀπέβρεξεν ὁ παῖς, καὶ ἅμα τε ἐνέχεε τῷ στόματι. Καὶ μικρὸν ἐκεῖνος καταβροχθίσας εὐθέως ἀπέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα. Ἆρ' οὐκ ἐναργῶς διετηρήθη καὶ παρέμεινεν ἕως λυθῇ, καὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐξαλειφθείσης, ἐπὶ πολλοῖς οἷς ἔπραξε καλοῖς ὁμολογηθῆναι δυνηθῇ;—Euseb. H. E. vi. 44. et Dionys. Alexandr.

[2] Cyprian: vid. n. 1, p. 32.

[3] [Pseudo-Prosper. in Append. p. 193. ed. fol. Par. 1711.] "... cum eadem puella brevem particulam corporis Dominici tinctam a sacerdote perciperet....."—Prosper. de Promiss. Dei dim. temp. cap. 6.

[4] "Omnis presbyter habeat pyxidem,.... ubi corpus Domini cum diligentia recondatur ad viaticum recedentibus de sæculo."—Concil. Turon. apud Ivonem, Decret. Part II. cap. xix.

voyage provision of such as are ready to depart hence, shall be dipped in the blood of the Lord, that so the priest may truly say, "The body and blood of our Lord be beneficial unto thee unto eternal life;" some began to bring in this manner of dipping into the ordinary communion, under pretence of careful avoiding the danger of shedding the blood of Christ, and greater reverence towards the same. For certain monks brought the same custom into their monasteries, ingenuously confessing that herein they did contrary to the custom of other Churches[1]; but that they were forced so to do by the rudeness of their novices, who, they feared, would run into some gross neglect if they should receive the blood of Christ apart. Neither did this custom stay here, but it made an entrance into others Churches abroad also; for Ivo Carnotensis[2], about the year 1100, hath these words: "Let them not communicate in the bread dipped; but (according to the decree of the Council of Toledo) let them communicate in the body apart, and in the blood apart, those only excepted to whom it is not prescribed, but permitted to communicate in the bread dipped, out of due consideration of the fear of spilling and shedding the blood of Christ. But this attempt was disliked and resisted: for the author of the book entitled "Micrologus[3]" saith: It is not authentical that certain do dip

[1] "Quantis autem ipsum corpus sacerdos dederit, singulis intingit. Quanquam sit contra usum aliarum ecclesiarum. Quia quidam, maxime novitii nostri, adeo sunt rudes ut si sanguinem ita separatim accipiant quandam negligentiam incurrerent."—Ex institutis Cluniac. Lib. II. cap. XXXV. apud Cassandr. Liturg. cap. 31. (p. 76. fol. Par. 1616.)

[2] "Non autem juxta Concil. Toletani definitionem intincto pane sed seorsum corpore, et seorsum sanguine communicet, excepto populo, quem intincto pane, non auctoritate sed summa necessitate timoris sanguinis Christi effusionis permittitur communicare."—Ivo Carnotens. apud Cassandr. (p. 76.)

[3] "Non est autem authenticum quod quidam corpus Domini intingunt, et intinctum pro complemento communionis populo distribuunt. Nam Ordo Romanus contradicit, qui et in parasceue vinum non consecratum cum Dominica oratione et Dominici corporis immissione jubet consecrare, ut populus plene possit communicare. Quod utique superflue præciperet si intinctum corpus Dominicum a priori die servaretur, et ita intinctum populo ad communicandum sufficere videretur. Julius quoque papa, in ordine XXXVI., Ægypti episcopis scribens hujusmodi intinctionem prohibet, et seorsum panem et seorsum calicem juxta

the body of the Lord, and having so dipped it, give it to the people, thinking thereby to make up unto them the whole communion: but the Roman Order is against this, and doth prescribe, that, upon Good Friday, when they consecrate not, but use the bread consecrated the day before, they shall take wine that is not consecrated, and consecrate it with the Lord's prayer, and dipping of the Lord's body into it, that so the people may receive the whole Sacrament: which prescription were superfluous, if it were enough to dip the body of Christ the day before, and so to keep it, and to give it so dipped to the people to communicate in. Pope Julius, in order of popes the thirty-sixth, writing to the bishops of Egypt, doth altogether forbid any such dipping, and commandeth the bread and cup to be received apart." What the credit of this epistle is, which the author of this book citeth as the epistle of pope Julius, I know not; neither do I think that any such custom of giving the Sacrament to the people in the Church in such sort, was so ancient as to be reprehended by pope Julius. But it appeareth that such dipping, when it began to be used in the Church, found great opposition; and therefore this supposed constitution of Julius is renewed, and confirmed in the third Council of Bracar.[1]; and Micrologus adds[2], that blessed Gelasius, in order of popes the fifty-first, writing to certain bishops, commandeth them to excommunicate all those that, receiving the Lord's body, abstained from the participation of the cup; pronouncing in the same decree that such division of the Sacrament cannot be without horrible sacrilege. By this of Micrologus it is evident that they thought, in those times, that not only the communicating in one kind alone, out of such erroneous conceits as those of the Manichees, and other like, but all communicating in one

Dominicam constitutionem sumenda docet."—Micrologus, cap. xix. (ib. p. 76).

[1] Concil. Bracar. III. can. 1. [A. D. 675. aliter concil. iv. can. 3. Labb. Tom. VII. col. 580. Ven. 1729. citat. etiam a Cassandr. de Comm. sub utraque specie, p. 1027.]

[2] "Beatus Gelasius papa in ordine LI. scribens quibusdam episcopis, excommunicari illos præcipit, quicunque sumpto corpore Dominico a calicis participatione se abstinuerint. Nam (ut ipse in eodem decreto asserit) hujusmodi sacramentorum divisio sine grandi sacrilegio provenire non poterit."—Micrologus, [ubi supra].

kind alone, is sacrilegious; and that they could not endure the dipping of the sacramental bread, whereby yet the people did in a sort partake of both kinds. Neither doth Micrologus alone shew the dislike that then was of such dipping, but the like we may find in the writings of sundry worthy men. Hildebertus Cenomanensis[1]: *Hæc ideo tibi, frater, exaravi, ut excitatus evigiles, ut videas quoniam traditioni Sacramentorum altaris quæ in vestro celebris est monasterio, nec evangelica traditio consonat, nec decreta concordant. In eo enim consuetudinis est eucharistiam nulli nisi intinctam dare, quod nec ex Dominica institutione, nec ex sanctionibus authenticis reperitur assumptum: si Mathæum, si Marcum, si Lucam consulas, seorsim panem traditum invenies, seorsim vinum, &c.: nam intinctum panem aliis præbuisse Christum non legimus, excepto tantummodo illo discipulo, quem intincta buccella proditorem ostenderit; non quod hujus Sacramenti institutionem signaret; et sic papa Julius ait, &c.* That is, "Brother, I have therefore written these things unto thee, that being stirred by me, thou mightest be awakened to see that the manner of delivering of the Sacrament of the altar, which is grown into use in your monastery, is neither consonant to the evangelical tradition, nor agreeing with the decrees. For, in your monastery it is become a custom to give the mystical bread to none but dipped; which will never be found to have taken beginning from the Lord's institution or authentical constitutions. For, if thou consult Matthew, or Mark, or Luke, thou shalt find that the bread was delivered apart, and the wine apart, &c.; for we read not that Christ gave dipped bread to any other but only to

[1] "Quod ideo tibi, carissime frater, exaravi ut vel excitatus evigiles, et videns quam traditioni sacramentorum altaris quæ in vestro est celebris monasterio, nec Evangelica consonant, nec Decreta concordant. In eo enim consuetudinis est Eucharistiam nulli nisi intinctam dari, quod nec ex Dominica institutione nec ex sanctionibus authenticis reperitur assumptum: si Matthæum consulis, si Marcum, si Lucam, seorsum invenies traditum panem, seorsum vinum, ... nam intinctum panem aliis præbuisse Christum non legimus, excepto uno tantum discipulo, quem intincta buccella Magister proditorem ostenderit; non quod hujus sacramenti institutionem significaret; unde sic papa Julius ....., &c."—Hildebertus Cenomanensis. Ep. 64. [al. Lib. II. Ep. 15. col. 97. ed. Ben. fol. Par. 1708.]

that disciple, whom by the dipped sop he meant to shew to be the traitor; and not that he would have the Sacrament so ministered; and so pope Julian saith," &c.

From the custom of dipping the mystical bread into the blood, and giving it so dipped unto the people, for fear of shedding the blood of Christ if it should have been ministered apart, some proceeded farther, and began to teach the people that, seeing the body and blood of Christ cannot be separated, in that they partake of the one, they partake of the other also; and that therefore it is sufficient to receive in one kind alone. But herein they gave no satisfaction either to themselves or others. "For though it be true," saith Durandus[1], that they are not separated, and that he that receiveth the one receiveth the other also; yet neither part of the Sacrament is superfluous, but both are to be received. For, whereas wine breedeth blood, wherein the soul and life is seated, according to that in Leviticus, 'The soul of all flesh is in the blood of it;' and whereas in the offerings that were of old, the flesh of those beasts that were sacrificed was offered for the body, and the blood of them for the soul; if we should receive Christ's body, and together with it the blood, under the form of bread signifying and exhibiting the flesh of Christ, and not under the the form of wine signifying and exhibiting unto us the blood of Christ, we might be thought to neglect the salvation and good of our souls." And, elsewhere[2] he

[1] "Licet sub utraque specie sumatur utrumque, scilicet corpus et sanguis, utraque tamen species consecratur et neutra superfluit.... Panis enim refertur ad carnem, et vinum ad animam: quia vinum sanguinem operatur, in quo sedes est animæ. Unde legitur in Levit. [xvii. 11.] 'Anima carnis in sanguine.' Moses quoque testatur quod caro pro corpore, sanguis autem offertur pro anima, quocirca panis et vinum in sacrificio offeruntur, quod valet ad tuitionem corporis et animæ: ne, si sub specie panis sanguis sumatur cum corpore, et sic sub altera tantum specie sumatur, ad alterius tantum putetur pervenire salutem."—Durand. Rational. Div. Off. Lib. IV. cap. xlii. p. 172. ed. 8vo. Lugd. 1574.

[2] "Si enim hæc veritas præmittatur, scilicet quod vinum non apponatur, non potest vere dici hoc sacramentum, commistio corporis et sanguinis, nec corpus Christi sine sanguine sumi debet."... &c. Id. [cap. xli. §. 49. p. 171.] "Et quamvis sub specie panis sanguis sumatur cum corpore, et sub specie vini sumatur corpus cum sanguine, secundum Innocentium III., nec sanguis sub specie panis, nec corpus

saith, that "he that receiveth only the consecrated bread, receiveth not the whole and entire Sacrament. For, howsoever it be true, that the blood of Christ is in the host or consecrated bread, yet it is not there sacramentally, seeing bread doth not signify the blood, but the body of Christ; neither the wine the body, but the blood of Christ." And in the former place, he addeth out of Innocentius Tertius, "That though the blood of Christ be received with the body, under the form of bread, and the body with the blood under the form of wine; yet neither can we drink the blood of Christ under the form of bread which we eat, nor eat the body of Christ under the form of wine which we drink." And sundry of the schoolmen agree with him in this point, resolving that though Christ be whole and entire in either part of the sacrament, yet both parts are necessary; first, because the exhibiting of the body and blood of Christ distinctly representeth his passion, in which his blood was separated from his body; and secondly, because in this sort Christ's body is more fitly and significantly exhibited unto us in the nature of food, and his blood of drink. "If this sacrament be worthily received under both kinds," saith[1] Alexander of Hales, "there is a greater efficacy and working of grace, causing an unity between the mystical body and Christ the head, than when it is received in one kind only." And therefore he saith[2], "Though the receiving under one kind be sufficient, yet that which is under both is of more merit, in that it augmenteth devotion, enlargeth the apprehension of faith, and is a more complete and full receiving." And again[3], "The receiving under both kinds,

sub specie vini, bibitur aut comeditur."—[ubi supr. p. 172. ex Innocent. III.]

[1] "Sumpto hoc sacramento digne in utraque specie major est effectus unionis corporis mystici cum capite, quam sumpto sub altera." —Alexander ab Ales. quarta part. summ. quæst. xxxii. membr. I. art. 2. fol. 123. ed. fol. 1516.

[2] "Licet illa sumptio, quæ est in accipiendo, sub una specie sufficiat, illa tamen quæ est sub duobus est majoris meriti; tum ratione augmentationis devotionis, tum ratione fidei dilationis actualis, tum ratione sumptionis completionis."—Id. quæst. liii. [membr. i. fol. 215, B.]

[3] "Quia adesse perfectum sacramentum requiritur repræsentatio ex institutione, una autem specie non repræsentatur res sacramenti integre et perfecte, non est ibi sacramentum perfectum quantum ad perfectionem dico sacramentalem:..... qui accipit hoc sacramentum

which manner of receiving the Lord delivered, is of more efficacy and complement. And he that receiveth the sacrament under the form of bread only, doth not perfectly receive the same in respect of sacramental receiving." With him agree Albertus Magnus[1], Petrus de Palude[2], Bonaventura[3], and sundry other. By all which it is evident, that though they gave way to the custom that grew in and began to prevail in their time, yet they signified and sufficiently expressed that, in their opinion, the communicating in both kinds, as Christ at first did institute, and the Church for a long time observed, is fit, convenient, complete, perfect, of more efficacy, and more clearer representation, than the other under one kind alone.

And therefore many still retained the ancient manner of communicating, after other had admitted and received the new. Aquinas[4] saith of his time, that the communicating under one kind alone was received in many Churches, not

sub specie panis..... perfecte accipit quantum ad sacramentalem sumptionem nequaquam."—Id. quæst. xxxi. [membr. 1. fol. 121, A.]

[1] "Duplex est perfectio, scilicet Christi et sacramenti, secundum quod venit in usum fidelium et perficit et signat perfectam unitatem corporis mystici. Primo modo verum est quod Christus perfectus est sub utraque specie, scilicet panis et vini; sed secundo modo videtur mihi falsum, quia non perfecte causatur et signatur usus fidelium et unitas corporis mystici nisi duplici signo, et ideo virtute sacramenti oportet haberi utrumque."—Albert. Mag. in iv. Sent. dist. viii. art. 13. Tom. xvi. p. 118. Opp. fol. Lugd. 1651.

[2] "Duplex debet esse materia hujus sacramenti, scilicet materia cibi et potus; quia effectus sacramenti debet perfecte repræsentari per materiam modo convenienti naturalibus: quia sacramenta efficiunt quod figurant, sed hujus sacramenti effectus est perfecta animæ refectio, ergo materia repræsentans debet esse per perfectam corporis refectionem: quæ non est nisi per cibum et potum."—Petr. de Palude. in 4 Sent. dist. xi. art. 1. fol. 42, b.

[3] "Nec panis est per se plane reficiens, nec vinum, sed utrumque: Et una plena refectio in natura venit ex utroque, et ita disposita sunt ad unam refectionem signandam. Sed completiva venit ab institutione divina, qua una institutione hæc duo signa ordinavit ad significandam unam perfectam refectionem; et ideo unum sacramentum ratione naturæ et institutionis divinæ."—Bonaventura in iv. Sent. dist. viii. part 2. art. 2. quæst. 2. Tom. v. p. 110. fol. Rom. 1596.

[4] "Est multarum ecclesiarum usus in quibus populo communicanti datur corpus Christi sumendum, non autem sanguis."—Aquinas. Summ. part iii. quæst. lxxx. art. 12. Tom. iv. fol. 267. Ven. 1594.

in all. Alexander of Hales[1] saith, that laymen almost everywhere communicated in one kind. Petrus de Palude[2] saith, it was the custom in some Churches to give the communion to the people in both kinds. Durandus[3] reporteth, that it was the custom of some Churches in his time that the priest should consecrate such a quantity of wine, that after he had drunk of the same there might still some of the sacrament of Christ's blood remain in the chalice, into which more wine not consecrated might be poured, that the other communicants might partake of the blood of Christ. And then they began to dispute the question, whether the wine that was put into the cup, by contact of Christ's blood became consecrated and sacramental, or not. But whether it did or not, they resolved that all by this means did partake and drink of the blood of Christ, which was mingled with every part of the wine newly poured into it. After this some proceeded farther, and left none of the sacramental or consecrated wine in the cup or chalice; but poured mere wine into it, that the communicants might wash their mouths with it, after they had received the body of Christ; teaching them that they had been sufficiently partakers of the blood of Christ, in that they had received his body, from which his blood cannot be separated. But Willielmus de Lauduno[4] saith, that he that receiveth the body of Christ under the form of bread, receiveth the whole verity, but not the whole sacrament; and that therefore in many

[1] "Licet sumere corpus Christi sub specie panis tantum sicut fere ubique fit a laicis in ecclesia."—Alex. ab Ales. Summ. part iv. quæst. xxxi. membr. 1. potius quæst. liii. membr. 1. fol. 215.

[2] "Græci tamen communicant carni et sanguini, et in quibusdam ecclesiis est consuetudo quod communicant sub utraque specie."—Petr. de Palud. in iv. Sent. dist. xi. quæst. 1.

[3] "In quibusdam locis post sumptionem corporis et sanguinis Christi aliquid de ipso sanguine reservatur in calice, et superinfunditur vinum purum, ut ipsi communicantes inde sumant . . . : (et p. 174), si autem post calicis consecrationem aliud vinum mittatur in calicem, illud non transit in sanguinem, sed accidentibus prioris vini commistum corpori quod sub eis latet undique circumfunditur."—Durand. Rational. Divin. Off. Lib. iv. cap. xlii. p. 172.

[4] "Recipiendo corpus totam veritatem ejus recipit, licet non tantum sacramentum . . . . . et ideo in multis locis communicatur cum pane et vino, i. e. cum toto sacramento."—Willielmus de Lauduno, citat. a Cassandr. Liturg. cap. xxxi. p. 77. fol. Par. 1616.

places they communicated in both kinds. And we shall find that where they admitted the communion under one kind, yet they put a difference between the communicants, and permitted some to communicate in both kinds. Linwood[1] saith, that in the lesser Churches, only they that consecrate receive the blood of Christ, under the form of consecrated wine: insinuating thereby that in the greater it was otherwise: and that within the compass of the same nation and people the greater and more honourable Churches had the communion in both kinds, when the meaner had it but in one. Yea, we shall find that in the same particular Church some communicated in both kinds, when other communicated but in one. For Richardus de Media Villa[2], and Petrus de Tarantasia, afterwards named Innocentius the Fourth, report that in their time, not only the ministers of the altar, but the more principal of the people, communicated in both kinds. Thomas Waldensis[3], provincial of the Carmelites here in England, saith of his time: "We permit the pastors of the Churches to give the sacrament in both kinds to such persons as are strong in faith, and discreet: as the bishop of Rome doth use to give the communion to the deacon, and other ministers of the altar, and other excelling in faith, or of high place and dignity, as doctors and kings. Or as the Churches of religious men and of great places do still continue to give the sacrament

[1] "Solis enim celebrantibus sanguinem sub specie vini consecrati sumere in hujusmodi minoribus ecclesiis est concessum."—Lyndewood. de Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica. Provincial. Lib. I. tit. 1. p. 9. fol. Oxon. 1679.

[2] "Presbyteris, ministris altaris, et majoribus e populo, a quibus hæc pericula non timebantur, sub utraque specie sacramenta dabantur." —Ricardus de Media Valla. cit. a Cassandr. de Comm. sub utraque. p. 1031. fol. Par. 1616.

[3] "Fide fortibus et discretis fidelibus a pastoribus ecclesiarum hoc donandum esse concedimus, scilicet ut si non sacramenta consument sed tantum participent; ad sacrificium tamen, et ejus libamentum, ii ad communicandum in utraque specie eos assumant. Qualiter secundum usum Romanum summus pontifex diaconum et altaris ministros aut alios fide summos vel dignitate provectos, puta doctores vel reges, communicat: aut certe ecclesiæ religiosorum vel magnorum locorum hactenus fratres suos vel alios tanta re dignos communicare non desinunt."—Thomas Waldensis, Lib. de Sacram. Tom. II. cap. lxxviii. p. 149. ed. fol. Ven. 1571. cit. etiam a Cassandr. ibid.

to their brethren, and such persons as are worthy of so great a thing." And in another place he hath these words[1]: "Neither do we deny unto all laymen generally to drink of the blood of Christ under the form of wine; neither do we generally, and without distinction or difference, grant and yield it unto all; for we know that by the custom of the Church it is left to the discretion of the greater prelates, to admit certain of the ministers of the altar, or certain other illustrious persons amongst the people, that are faithful, reverent, and devout, to the solemn communicating in both kinds." Thus did he write more than a thousand and four hundred years after Christ, in the time of Pope Martin, who was elected in the Council of Constance, and who, as B. Lindan[2] telleth us, went home from the Council of Constance, and ministered the communion to sundry, both of the clergy and laity, under both kinds. So that the communion under both kinds continued after the Council of Constance; which, as the same Lindan saith, did not simply forbid the ministering of the sacrament in both kinds, but the teaching of the people that of necessity it must be so ministered. To this purpose see the thirteenth session of the Council. The Council of Basil[3] per-

[1] "Nec item negamus eis (populis), generaliter bibere Christi sanguinem secundum vini speciem, sed nec generaliter et sine discretione concedimus universis. Nam scimus de consuetudine ecclesiæ relictum esse majorum prælatorum industriæ, ut de ministris altaris quosdam, aut alias personas illustres de vulgo, fide, reverentia, et omni Dei timore præditas, ad hanc communicationem solennen in utraque specie possint admittere."—Id. cap. xciv. p. 157.

[2] "Absoluto Concilio, Martinus ipse Quintus utramque legitur Romæ administrasse speciem, quod non de diacono pontificiis administro solum, accipiendum est, sed et de populo."—Lindan. Panopl. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. lvi. p. 343.

"Totus Concilii Constantien. patrum senatus disertis verbis hanc unius speciei communionem contra Hussitas, definiens non esse utriusque speciem populo necessariam," &c.—Id. p. 342.

"Cum hujusmodi consuetudo ab ecclesia et sanctis patribus rationabiliter introducta et diutissime observata sit, habenda est pro lege quam non licet reprobare aut sine ecclesiæ auctoritate pro libito mutare."—Concil. Constant. Sess. xiii. Labbe, Tom. XVI. col. 218, fol. Ven. 1731.

[3] "Boëmis in Concilio Basiliensi concessa in utraque specie communicatio."—Concil. Basil. vid. Cassandr. de utraque specie [p. 1036.]

"Idonei auctores testantur, paulum supra patrum nostrum memo-

mitted the Bohemians to continue the use of the communion in both kinds, and Cassander telleth us, that good and credible authors do testify, that in France the whole communion was ministered, though not everywhere in ordinary Churches, yet in chapels, even a little before the memory of our fathers; as also it is ministered to the French kings to this day. Cajetan[1] saith of his time, that the Church of Rome, and almost all the Churches of the West, had the communion in one kind. He saith not all, but almost all; for as it appeareth by the same Cajetan, the Cistercian monks in some places did communicate under both kinds, even in his time; their Order, as it may be thought, being instituted while the communion under both kinds continued in general observation. For, otherwise, it is not to be thought that any monastery would have presumed to renew an abolished custom. So that we see that the Churches of this part of the world were never wholly deprived of the necessary and comfortable use of the sacrament under both kinds. And for those that were, we see by what degrees, and in what sort, not without complaining of the wrong done unto them, they were forced to give way to the innovation, by a prevailing faction. Yet did they not cease to be members of the true and orthodox Church that were thus wronged. The Armenians, in the Dialogues of Armachanus, objecting the saying of Christ, "Except a man eat the

riam integram communionem per Galliam distributam fuisse, quamvis extra ordinem, et in sacellis; quomodo et regibus Francorum communio exhibetur."—Id. ibid.

[1] "Quæritur, an communio sub utraque specie sit in præcepto... In oppositum est consuetudo Romanæ ecclesiæ, cum omnibus fere Occidentalibus ecclesiis. [Et ibid. p. 271.] In Ordine Cisterciensi alicubi fieri legitur communicatio sub utraque specie; apparebit quod tempore institutionis Ordinis Cisterciensis perseverabat consuetudo, quoniam non est verisimile, si consuetudo illa cessaverat, quod monasterium aliquod præsumpsisset abolitam consuetudinem renovare."

Amarchanus [apud Cassandr. ubi supr. p. 1032.]—"Armenio objicienti dictum Christi, Nisi manducaveritis carnem Filii hominis et biberitis ejus sanguinem, respondet, Dictum hoc Salvatoris, si quis omnino de sacramentali bibitione accipiat, intelligendum esse cum modificatione, scilicet, quod utrumque sumere certo tempore, aut velle sumere, et esse paratum ad hoc quantum in ejus potestate est, necessarium esse ad vitam spiritualem habendam."—Cajetan. in Aquin. Summ. Part III. quæst. lxxx. Art. 12, Tom. IV. p. 267, fol. Ven. 1594.

flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, he can have no life," to prove the necessity of communion in both kinds; Armachanus answereth, that if the words of Christ be understood of the sacramental drinking, they must be understood with some qualification, to wit, that it is necessary to salvation, and the attaining of eternal life, for each man to receive both at some time, or to be willing and ready, as much as is in his power, to receive both. Which was no doubt the condition of many thousands under the papacy, that much desired to have enjoyed this comfort; so that in this point we see the Church wherein our fathers lived and died, was a true Protestant Church, as ever before, so at the appearing of Luther.

Which is yet more confirmed, in that, after Luther's preaching, many of the greatest princes of these parts of the world, that never joined wholly with him, nor ever brake with the Bishop of Rome, urged this point of communicating in both kinds most earnestly; as Ferdinand, Maximilian, the French king, the duke of Bavaria, and sundry other. There is extant a writing[1] exhibited by the

[1] "Dicendum est ab eo usque tempore eam in Boemia retentam esse consuetudinem quam nulla consilia, nullæ rationes, nulla unquam vis, neque ipsa arma et bella, eripere potuerunt, ut populo etiam calix in communione a sacerdotibus præberetur: a quo quidem calice ea populi pars, quæ hujus partis esset, 'Calixtinorum' sive 'sub utraque' nomen accepit. Atque hæc quidem factio latissime in eo regno patet et primarios etiam viros et magistratus quosdam complectitur. Antea quidem huic parti benignissima mater ecclesia pro ea potestate quam a Deo habet, pro rerum ac temporum ratione leges et constituendi et abrogandi, certis quibusdam conditionibus permiserat ut calice uti possent. Postea,... provisio illa cœpta est a Pio II. revocari. Sed cum sedes apostolica aberrantem hunc ovem ad cæteras aggregare cuperet, primum Paulus III. deinde Julius III.... nunciis quibusdam suis negotium dederunt, ut Böemis in ecclesiæ gremium receptis calicis usum permitterent."

"Nec mirum est si rudis et imperita multitudo in eum errorem induci potuit, ut sine magno conscientiæ scrupulo a calice se abstinere non posse persuasum habeat, cum etiam peritissimos et maxime pios ac catholicos viros eam sententiam multis rationibus tueri videamus, ut sub utraque quam sub alterutra tantum specie communicantes majorem se consequi gratiam arbitrentur."

"Sunt et in aliis etiam clarissimis et nobilissimis regnis ac provinciis pii quidam ac catholici viri, ut in Ungaria, in Austria, in Moravia,

ambassadors of the emperor Ferdinand, to the Council of Trent, in the year 1562, June 27, wherein first it is shewed, that the custom of communicating in both kinds, which was in use in Bohemia when the Council of Constance was called, hath been retained there ever since; and that the Bohemians could never yet be brought by any persuasions and entreaties, or by any force and war, to relinquish this custom, and to suffer the cup to be denied unto them. From which cup or chalice that part of the people that maintained this liberty were called *Calixtini*, and *subutraque;* which sort of men spread itself exceedingly in that kingdom, and there are of that number many prime men, and certain great officers and magistrates. To these the Church permitted the free use of the cup upon due considerations: but Pius the Second, upon some dislike, revoked the former concession; whose proceedings in that kind having no good success, but rather causing a greater alienation, Paulus the Third and Julius the Third sent their legates to reconcile them to the Church, and to permit them to use their former custom. Neither is it to be marvelled at that these Bohemians cannot be brought from this persuasion of the necessity of communicating in both kinds, seeing we find that there are many most learned, pious, and catholic men that do think, that they that communicate under both kinds obtain more grace than they that communicate under one only. Besides these Bohemians, there are in sundry other famous and noble kingdoms and provinces certain pious and catholic men, as in Hungarie, Austria, Moravia, Silesia, Carinthia, Carniola, Styria, Bavaria, Suevia, and many provinces of Germany, that with great earnestness desire the use of the cup to be left free unto them. Hitherto we have heard the words of the emperor, shewing the desires of many states and provinces; and after the urging of the dangers that may follow if their desires be not satisfied, the ambassadors earnestly desired the bishops assembled to consider of this motion. The same desire of the emperor Ferdinand is excellently expressed[1] in an oration made by Andræas

in Silesia, in Carinthia, in Carniola, in Styria, in Bavaria, in Suevia, in permultis Germaniæ partibus, qui magno quodam zelo calicem sibi dari expetunt."—Goldast. Constit. Imper. Tom. II. p. 377.

[1] "Etsi antea satis perspicere potuistis, quæ Cæsaris mens fuerit, cum a sancta synodo calicis permissionem pro regnis et provinciis sibi

Dudithius, the emperor's ambassador in the Council of Trent. Maximilian[1], in his rescript to Pius the Fourth, touching the marriage of priests, sheweth that in his opinion it is fit not only to gratify the people by the concession of the cup, as he saith Pius had already yielded to do, but the clergy also, by granting them the liberty of marriage. There is extant also an oration made by the ambassador of the duke of Bavaria[2], in the Council of Trent, in the year 1562: wherein we find these words: "Not a few are offended and fall away, and join themselves to the sectaries, by reason of the prohibition of the communion under both kinds. For they think there is an express word of God for the communion under both kinds, and no word for the other under one." To which they add, that the use of the communion in both kinds was not only in the time of the primitive Church, but is now also in the Eastern Churches of the world; and that the Roman Church anciently did not abhor from the same, as it appeareth by many histories. Neither doth it move men a little, especially in Bavaria, that Paul the Third, by his bull, granted the com-

subjectis petendam curavit, intellexistisque, tam ex eo libello qui Cæsareæ majestatis suæ nomine nobis oblatus est, quam ex accurata illustrissimi domini Mantuani primi legati oratione, justis et necessariis causis Majestatem suam adductam esse ut peteret. . . . Quoniam vero Cæs. Majestas sua animadvertit nullas alias graviores esse contentiones et querulas quam eas quæ ob sacri calicis usum interdictum ortæ sunt, ... de hac potissimum permissione ad sacrosanctam synodum referri voluit."—Andr. Dudith. apud Goldast. ubi. supr. p. 399.

[1] "Plane persuasum habemus, sanctitatem vestram . . . absque ulteriore dilatione eum quem optamus finem impositurum esse negotio presbyterorum conjugatorum . . . Nec concessio calicis eum fructum afferre possit quem optamus, nisi clero perinde ac laicis consultum et prospectum sit."—Goldast. ibid. p. 381.

[2] "Nec pauci homines a nobis deficiunt ad sectarios ob utriusque speciei prohibitionem cum arbitrentur de communione utriusque speciei expressum Dei verbum extare, de una specie nullum reperiri. Huc accedit quod utriusque speciei usus non modo in primitiva ecclesia sed etiam nunc omnibus Orientalibus ecclesiis frequens est, et quidem celeberrimus; quin nec Romana ecclesia olim ab eodem usu abhorruit, quemadmodum ex variis diversisque historiarum monumentis edoceri potest. Nec sane id parum movet homines præsertim in Bavaria, quod Paulus III., edita bulla sua, concessit Germaniæ episcopis potestatem communicandi populum sub utraque specie."—Trident. Concil. &c. [p. 194.]

munion under both kinds to certain bishops in Germany. The same duke in an epistle written to Pius the Fourth, in the year 1564, concerning the same matter, hath these words[1]: "We have conferred touching this thing, with the most reverend and illustrious arch-chancellors and electors spiritual of the Roman empire, and they agree with me to beseech your holiness help, for the confirming of them that stand, and the raising up of them that are fallen, as being the supreme monarch in respect of things pertaining to Christianity; so that you need not to make any doubt of the willingness of the electors, if your holiness shall be pleased to yield any thing in this kind, to embrace the same, and to put it in execution. Wherefore, together with the emperor's majesty, I humbly and most earnestly beseech your holiness to grant the free use of the cup, at the least to them who, being persuaded as they are, will hearken to no better advice at this time." Thuanus[2] reporteth, that Maximilian in the very

[1] "Contulimus ea de re cum reverendissimis illustrissimisque sacri Romani imperii archicancellariis et electoribus spiritualibus, quorum communis est nobiscum sententia ut a S. V. tanquam supremo rerum Christianarum monarcha desideratissimam, tam ad firmandos retinendosque saniores, quam reducendos lapsos, opem iterum exoremus. Ac de ipsorum quidem electorum voluntate haud obscura constat, eos, si quid indulserit miseræ Germaniæ S. V., libenter amplexuros et executuros fore. Quamobrem una cum sacra Cæsarea Majestate S. V., humiliter et studiosissime oro, ut sacri calicis usum iis saltem liberum concedat, qui ita persuasi aliam saniorem admonitionem hoc quidem tempore non admittunt, &c."—Goldast. ubi supr. p. 399.

[2] "Maximilianus primis imperii auspiciis, ... cum videret in Boëmia præcipue et Pannonia fremere homines, quod de calicis in cœna usu et conjugio sacerdotum, quod a concilio Tridentino expectaverat, sibi non satisfieret; ut eos placatiores et paratiores ad omnia haberet, et ipse apud pontificem negebat ut promissa quorum spem Ferdinando et sibi per Cardinalem Moronum, dum concilium urgeret factam meminerat, tam necessario tempore repræsentarentur. Nec abnuebat omnino pontifex, a Morono persuasus, et ab ea re antea non ita alienus: sed Cardinalis Paceci instigatu Philippus exemplum in Belgio veritus, Petrum Avilam, eodem tempore quo Cæsarem legatos missurum intellexerat, Romam mittit, qui pontificem ab eo consilio dehortaretur tanquam Christianæ ecclesiæ summe pernicioso .... Pontifex, instante Cardinalium collegio, re dilata et renovata in posterum spe, in præsentiarum Cæsaris petitionem elusit."—Thuanus,

beginning of his reign, when he saw that men were exceedingly discontented, especially in Bohemia and Austria; that they had no satisfaction given them by the Council of Trent, as they expected, touching the concession of the cup, and the freedom of priests' marriages; that he might bring them to be better content, and that they might be willing to do what he expected of them for the good of the commonwealth, he was earnest with the Pope, that the promises which he might well remember he had made to Ferdinand and to himself, by Cardinal Moronus, a little before the council ended, might now be made good, in a time wherein it was so needful; seeing the council determining nothing, had left power to him to take order in this kind. The Pope denied not to perform what the emperor desired, being persuaded so to do by Moronus, and not being much averse from it of himself before. But Philip king of Spain, by the instigation of Cardinal Pacecus, fearing this example in the Low Countries, sent Peter Avila to Rome, at the same time that he understood the emperor would send his ambassadors, to dissuade the Pope from listening to any such motion, as being very hurtful to the Christian Church, &c. The Pope, at the instance of the Cardinals, deferring and putting off the matter till a longer time, for the present eluded the emperor's petition. Thus did this good emperor insist in the steps of Ferdinand his worthy father, who when he[1] was moved by the Pope to cause the Council of Trent to be promulgated in Germany, shewed himself willing to do any thing that was fit, but earnestly urged the Pope to permit and leave free the use of the cup to the lay people, being moved so to do by Charles the archduke his son, and the duke of Bavaria his son-in-law, and the due consideration of the necessity of his subjects. There are

Lib. XXXVII. ann. 1565. cap. XV. Tom. II. p. 441. fol. Lond. 1733. citat. a Goldast. ubi supr. p. 400.

[1] "Hoc anno pontifex, misso in Germaniam Vintimiliensi episcopo, egerat, ut Concilium Tridentinum promulgaretur, et Ferdinandus Cæsar quam se paratum ad obsequium ostendebat, tam instanter urgebat, a Carolo Archiduce filio et Alberto Bajoaro genero monitus et suorum periculo incitatus, ut gratia calicis etiam non sacerdotibus fieret."—Id. Lib. XXXVI. ann. 1564. cap. XXXVIII. Tom. II. p. 416. Goldast. ibid.

extant certain Articles[1] concerning reformation of manners and Church-discipline, proposed in the Council of Trent by the ambassadors of Charles the Ninth, the French king; amongst which the eighteenth article is, that the ancient decree of Leo and Gelasius touching the communion under both kinds might be revived and brought to be in use again. But when the French perceived that there were scarce any footsteps of the liberty of ancient councils to be discerned in the Council of Trent; that all things were swayed and disposed by the absolute command of Pius the Fourth then Pope; the ambassadors were commanded to make a protestation in the name of the king their master, the words of which protestation are these: "We refuse to be subject to the command and disposition of Pius the Fourth. We reject, we refuse, and contemn all the judgments, censures, and decrees of the same Pius. And although, most holy fathers, your religion, life, and learning, was ever, and ever shall be of great esteem with us, yet seeing indeed you do nothing, but all things are done at Rome rather than at Trent, and the things that are here published are rather the decrees of Pius the Fourth, than of the Council of Trent, we denounce and protest here before you all, that whatsoever things are decreed and published in this assembly by the mere will and pleasure of Pius, neither the most christian king will ever approve, nor the French

[1] "Antiquum Leonis et Gelasii decretum de Communione sub utraque specie in usum revocetur."—Caroli Regis artic. apud. Goldast. Imper. Constit. Tom. III. p. 570. fol. Offenb. 1610.

"Pii Quarti imperium detrectamus, quæcunque sint ejus judicia et sententiæ rejicimus, respuimus, et contemnimus. Et quanquam, patres sanctissimi, vestra omnium religio, vita, et eruditio magnæ semper fuit et erit apud nos auctoritatis, cum tamen nihil a vobis sed omnia magis Romæ quam Tridenti agantur: et quæ hic publicantur magis Pii Quarti placita quam Concilii Tridentini decreta jure existimentur, denunciamus et protestamur quæcunque in hoc conventu, hoc est, solo Pii nutu et voluntate decernuntur et publicantur, ea neque regem Christianissimum probaturum, neque ecclesiam Gallicanam pro decreto Œcumenici Concilii habituram. Interea, quotquot estis Galliæ archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates, doctores, theologi, vos omnes hinc abire rex Christianissimus jubet, redituros ut primum Deus Optimus Maximus ecclesiæ catholicæ in generalibus conciliis antiquam formam et libertatem restituerit, regi autem Christianissimo suam dignitatem et majestatem."—Protest. ejusd. ibid. p. 572.

Church ever acknowledge to be the decrees of a General Council. Besides this, the king our master commandeth all his archbishops, bishops, and abbots, to leave this assembly, and presently to depart hence; then to return again, when there shall be hope of better and more orderly proceedings."

Wherefore, from this point of Romish religion touching the communion in one kind, which findeth no help in the public liturgy used in the days of our fathers, by which it is evident that the people were wont to communicate in both kinds, when that form of divine service was first composed, nor no liking or approbation of the best and worthiest guides of God's Church then living; let us come to the next; which is the propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead. This indeed is a grand point of Romish religion, and if M. Brerelie can prove that it is contained in the public liturgy that was used in the Church, at, and immediately before Luther's appearing, and consequently, that all that used that Liturgy had such an opinion of a sacrifice, he hath said much to prove that the Church under the papacy was no Protestant Church; but this neither he, nor all the most learned papists in the world, will ever be able to prove. First, therefore, I will make it appear, that the canon of the mass importeth no such sacrifice. And secondly, I will shew at large, that neither before nor after Luther's appearing, the Church believed, or knew any such new, real sacrificing of Christ, as is now imagined.

Touching the canon of the mass, it is true that therein there is often mention of sacrifice and oblation: but Luther professeth, that the words may be understood in such a sense as is not to be disliked; and he saith, he could so expound it, and that somewhere he hath so expounded it; but seeing it is obscure, and may bear divers senses, and a better and more clear form of divine celebration may be brought in, he will not honour it so much as to give it that sense which it may well carry, and in which the first composers of it and others after did use it, but that wherein they of Rome will now needs have it to be understood. That the form of words used in the canon are obscure, in sundry parts of it, and hard to be understood even by the learned, Cassander[1]

[1] "Cum tamen non modo mutatio prisci ritus sed ipsa etiam loquendi forma canonem ipsum non indoctis hominibus obscuriorem

confesseth, and therefore thinketh it fit it were explained and illustrated by some brief scholies put in the margent, or inserted into the text by way of parenthesis. The obscurity that is in it groweth, as he rightly observeth, partly out of the disuse and discontinuing of certain old observations to which the words of the canon, composed long since, have a reference, and partly from the using of the word sacrifice, in divers and different senses, though all connexed: and the sudden passing from the using of it in one sense, to the using of it in another. It is not unknown to them that are learned, that in the Primitive Church the people were wont to offer bread and wine; and that out of that which they offered, a part was consecrated to become unto them the sacrament of the Lord's body aud blood, and other parts converted to other good and holy uses. Respectively to this ancient custom are those prayers conceived that are named *secretæ;* and the first part of the canon, wherein we desire that God will accept those gifts, presents, offerings, and sacrifices which we bring unto him, and that he will make them to become unto us the body and blood of his Son Christ, which only are that sacrifice that procureth the remission of our sins, and our reconciliation and acceptation with God. So that to take away this obscurity, and that the words may have a true sense, the ancient custom shall be brought back again; or, at least, it must be conceived that the elements of bread and wine that are set upon the mystical table, and are to be consecrated, are brought thither and offered in the name of the people; and that as being their presents, they are symbols of that inward sacrifice whereby they dedicate and give themselves and all that they have unto God. Touching the second cause of the obscurity of the words of the canon, which is the using of the word sacrifice and offering in so manifold and different senses, and the sudden passing from the one of them to the other, we must observe, that by the name of sacrifice, gift, or present,

et difficiliorem reddat, operæ pretium esset ut brevibus scholiis vel ad marginem adjectis vel per parenthesim intersertis illustretur et explicetur. Est autem hujus obscuritatis præcipua causa quod in eo multipliciter sacrificii nomen usurpetur, et subito nonnunquam ex uno intellectu in alium transitio fiat, quamvis hi omnes intellectus inter se connexi sint."—Cassander. consult. [p. 1005. fol. Par. 1616.]

first the oblation of the people is meant, that consisteth in bread and wine, brought and set upon the Lord's table. In which again two things are to be considered: the outward action, and that which is signified thereby; to wit, the people's dedicating themselves and all that they have to God by faith and devotion, and offering to him the sacrifice of praise. In this sense is the word sacrifice used in the former part of the canon, as I have already shewed. In respect of this is that prayer poured out to God, that he will be mindful of his servants that do offer unto him this sacrifice of praise, that is, these outward things, in acknowledgment that all is of him, that they had perished if he had not sent his Son to redeem them, that unless they eat the flesh, and drink the blood of Christ, they have no life; that he hath instituted holy sacraments of his body and blood, under the forms of bread and wine, in which he will not only represent, but exhibit the same unto all such as hunger and thirst after righteousness; and therefore they desire him so to accept and sanctify these their oblations of bread and wine, which in this sort they offer unto him, that they may become unto them the body and blood of Christ, that so partaking in them, they may be made partakers of Christ, and all the benefits of redemption and salvation that he hath wrought. Secondly, by the name of sacrifice is understood the sacrifice of Christ's body; wherein we must first consider the thing offered, and secondly, the manner of offering. The thing that is offered is the body of Christ, which is an eternal and perpetual propitiatory sacrifice, in that it was once offered by death upon the cross, and hath an everlasting and never-failing force and efficacy. Touching the manner of offering Christ's body and blood, we must consider that there is a double offering of a thing to God. First, so as men are wont to do that give something to God out of that they possess, professing that they will no longer be owners of it, but that it shall be his, and serve for such uses and employments as he shall convert it to. Secondly, a man may be said to offer a thing unto God, in that he bringeth it to his presence, setteth it before his eyes, and offereth it to his view, to incline him to do something by the sight of it, and respect had to it. In this sort Christ offereth himself and his body once crucified, daily in heaven, and so intercedeth

for us; not as giving it in the nature of a gift or present, for he gave himself to God once, to be holy unto him for ever; nor in the nature of a sacrifice; for he died once for sin, and rose again never to die any more: but in that he setteth it before the eyes of God his Father, representing it unto him, and so offering it to his view, to obtain grace and mercy for us. And in this sort we also offer him daily on the altar, in that, commemorating his death and lively representing his bitter passions endured in his body upon the cross, we offer him that was once crucified and sacrificed for us on the cross, and all his sufferings, to the view and gracious consideration of the Almighty, earnestly desiring, and assuredly hoping, that he will incline to pity us and shew mercy unto us, for this his dearest Son's sake, who in our nature for us, to satisfy his displeasure, and to procure us acceptation, endured such and so grievous things. This kind of offering, or sacrificing Christ, commemoratively, is twofold, inward and outward: outward, as the taking, breaking, and distributing the mystical bread, and pouring out the cup of blessing, which is the Communion of the blood of Christ: the inward consisteth in the faith and devotion of the Church and people of God, so commemorating the death and passion of Christ their crucified Saviour, and representing and setting it before the eyes of the Almighty, that they fly unto it as their only stay and refuge, and beseech him to be merciful unto them for his sake that endured all these things, to satisfy his wrath, and work their peace and good. And in this sense, and answerable hereunto, that is which we find in the canon, where the Church desireth Almighty God to accept those oblations of bread and wine which she presenteth unto him, and to make them to become unto the faithful communicants the body and blood of Christ, who, the night before he was betrayed, took bread into his sacred hands, lifted up his eyes to heaven, gave thanks, blessed it, and gave it to his disciples; saying, Take, and eat ye all of this; for this is my body. And in like manner, after he had supped, took the cup and gave thanks, blessed it, and gave it to his disciples; saying, Drink ye all of this; for this is the new testament in my blood: do this, as oft as you shall drink it, in remembrance of me. And then proceedeth and speaketh unto Almighty God in this sort:

"Wherefore, O Lord, we thy servants and thy holy people, mindful of that most blessed passion of the same Christ thy Son our Lord, as also of his resurrection from the dead, and his glorious ascension into heaven, do offer to thy Divine Majesty, out of thine own gifts consecrated, and by mystical blessing made unto us the body and blood of thy Son Christ, a pure sacrifice, a holy sacrifice, and an undefiled sacrifice; the holy bread of eternal life, and the cup of everlasting salvation; that is, we offer to thy view, and set before thine eyes, the crucified body of Christ thy Son, which is here present in mystery and sacrament; and the blood which he once shed for our sakes, which we know to be that pure, holy, undefiled, and eternal sacrifice, wherewith only thou art pleased, desiring thee to be merciful unto us, for the merit and worthiness thereof, and so to look upon the same sacrifice, which representatively we offer to thy view, as to accept it for a full discharge of us from our sins, and a perfect propitiation; that so thou mayest behold us with a pleased, cheerful, and gracious countenance." This is the meaning of that prayer in the canon, *supra quæ propitio et sereno vultu respicere digneris, &c.;* as the best interpreters of the canon do tell us[1]. And when in the same prayer we desire that this sacrifice may be accepted for us, as the sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, and Melchisedec were, they observe that this comparison must not be understood in quantity, but in similitude only. For the thing itself is infinitely better than the figure; and the sacrifice that Christ offered, and we here commemorate, is incomparably more excellent than those of Abel, Abraham, and Melchisedec; and that therefore the meaning of those words is, that as God accepted those sacrifices which his servants offered unto him, before the coming of Christ his Son, as prefigurations of that sacrifice which he was after-

[1] "Exempla sanctorum adhibentur Abel justi, patriarchæ Abrahæ, summi sacerdotis Melchisedech, ut sicut eorum sacrificia Deus acceptavit, ita eis propiciando, ita suspiciat hostiam hanc, nostri miserando."—Odo Camaracens. Sacr. Can. Exposit. [Tom. XII. part 1. p. 408. Magn. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agr. 1618.]

"Attendenda est hæc comparatio sola similitudine non in quantitate; nec est referenda ad sacrificia sed ad offerentium vota."—Stephanus Eduensis. de Sacram. Altar. cap. xiv. Tom. x. p. 420. Biblioth. ejusdem.

wards to offer, and as a profession of their hope of remission of sins by the same; so it will please him to accept the sacrifice which Christ once offered and we now commemorate, for us, and us for it; that so our sins may be remitted, and we received to favour. After this there followeth another prayer in the canon, wherein, as humble suppliants, they that come to celebrate and to communicate, beseech Almighty God to command the oblations which they offer to be carried, by the hands of his holy angel, unto his altar that is on high, and into the view and sight of his Divine Majesty; that so many as shall, by partaking of the altar, receive the sacred body and blood of his Son, may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace, through the same Lord Jesus Christ. This form of prayer we find to have been very ancient, but what the meaning of it is, it is not so easy to find out. For, how may we be understood to desire that the body of Christ which we represent unto God in this commemorative sacrifice, should be carried into heaven, seeing it is always there? Wherefore let us hear what the holy fathers have said to this purpose. *Quis fidelium haberet dubium*, saith Saint Gregory[1], *in ipsa immolationis hora, ad vocem sacerdotis cœlos aperiri, in illo Jesu Christi mysterio angelorum choros adesse, summis ima sociari, terrena cœlestibus jungi, unum quid ex visibilibus et invisibilibus fieri?* that is, "What faithful man or believer will ever make any doubt but that in the hour of the oblation the heavens are opened; that so soon as the voice of the priest is heard, quires of angels are present; the lowest and highest things enter into a society, earthly things are joined with those that are celestial, and things visible and invisible become one." And in another place: "At one and the same time and moment, that which is presented on the altar is caught up into heaven, by the ministry of angels, to be joined in a near sort unto the body of Christ, and is at the same time before the eyes of the priest upon the altar." So then the oblations which we present unto God on the altar, are then carried by the hands of angels into heaven, when those sacramental elements which we bring thither, though they be still visible on the altar, as Gregory saith, yet being changed, and become unto us in mystery and exhibitive

[1] St Greg. Mag. Dialog. Lib. IV. cap. 58. Tom. II. col. 472. Op. Ben. fol. Par. 1705.

signification, the body and blood of Christ once sacrificed and shed for us, and now in heaven continually represented unto God to intercede for us; may rightly be said to be carried up into heaven. But seeing by the precedent words of mystical blessing and prayer, the sacramental elements are so changed before the pronouncing of this prayer, that they are already become, in sort before expressed, the body and blood of Christ which is in heaven, we do not, in these words, desire any such thing to be done, but this is that we say, Lord, we here commemorate the death and sacrifice of thy Son Christ, that once died for us, and now continually representeth the same his death unto thee, to procure us good; humbly beseeching thee, that for his sake thus dying for us, and now continually in heaven representing himself unto thee, and setting the same his passion and sufferings before the eyes of thy divine majesty, as if even now he did hang on the cross, all evil may be far removed from us, and all good brought upon us: and that all we that, by communicating in these holy mysteries, receive the body and blood of the same thy Son Christ, may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace. So that to command the sacrifice of Christ's body and blood once offered, and here by us commemorated, to be carried into heaven, and to be represented unto God, is no more but to make it appear that that body of Christ which he once offered by the passion of death, and which we now commemorate, is in heaven, there so represented unto God that it procureth for us all that we desire.

There is nothing therefore found, in the canon of the mass rightly understood, that maketh any thing for the new real offering of Christ to God his Father, as a propitiatory sacrifice to take away sins; neither did the Church of God, at and before Luther's time, know or believe any such thing; though there were some in the midst of her, that so conceived of this mystery as the Romanists now do. Wherefore, for the clearing of this point, I will first set down what the conceit of the Romanists now is, and then make it appear, that all the best learned, at and before Luther's time, thought otherwise touching this matter than these now do.

These that now are express their conceit touching this point, in this sort: first, they shew what an oblation is: secondly, what the nature of a sacrifice is: and, thirdly, how

and in what sort they imagine Christ is now newly and really, not offered only, but sacrificed also, to take away our sins. An oblation they rightly define to be, the bringing of something that we have, into the place where the name of God is called on, and where his honour dwelleth; a representing of it there unto God; a professing that we will own it no longer, but that God shall be the owner of it: that it shall be holy unto him, to be employed about his service, if it be an irrational thing; or to serve him in some special sort, if it be rational; as when parents presented and offered their children to God, to be holy unto him: as were the Nazarites, who were to serve him in some peculiar and special sort: and in this sort Christ presented and gave himself to God his Father, from his first entrance into this world, and was holy unto him, and an oblation. But, in this sort, it is not for us to offer Christ to God his Father, whatsoever any papist may imagine: for it were a woeful thing for us so to give up Christ to his Father, as to profess that we will own him no longer, nor have any interest in him, nor claim to him, any more. And besides, if it were fit for us so to do, yet who are we that we should present Christ unto God his Father, to be holy unto him, that so presented and gave himself unto him, from his first entrance into the world, that he bringeth us also to God, to be holy unto him? A sacrifice implieth more than an oblation: for if we will sacrifice a thing unto God, we must not only present it unto him, professing that it shall be his, and that we will own it no more, nor make any claim unto it; but we must destroy and consume it also. As we see in the old law, when living things were sacrificed, they were slain and consumed in fire: when other that had no life were sacrificed, they were consumed in fire. And answerably hereunto, Christ was sacrificed on the cross, when he was crucified and cruelly put to death by the Jews: but how he should now be really sacrificed, sacrificing implying in it a destruction of the thing sacrificed, it is very hard to conceive. First, therefore, they say, that Christ may truly be said to be really sacrificed; because when the words of consecration are pronounced over the bread, they so cause the body of Christ to be where the bread was, that they cause not the presence of the blood: and in like sort, the words pronounced over the wine, cause the prescnce of Christ's blood, and not

of his body; so that upon the pronouncing of the words of consecration, there would be in the sacrament the body of Christ without the blood, and the blood without the body, and so a slain and a crucified Christ, if that natural concomitance, by reason whereof the one of them will not be absent where the other becometh present, did not hinder their being asunder. Thus then they say, there is a true real sacrificing of Christ, in that, asmuch as is on the part of the words pronounced and him that pronounceth them, Christ's blood is again poured out, and he consequently slain. This is the conceit of *Gregorius de Valentia*[1]: and in this sort he imagineth Christ is daily newly sacrificed on the altar: but, (besides that it is an impious thing for the priest to endeavour as much as in him lies to slay Christ, and to pour out his blood again), this proveth not a real sacrificing of Christ, but only an endeavour so to do: for his blood is not poured out, neither is he slain indeed. So that, as in the time of the old law, if the priest reaching forth his hand to slay the beast that was brought to be sacrificed, had been so hindered by something interposing itself that he could not slay the same, he had offered no sacrifice, but endeavoured only so to do; so is it here. Bellarmine therefore rejecteth this conceit, and hath another of his own: for he saith[2], that Christ hath a twofold being; the one natural, the other sacramental. The Jews had him present amongst them visibly, in his natural being; this being they destroyed, and so killed and sacrificed him. The Romish priests have him not so present, neither can they destroy his natural being, and so kill him: but they have him present in a sacramental presence, and in a sacramental being; this being they destroy. For consuming the accidents of bread and wine, which are there left without sub-

[1] "Si sacerdotes legitimi eucharistiam similiter absque ullo peccato contra institutionem recte confecerint, ut Apostoli eorumque successores facere jussi sunt, dubium esse non potest quin ut Christus ipse, sic etiam illi corpus et sanguinem Christi sub speciebus panis et vini præsentia tractent atque adeo sacrificent."—Gregorius de Valentia. [Tom. IV. disput. vi. quæst. xi. punct. 1. col. 1012. fol. Lugd. 1619.]

[2] "In sacrificio crucis destruebatur ad honorem Dei ipsum esse naturale Christi in forma humana; in sacrificio Missæ destruitur tantum esse sacramentale."—Bellarm. [de Missa, Lib. VI. cap. iv. Tom. III. p. 422, D. ed. Ben. fol. Ven. 1721.]

stance, and with which he is present, they make his presence there to cease, and so cause him to lose that being which formerly he there had. Thus do they suppose that they newly sacrifice Christ, and destroy him in that being wherein he is present with them. And the priest's eating is not for refection, but for consumption, that he may destroy Christ in that being wherein he is present; as the fire on the altar was wont to consume and destroy the bodies of those beasts that were put into it. But first, it is impious to think of destroying CHRIST in any sort: for though it be true, that in sacrificing of Christ on the altar of the cross, the destroying and killing of him was implied, and this his death was the life of the world; yet all that concurred to the killing of him, as the Jews, the Roman soldiers, Pilate, and Judas, sinned damnably; and so had done, though they had shed his blood with an intention and desire that by it the world might be redeemed. So in like sort, let the Romish priests have what intention they will, it is hellish and damnable once to think of the destroying of Christ in any sort. And besides, if it were lawful for them so to do, yet all that they do, or can do, is not sufficient to make good a real sacrificing of CHRIST; because all they do, or can do, is no destroying of his being, but only of his being somewhere, that is, in the sacrament. For, as if the things which were brought to be sacrificed in the time of the law, had been only removed out of some place into which they were brought, or only caused to cease to be where they were, and not what they were, they could not truly have been said to have been sacrificed; no more can it be truly said that Christ is really sacrificed, in that the priest's consuming the accidents of bread and wine under which they supposed him to be, make him cease to be there any longer.

Having thus, in their erring imaginations, framed to themselves a real sacrificing of Christ, they begin to dispute of the force and efficacy of it, affirming[1] that this real offering and

[1] "Sacrificium Missæ dicitur propitiatorium, quia impetrat remissionem culpæ; satisfactorium, quia impetrat remissionem pœnæ; meritorium, quia impetrat gratiam benefaciendi ac merita acquirendi. Quanquam non negaverim dici etiam satisfactorium, quod ex Christi institutione sacrificium hoc applicetur ejusdem Christi passio ad pœnas tollendas, seu viventium seu mortuorum, quæ post culpam remissam aliquando remanent vel in hac vita vel in purgatorio luendæ."—Bellarm. de Missa. [Lib. VI. cap. IV. Tom. III. p. 421, E.]

sacrificing of CHRIST by the priest, is propitiatory, in that it pacifieth God, and procureth and obtaineth grace, and the gift of repentance, that the sinner may come to the sacrament, and so be justified: satisfactory, in that it applieth the satisfaction of Christ, and procureth remission of temporal punishments, to them that by faith and repentance are already free from the guilt of eternal condemnation; meritorious, because it obtaineth that grace whereby we may merit; and impetratory, in that it obtaineth for us and procureth to us all desired good. This force and efficacy, they say, it hath *ex opere operato;* that is, the very offering and sacrificing of Christ in sort before expressed, of itself hath force and power to obtain and procure grace, remission of sins, and the like, for all them for whom such offering is made, if there be no hinderance or impediment in themselves: and, that God hath tied himself by promise to confer such gifts, and work such effects, so often as the body and blood of his Son shall be thus offered. And, farther, they add, that it conferreth good and removeth evil, not infinitely, but in a stinted and limited sort: nor in that limited sort equally in respect of all, but in proportionable sort as the intendment of the Church is to apply this sacrifice, more or less, to the procuring of more or less: and that therefore the benefit that this sacrifice procureth, is, in one degree, communicated to all faithful ones, living and dead; in another, to such as by the Church's appointment are specially named, as the pope, king, and bishop, or the like; in another, to them that procure the offering of this sacrifice; in another, to them that are present and stand by; in another, to them that minister and attend; in another, to the priest that sacrificeth; and in another, to whomsoever it pleaseth the priest to impart and communicate the benefit and effect of this sacrifice. For, as *Gregorius de Valentia* allegeth out of *Scotus*[1], it is to be thought, that the priest that is the minister of this sacrifice, may apply to whom he will, not only that which, by worth of his personal merit in the religious performing of this service he may deserve, but some part also of that effect which this sacrifice hath *ex opere operato;* and that God hath committed

[1] "An sit in potestate sacerdotis applicare bonum quod debetur ecclesiæ alicui personæ?"—Scotus. Quodlibet. quæst. xx. tom. XII. p. 524. sqq. Opp. fol. Lugd. 1639.

unto him the effect which it hath in this kind, in some degree and sort, to be dispensed by him to whom he thinketh good, in recompence of his service. And further they resolve, that those effects which this sacrifice hath *ex opere operato*, and are, by the intendment of the Church, communicated, in different sort and degree, to those divers sorts of men before specified, are equally communicated to each of those sorts, according to their several differences, whether the sacrifice be offered for more or fewer; as they that procure mass to be said for them, whether they be more or fewer, shall have like effects wrought in them: but that portion of this efficacy, force, and power of working gracious effects, that is committed to the disposition and distribution of the priest, is so limited, that accordingly as he intendeth good to more or fewer, he procureth more or less unto them. Here we see a goodly frame of building raised, but it hath an ill foundation; for it is most absurd to say, that the very offering of Christ's body and blood, *ex opere operato*, and of itself, should have force to obtain any thing at God's hand, or to procure any good unto us. For there is no offering that can have any acceptation unless it be offered by an accepted offerer, according to that in the fourth of Genesis, "God had respect to Abel, and to his offering;" first to Abel, and then to his offering; and that in the twenty-first of Luke, where Christ saith, This poor widow hath cast in more into the treasury than any of the rest, because she cast it in out of a larger, more free, better, and more accepted will. And hereupon Saint Gregory[1], in his Homily on that of Matthew iv., "Jesus walking, &c." saith, *Non pensat Deus quantum in ejus sacrificio deferatur, sed ex quanto:* that is, God doth not so much weigh and consider how much, or how good, that is which is presented to him in sacrifice, as out of how great and good affection it is presented. And therefore, if a Jew had offered Christ unto his Father, willing so to be offered, or not willing, this oblation had not been so acceptable as when he offered himself: nay, it had not been accepted at all, according to that in Ecclesiasticus[2], "He that offereth sacrifice out of the sub-

[1] "Nec perpendit Deus quantum in ejus sacrificio sed ex quanto proferatur."—S. Greg. in Evang. Lib. I. Hom. v. §. 2. Tom. I. col. 1451, c. Ed. Ben. Par. 1705.

[2] Ecclesiasticus xxxiv.

stance of the poor, is as he that slayeth and sacrificeth the son in the sight of his father." And Bellarmine[1] saith well to the same purpose, "that though the thing offered be acceptable of itself, yet the oblation is not acceptable, unless the offerer be accepted; which is especially true in respect of God, whose all things are, and who needeth nothing." So that in this supposed sacrifice, the worthiness and acceptation of the offerer is principally to be considered, for it is not so much the worth of the thing offered, as the esteem the offerer hath of it, and his good affection in offering it, that God respecteth. Who, therefore, is the offerer of this their supposed sacrifice? They will say, Christ is the supreme, and the priest the inferior and subordinate: and that therefore whatsoever the condition of the priest be, the sacrifice is accepted for the principal offerer's sake. But this is nothing; for though Christ be offered on the altar, as they imagine, yet he doth not offer himself immediately; for then this offering would be equivalent to that former on the Cross, which yet they will not acknowledge. And besides, that of the apostle should be found false and untrue, Heb. ix. that he doth not often offer himself. Neither can it be said that Christ offereth himself mediately by the priest, and so giveth price and worth to the offering: for if it be said that Christ offereth himself mediately by the priest, either it is because he appointeth, authoriseth, and encourageth the priest to make this offering; and this will give no more value and worth to the offering than the immediate offerer hath; as we see it was in the offerings of the priest under the law: or else, in that the priest doth this in his name, as a legate presents a thing to a foreign prince, in the name of the king: and this cannot be; for whatsoever a legate may do in the name and person of his king, the king may do in his own person, if it please him; but Christ can no more offer himself in his own person; therefore this is not to be admitted. Wherefore, passing by this idle fancy, we shall find that the offerer is the priest, and so many as do procure or desire the doing of the same;

[1] "Licet res ipsa placeat ex se, tamen oblatio rei non placet nisi offerens placeat, ac præsertim Deo cujus sunt omnia et qui nulla re indiget."—Bellarm. de Missa. Lib. VI. cap. iv. Tom. III. p. 422. fol. Ven. 1721.

and that therefore the whole Church, in a sort, may be said to offer this sacrifice. For though it be offered *ministerio sacerdotis*, "by the ministry of the priest," yet it is offered *voto ecclesiæ*, "out of the desire and devotion of the Church," in which there are ever some found that are acceptable unto God; and therefore the offerer of this sacrifice is ever acceptable; and according to the merit, and worthiness of this offerer, the sacrifice here offered findeth acceptation. So then these men imagine, that there is a real, external sacrifice in the Church, which they daily offer unto God; that it worketh great effects of grace; that Christ is offered in it; but that the acceptation of it is not wholly, nor principally, from the dignity of the thing offered, but from the merit of the offerer.

This is the present doctrine of the Roman Church; but this was not the doctrine of the Church at the time of Luther's appearing: for the best and principal men that then lived, taught peremptorily, that Christ is not newly offered any otherwise, than in that he is offered to the view of God; nor any otherwise sacrificed, than in that his sacrifice on the cross is commemorated and represented. "The things that are offered in the sacrament are two, (saith the author of the *Enchiridion* of Christian religion[1], published in the provincial

[1] "Res in hoc sacramento oblatæ duæ sunt, nempe corpus Christi verum cum suis meritis, et corpus Christi mysticum cum suis donis a Deo acceptis. Quatenus ergo ecclesia verum corpus et verum sanguinem Christi Deo Patri offert, sacrificium mere repræsentativum est ejus quod in cruce semel est peractum. Quatenus vero seipsam (quæ est corpus Christi mysticum), per Christum offert, seque ac sua omnia per Christum Deo dedicat, verum sed spirituale sacrificium est, hoc est, sacrificium eucharisticum laudis, gratiarum, actionis, et Deo propriæ debitæ obedientiæ... Immolatur ergo Christus in altari, sed sacramentaliter et mystice, quia in sacramento recordatio illius fit quod factum est semel. Non toties (quod dictu abominabile est) occiditur Christus, sed repræsentatur quod olim factum est, ne beneficii in nos collati obliviscamur, sed potius hoc sacramento sic excitemur ac moneamur tanquam videamus Dominum pendentem in cruce. Passio Domini est, ut inquit Cyprianus, sacrificium quod offerimus, id est, quod offerendo repræsentamus, memores illius unici et summi sacrificii et sanctæ immolationis in cruce factæ.

Neque mirabere nos verum Christi corpus in recordationem Deo offerre audere. Nam quum Deus Christum nobis donaverit, utique

council of *Cólen*:) the true body of Christ, with all his merits; and his mystical body, with all the gifts which it hath received of God. In that therefore the Church doth offer the true body and blood of Christ to God the Father, it is merely a representative sacrifice, and all that is done is but the commemorating and representing of that sacrifice which was once offered on the cross: but in that it dedicateth itself, which is the mystical body of Christ, unto God, it is a true, but a spiritual sacrifice, that is, an eucharistical sacrifice of praise, thanksgiving, and of obedience, due unto God. Christ therefore is offered and sacrificed on the altar, but sacramentally and mystically; in that in the sacrament there is a commemoration and remembrance of that which was once done. Christ is not often slain, which once to think were abominable; but that which was once done is represented, that we might not forget the benefit bestowed on us, but rather be so stirred up and moved by this sacrament, as if we saw the Lord Jesus hanging upon the cross. The passion of the Lord, saith Cyprian[1], is the sacrifice that we offer to God, that is, that we offer to the view of God, and represent unto him. Neither is it to be marvelled at that we offer the true body of Christ, to revive the memory of the former sacrifice, and to represent it unto God; seeing the Son of God was given unto us, that we might oppose him to the wrath of God, as a reconciler; and that, distrusting our own strength, we might represent to the Father this most potent sacrifice." *Cum defecerit*, saith Bernard[2], *virtus mea, non conturbor, non diffido, scio quid faciam: calicem salutaris accipiam.* That is, "When my strength shall fail, I will not be troubled, neither will I despair. I know what I will do; I will take the cup of salvation." And in another place[3]: *Totum quod dare possum miserum corpus istud*

propterea nobis donatus est ut hunc iræ Dei tanquam reconciliatorem nostrum opponamus, et diffisi de nostris viribus, hanc potentissimam victimam Patri repræsentemus."

[1] [Cyprian. ad Cæcilian. Ep. LXIII. p. 156. ed. Fell. Oxon. 1682.]

[2] Bernard. in Cant. Serm. XXII. [Tom. I. col. 1342. E. ed. Mabill. fol. Par. 1719.]

[3] "Totum quod dare possum miserum corpus istud est: illud si dedero, satis est. Si quo minus, addo et corpus ipsius: nam illud de meo est et meum est. 'Parvulus, enim, natus est nobis et Filius natus

est, id si minus est, addo et corpus ipsius. Nam illud de meo est, et meum est: parvulus enim natus est nobis, et Filius datus est mihi. De te, Domine, suppleo, quod minus habeo in me. O dulcissima reconciliatio! O suavissima satisfactio! That is, "All that I can give is this miserable body; if that be too little, I add his body, for that is of mine, and it is mine: a little child is born unto us, a Son is given unto me; from thee I take, O Lord, to supply what I find wanting in myself. O most sweet reconciliation! O most sweet satisfaction!" Who doth not see, that God doth, by such a faith as that is that is exercised in the celebration of this representative sacrifice, and in the eating of the body of Christ, the sufferings whereof are here represented, apply the benefit of Christ his dearest Son to his faithful ones. Neither do we attribute this application to the priest, but to God; nor to our work, but to God's benefit; which yet we receive no otherwise but by faith, with the assent of our own will. Hitherto we have heard the words of the author of the *Enchiridion*; and the same author[1] elsewhere saith, that the orthodox divines deny the external action which we call the sacramental oblation, to confer grace, or to have any spiritual effect, *ex opere operato*. "It is true," saith he, "that a wicked man may pronounce the words of Christ, and so make the elements of bread and wine to become the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood, and this sacrament, *ex opere operato*, that is, out of the very nature of a sacra-

est nobis.' De te, Domine, suppleo quod minus habeo in me. O dulcissima reconciliatio! O satisfactio suavissima!"—Bernard in Epiphan. Serm. I. [Tom. I. col. 804. C.]

Enchiridion Christianæ Institutionis. [p. 93, b. 8. Ven. 1543.]

[1] "Animadvertendum est orthodoxos quum quid tribuunt operi operato in hoc sacrificio non intelligere per opus operatum ceremoniam exteriorem sine fide, quod faciunt adversarii, sed potius veritatem corporis et sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia; quæ non in merito sacerdotis, sed in verbo conficitur creatoris..... si malus sit sacerdos consecrans, si tamen consecrare intendat et verbis Christi sacramentum conficiat. Aliud enim est conficere corpus Christi, quod facit sacerdos Christi vice, Christi verba pronuntians; aliud offere Deo Christi corpus verum vel mysticum, quod nemo utiliter facit nisi accedat vera fides et bonus motus vel offerentis vel ejus pro quo sit oblatio."—Enchirid. [p. 93, A.]

ment, and of itself, how ill soever the minister be, will confer grace, instrumentally, to all such as receive it, without such indisposition, as might hinder the working of it. But if we speak of the offering of Christ representatively, it hath no force farther than the faith of the offerer extendeth. If the priest therefore, not only outwardly, but inwardly also, by the act of faith, present the sufferings of Christ in the body of his flesh to God, in desire, by the merit thereof, to escape his wrath; he bringeth much good upon himself: and if he devoutly beseech God for his Christ's sake, whose sufferings he representeth unto him, to be merciful to the people committed to his charge, or to any other, there is no doubt but this his prayer, in the nature of a prayer, is most powerful to obtain in this kind. But if he be wicked and faithless, his representative offering of Christ, of and merely in respect of itself, worketh no good to himself, nor any other. For, in the representative offering of Christ's passion to God, must be included a supplication made to God for that passion' sake; and a desire of those good things that we need. Now the prayer of such a sinner God heareth not; but, the people spiritually representing unto God, by the act of their faith, that which the priest doth sacramentally, obtain all desired good, and the removing of all evil, not by force of that the priest doth, but by their own faith, which is stirred up by that outward act done by him."

The most reverend canons of the metropolitical Church of Colen agree with the author of the *Enchiridion:* their words are these: *Consecratione facta in Missa, Christus Dominus, qui seipsum aliquando in corpore suo mortali Deo Patri cœlesti cruentum sacrificium pro peccatis mundi obtulit, denuo totius ecclesiæ nomine, modo incruento, spirituali representatione et commemoratione sacratissimæ suæ passionis, offertur: quod ipsum fit, quando ecclesia Christum et ejus verum corpus, verumque sanguinem, Deo Patri cum gratiarum actione, et oratione attenta, pro suis et totius mundi peccatis proponit seu repræsentat: quanquam enim sacrificium illud, in ea forma qua in cruce offerebatur, semel tantum oblatum sit, et semel tantum sanguis effusus; ut ita repeti, iterumque offerri non possit; nihilominus tamen consistit; et manet tale sacrificium coram Deo,*

perpetuo in sua virtute et efficacia acceptum; ita ut sacrificium illud in cruce oblatum, non minus hodierno die in conspectu Patris sit efficax et vigens, quam eo die quo de saucio latere sanguis exivit et aqua. Quapropter cum vulnerati corporis nostri plagæ pretio redemptionis semper opus habeant, ecclesia proponit Deo Patri pretium illud, in vera fide et devotione iterum, sed figurative et spiritualiter, ad consequendam remissionem peccatorum: non quod huic operi suo, quo videlicet commemorat et repræsentat sacrificium illius, meritum ascribat remissionis peccatorum, ut quam solus Christus cruenta sua oblatione in cruce nobis promeruit; verum tali suo commemorativo, et mystico fidei sacrificio, in quo repræsentat ecclesia, et sistit in conspectum Patris verum corpus et sanguinem ejus Unigeniti, applicat sibi et accommodat magnum illud donativum remissionis peccatorum, quod Christus impetravit, cum accipiat remissionem peccatorum per nomen ejus, qui credit in eum[1], Acts x. That is; "So soon as the consecration is done in the mass, Christ the Lord who sometime offered himself in his mortal body a bloody sacrifice to God his heavenly Father, for the sins of the whole world, is now offered again after an unbloody manner, by representation and commemoration of his most sacred passion; which thing is then done, when the Church doth propose and represent Christ and his true body and blood to God the Father, with thanksgiving, and with earnest prayer for the remission of her sins and the sins of the whole world: for although that sacrifice, in such sort as it was offered on the cross, was offered only once, and his blood only once poured forth, so that he can no more be so offered; yet, notwithstanding, that sacrifice remaineth and abideth before God perpetually, in its virtue and efficacy, and is so acceptable unto him, that being but once offered on the cross, it is no less effectual and of force in the sight of God to-day, than it was that day when water and blood streamed out of his wounded side. Wherefore seeing the sores and hurts of our wounded bodies have always need of the price of redemption, the Church proposeth to God, in faith and

[1] ["Antididagma, seu Christianæ et Catholicæ religionis per rever. et illustr. dominos canonicos metropolitanæ ecclesiæ Coloniensis propugnatio," &c. pp. 97, 98. fol. Colon. 1544.]

devotion, that price again; but figuratively and spiritually, to obtain remission of sin, not as if she did ascribe to this her work, whereby she commemorateth and representeth that his sacrifice, the meriting of remission of sins, which Christ only merited for us by his bloody sacrifice on the cross; but by such her commemorative and mystical sacrifice of faith, in which she representeth and setteth, before the eyes of God the Father, the true body and blood of his only-begotten Son, she applieth to herself that great donative of remission of sins, which Christ obtained; it being so that every one that believeth in him receiveth remission of sins, by his name, as it is in the 10th of the Acts."

In the book proposed by Charles V.[1], written by certain learned and godly men, much commended to him by men worthy to be credited, as opening a way for the composing of the controversies in religion, we shall find the same explication of this point, touching the sacrifice, that I have already delivered out of the former authors; the words are these: *Omnis ecclesia Missam, in qua verum corpus et verus sanguis Christi conficitur, sacrificium esse consentit; sed incruentum et spirituale; in ea enim (modo religiose et pie agatur,) Deo quatuor spiritualiter offeruntur. Initio enim Christus, qui seipsum Patri in mortali corpore, cruentam, sufficientem, et beneplacentem, pro totius mundi peccatis hostiam cruci affixus obtulit, idem ille in Missa, totius ecclesiæ nomine, repræsentativo sacrificio, eidem Deo Patri immolatur; quod certe fit, cum ecclesia illum, ejusque verum corpus et sanguinem, Deo Patri pro totius mundi peccatis pia prece sistit: nam etsi oblatio illa in cruce semel facta, transit non reiterabilis; victima tamen ipsa immolata perpetua virtute consistit, ut non minus hodie in conspectu Patris oblatio illa, in iis qui eum Deo religiosa fide reprœsentant, sit efficax, quam eo die quo de sacro latere sanguis et aqua exivit. In quam sententiam Patres corpus et sanguinem Christi in altari prœsentia, nunc pretium pro peccatis totius mundi, nunc pretium redemptionis nostræ, nunc victimam salutarem, appellare consueverunt. Et Chrysostomus testatur nos eandem hostiam, quæ semel oblata est, in sancta sanctorum semper offerre, atque unum*

[1] Goldast. Tom. II. p. 197. [fol. Francf. 1615.]

esse utrobique sacrificium, unum Christum, et hic plenum existentem, et illic plenum; sic tamen ut quod nos agimus sacrificium exemplar sit illius, in commemorationem ejus, quod factum est semel. Nec ab re, Deus enim in hoc donavit nobis Christum Jesum Filium suum, ut de nostris viribus diffisi, deque nostris peccatis nobis probe conscii, illum tanquam unicam et potissimam victimam pro nostris peccatis satisfactoriam Deo Patri repræsentemus: ipse enim natus est, ipse datus est nobis, ut quicunque in eum credimus, non pereamus, sed pacem cum Deo reconciliati per sanguinem ejus habeamus. Secundo, ecclesia in hoc Missæ sacrificio seipsam quoque, quatenus Christi corpus mysticum est, per Christum Deo offerre, non dubitat. Tertio, in Missa sacrificium laudis offertur. Postremo, ecclesia et dona quædam, tam panis quam vini, ex quibus partim corpus et sanguis Christi conficiebantur, offerebat, partim et elleemosynæ fiebant: et justum est quod populus in hoc sacrificio se non tantum verbis Deo consecret, sed et symbolo aliquo externo testetur, quod se totum dedicet Deo. Nam is mos in ecclesiis pene abolitus est; cum olim omnibus diebus Dominicis, panis et vinum, et res aliæ, ab omnibus tum viris tum mulieribus, ad altare offerebantur, quemadmodum decreta quæ Fabiano tribuuntur testantur. That is, "The whole Church doth consent, that the mass in which the bread and wine are consecrated to become the true body and blood of Christ, is a sacrifice, but unbloody and spiritual; for in it (if it be godly and religiously celebrated), four things are spiritually offered unto God. For first, Christ himself, who being fastened to the cross offered himself to his Father in his mortal body, a bloody, sufficient, and well-pleasing sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, is in the mass offered to the same God his Father, in the name of the whole Church, by a representative oblation: which thing truly is then done, when the Church piously, to intreat mercy for the sins of the whole world, presenteth him and his true body and blood to God the Father: for, although that oblation that was once made on the cross be past and cannot be reiterated, yet the thing that was then sacrificed and offered abideth, having a never-failing virtue and efficacy: so that that oblation, in them that by a religious faith do represent it unto God, is no less effectual and prevailing to procure

them favour in the sight of God, than it was that day that water and blood streamed out of his sacred side. And in this sense the Fathers are wont sometimes to call the body and blood of Christ present on the altar, the price for the sins of the whole world, sometimes the price of our redemption, sometimes the sacrifice that bringeth salvation. And Chrysostom witnesseth, that we continually and daily offer the same sacrifice that was once offered and presented into the holiest of all; and that, both there and here, there is one sacrifice, one Christ, perfect here, and perfect there; yet so, that that which we do is but a representation, and done in remembrance of that thich was once there done: and this not unfitly; for therefore did God give us Christ Jesus his Son, that distrusting our own strength, and being guilty to ourselves of many sins, we might represent and set him in the sight of God the Father, as the only and most excellent satisfactory sacrifice for our sins. For he was born, and he was given unto us, that whosoever of us believe in him, might not perish, but might have peace with God, being reconciled by his blood. Secondly, the Church, in this sacrifice of the mass, doubteth not to offer itself as the mystical body of Christ, unto God by Christ. Thirdly, in it is offered the sacrifice of praise. Lastly, the Church was wont to offer certain gifts of bread and wine, out of which some part was consecrated to become the body and blood of Christ to the faithful people, and the rest was given in alms to the poor. And truly it is very just and right, that the people, in this sacrifice, should not consecrate themselves to God in words only, but so as to testify by some outward symbol that they wholly dedicate themselves to God: and therefore it is not well that this custom is almost utterly abolished; whereas anciently every Lord's day bread and wine and other things were offered on the altar, both by men and women, as the decrees attributed to pope Fabian do testify." After this follow these words in the same place: *Jam si canon ille Missæ in hunc quem diximus sensum intelligatur, nihil habet incommodi, superstitiosa tantum absit opinio, quia quidam de natura et energia hujus sanctissimi sacrificii male edocti, virtutem ejus ex solo externo opere quod facit sacerdos, in se derivari putabant, tametsi illi nullam vivam fidem adferrent, nullam pietatem adhiberent, nulla*

communione vel precum seu orationis sacrificio assensum præberent: quales erant qui nulla suæ nefandæ impietatis et execrandorum flagitiorum habita ratione se huic sacratissimæ et divinissimæ actioni damnabiliter miscuerunt, Missam solius externi operis quod sacerdos facit virtute prodesse putantes, etsi ipsi nihil probæ mentis adferrent. That is, "If the canon of the mass be understood in this sense which we have expressed, there is no evil in it; so that men have no superstitious conceit of things: for there were some, who being ill instructed touching the nature of this sacrament, supposed that virtue might be derived unto them by the sole externe action of the priest, although they brought no lively faith, no piety, nor gave any consent to the sacrifice, by any communion so much as of prayer: of which sort they were, who having no consideration of their own horrible impieties, and evils committed by them, persevering in the purpose of sinning damnably, presumed to be present at this most holy action, and put themselves in a sort into it, persuading themselves that the mass, by the virtue of the externe work of the priest alone, would do them good, though they brought no motions, affections, or desires of a good mind with them."

Hosius was of the same opinion with these before recited[1]: "When the priest (saith he) lifteth up the eucharist,

[1] "Recte populum recte institutum fuisse videmus a majoribus nostris, cum eucharistiam sacerdos elevat, . . . in memoriam redeant illius sacrificii quo ille in crucem sublatus se pro nobis hostiam obtulit Deo. Recogitent etiam secum quam acerbos cruciatus, quam ignominiosam mortem sustinuit, quod his illius tam gravibus suppliciis non nisi peccata nostra causam dederunt. Quare justum de commissis illis dolorem concipiant atque modis omnibus ea sibi odio esse, seque vel maxime exdetestari declarent, et pectorum tunsionibus et quibuscunque rebus aliis extremis. Quoniam vero tam preciosa morte sua pro peccatis nostris omnibus Christus plane satisfecit, nulla ut esse possint flagitia tanta quæ per illum abolita non sint, concepta inde fiducia, adeant ad thronum gratiæ, et cum nostra merita non habeamus quæ allegare possimus, allegent Christi merita, hoc ipsum corpus quod pro nobis in cruce pependit, hunc ipsum sanguinem qui fusus est in remissione peccatorum nostrorum Deo Patri sistentes: ac supplices illum precentur, qui protector noster est, ut avertat faciem suam a peccatis ipsorum et respiciat in faciem Christi Filii sui unigeniti, qui cum esset speciosus forma præ filiis hominum, factus est nostra causa despectus. . . . In hujus igitur faciem respiciat, hujus merito peccata remittat,

let men remember that sacrifice wherein Christ being lifted up to the cross, offered himself to God a sacrifice for us. Let them think how bitter the torments were that he sustained, and let them know that men's sins were the cause of such his sufferings; let them grieve, as it is fit they should, for them; and let them shew, by all means, that they hate them. And because by his precious death he hath so fully satisfied for all sins, that there are none that are not abolished; let them, with good assurance and confidence, go unto the throne of grace; and whereas we have no merit of our own, let them plead that of Christ; let them present that his body that did hang on the cross, and his blood which was shed for the remission of our sins, to God the Father, and let them humbly beseech him to turn away his face from their sins, and to look upon the face of his Son Christ, who bare our infirmities; to look upon his face, for his merit to remit their sins, and to grant that they may derive unto themselves all that fruit which that sacrifice of the cross that is represented on the altar, brought to the world." Thus, he saith, the people were taught by our forefathers; and this, he saith, is enough for them to know. Notwithstanding he sheweth, that Michael Bishop of Merspurge[1], a man learned, godly, and truly catholic, published certain sermons touching the sacrifice of the mass, which he wisheth to be in the hands of all men; in these sermons the same explication is made of the sacrament, so often mentioned, that I have already delivered. And with him agreeth another learned bishop, Thomas Watson[2], sometimes Bishop of Lincoln, in his Sermons upon the seven sacraments: his words are these: "Christ in heaven and we his mystical body on earth do but one thing: for Christ being a priest

atque concedat ut quem fructum crucis illud sacrificium quod in altari repræsentatur toti mundo attulit, eum in se transferre queant.

Conscripti sunt sermones aliquot viri cum primis docti et pii vereque catholici Michaelis episcopi Merspurgensis, quos interim omnibus commendatos esse, atque manibus omnium conteri cuperemus."—Hosius, Confess. Fid. Cathol. cap. XLI. fol. 65. fol. Antverp. 1571.

[1] Michael Merspurgensis, de Missæ Sacrificio. Serm. XI. p. 79. fol. Colon. 1562.]

[2] Thomas Watson, ["Holsome and Catholyke doctryne concerning the seaven Sacramentes of Chrystes church," &c. 8°. Lond. 1558. Serm. XII. fol. 71, 72.]

for evermore, after his passion and resurrection, entered into heaven; and there appeareth now to the countenance of God for us; offering himself for us, to pacify the anger of God against us; and representing his passion and all that he suffered for us, that we might be reconciled to God by him[1]: even so the Church our mother being careful for us her children that have offended our Father in heaven, useth continually, by her public minister to pray, and to offer unto God the body and blood of her husband Christ; representing and renewing his passion and death before God, that we thereby might be renewed in grace, and receive life, perfection, and salvation: and after the same sort, the holy angels of God, in the time of this our sacrifice, do assist the priest, and stand about the host, thinking that the meetest time to shew their charity towards us; and therefore holding forth the body of Christ, pray for mankind, as saying thus, Lord, we pray for them whom thou hast so loved, that for their salvation thou hast suffered death, and spent thy life upon the cross; we make supplication for them for whom thou hast shed this thy blood; we pray for them for whom thou hast offered this same thy very body[2]. In that hour when Christ's death is renewed in mystery, and his most fearful and acceptable sacrifice is represented to the sight of God, then sitteth the King on his mercy-seat, inclined to give and forgive whatsoever is demanded and asked of him in humble manner[3]. In the presence of this body and blood

[1] "Is qui in se resurgens a mortuis jam non moritur adhuc per hanc in suo mysterio pro nobis iterum patitur. Nam quoties in hostiam suæ passionis offerimus, toties nobis ad absolutionem nostram passionem illius reparamus."—Greg. Mag. In Evang. Lib. II. hom. 37. tom. I. col. 1631. fol. Par. 1705.

[2] "*οἱ ἄγγελοι τότε αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τὸ δεσποτικὸν προτεινόμενοι τὸν δεσπότην παρακαλοῦσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως, μονουχὶ λέγοντες, ὅτι ὑπὲρ τούτων δεόμεθα οὓς αὐτὸς φθάσας οὕτως ἀγαπῆσαι κατηξίωσας ὡς τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπιδοῦναι τὴν σεαυτοῦ· ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐκχέομεν τὰς ἱκετηρίας ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτὸς τὸ αἷμα ἐξέχεας, ὑπὲρ τούτων παρακαλοῦμεν ὑπὲρ ὧν τὸ σῶμα τοῦτο κατέθυσας.*"—Chrysost. De incompr. Dei natur. Hom. III. §. 7. tom. I. p. 470, Par. 1718.

[3] *Μεγάλη τιμὴ τὸ ὀνομασθῆναι τοῦ δεσπότου παρόντος, τοῦ θανάτου ἐπιτελουμένου ἐκείνου, τῆς φρικτῆς θυσίας, τῶν ἀφάτων μυστηρίων· καθάπερ γὰρ καθημένου τοῦ βασιλέως ὅσα ἂν τις βούληται αἰτεῖ.* Chrysost. in Act. Hom. III. [Hom. XXI. §. 4. Tom. IX. p. 176, B.]

of our Saviour Christ, the tears of a meek and humble man never beg pardon in vain, nor the sacrifice of a contrite heart is never put back, but hath his lawful desires granted and given[1]. By resorting to this sacrifice of the mass, we evidently declare and protest before God and the whole world, that we put our singular and only trust of grace and salvation in Christ our Lord, for the merits of his death and his passion, and not for the worthiness of any good work that we have done, or can do, and that we make his passion our only refuge. For when wisdom faileth, which only cometh by the doctrine of Christ; when righteousness lacketh, which only is gotten by the mercy of Christ; when virtue ceaseth, which only is received from him who is the Lord of all virtue; then for supplying of these our lacks and needs, our refuge is to Christ's passion; then we run, as the prophet saith, to the cup of our Saviour and call upon the name of our Lord[2]: that is to say, we take his passion, and offer to God the Father, in mystery, the work of our redemption, that by this memory and commemoration of it, it would please his merciful goodness to innovate his grace in us, and to replenish us with the fruit of his Son's passion[3]. We are become debtors to Almighty God for our manifold sins and iniquities done against him; we can never pay this debt, no scarce one farthing of a thousand pounds; what remedy then have we but to run to the rich man our neighbour that hath enough to pay for us all; I mean Christ our Lord, who hath paid his heart blood, for no debt of his own, but for our debt? and there, whiles we celebrate the memory of his passion, we acknowledge and confess our sins, which be without number; and grant that we are not able to satisfy for the least of them; and therefore beseech our merciful Father to accept in full payment and satisfaction of our debts, his passion, which after this sort as he hath ordained to be

[1] "In hujus (corporis) præsentia non supervacuæ mendicant lacrymæ veniam, nec unquam patitur contriti cordis holocaustum repulsam."—Cyprian. (Pseud.) de Cœna Domini. Append. p. 42. ed. Fell. Oxon. 1682.

[2] "Deficiente sapientia, justitia non sufficiente, sanctitatis succumbentibus meritis, illa succurrit. Quis enim de sua vel sapientia vel justitia vel sanctitate præsumat sufficientiam sibi ad salutem?"—Bern. in Cant. XXII. [Tom. I. col. 1342, E.]

[3] Ps. CXVI. [13.]

done in the sacrifice of the mass, we renew and represent before him; and where our sinful life hath altogether displeased him, we offer unto him his well-beloved Son, with whom we are sure he is well pleased; most humbly making supplication to accept him for us, in whom only we put all our trust; accounting him all our righteousness, and the author of our salvation. Thus doth the Church daily renew, in mystery, the passion of Christ, and doth represent it before God in the holy mass, for the attaining of all the graces and benefits purchased by the same passion before, after the measure of his goodness, and as our faith and devotion is known unto him. And again, The Church offereth Christ, God's Son, to God the Father; that is, representeth to the Father the body and blood of Christ, which by his omnipotency he hath there made present; and thereby reneweth his passion, not by suffering of death again, but after an unbloody manner; not for this end that we should thereby deserve remission of sins, and deliverance from the power of the devil, which is the proper effect of Christ's passion; but that we should by faith, devotion, and this representation of his passion, obtain remission and grace already deserved by his passion, to be now applied to our profit and salvation, &c.; not that we can apply the merits of Christ's death, as we list, and to whom we list; but that we, by the representation of his passion, most humbly make petition and prayer to Almighty God to apply unto us the remission and grace which was purchased and deserved by Christ's passion before, after the measure of his goodness, and as our faith and devotion is known unto him. The thing offered both in the sacrifice of Christ on the cross, and in the sacrifice of the Church on the altar, is all one in substance, being the natural body of Christ our high Priest, and the price and ransom of our redemption; but the manner and effects of these two offerings are diverse: the one is by the shedding of Christ's blood, extending to the death of Christ the offerer, for the redemption of all mankind; the other is without shedding of his blood, only representing his death, whereby the faithful and devout people are made partakers of the merits of Christ's passion."

Hitherto the Bishop of Lincoln: and to the same purpose, the author of the Enchiridion of Christian Religion hath these

words: *Diligenter ergo hæc omnia nobis intuentibus, nihil vel absurdi, vel scrupulosi in toto missæ contextu occurret, sed omnia (præsertim quæ canon complectitur) pietatis plenissima ac plane reverenda (ut sunt) videbuntur. Aut enim Ecclesia respicit ad corpus et sanguinem Christi, pro se in cruce oblata, et vi omnipotentis verbi in altari præsentia, et non veretur hæc appellare hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum vitæ æternæ, et calicem salutis perpetuæ; aut ad oblationem repræsentativam, et commemorativam passionis seu corporis Christi veri, (quæ fide misericordiam per Christum apprehendente et redemptionem quæ est in Christo Deo Patri opponente peragitur:) et non dubitat hoc sacrificium laudis offerre, pro se suisque omnibus pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suæ; nimirum spem salutis et incolumitatis, ac redemptionem animarum, debita laude ac gratiarum actione Deo accepta referens; petitque ut hanc oblationem servitutis suæ Deus placatus accipiat, diesque nostros in sua pace disponat, atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum suorum grege jubeat numerari, non quidem ex meritis nostris, aut ex dignitate nostræ servitutis, sed per Christum Dominum nostrum*[1]: that is, "If we rightly look into these things, nothing will occur unto us, in the whole context of the mass, that may justly seem absurd, or cause any scruple; but all things there found, especially such as are contained in the canon, will appear unto us, as they are indeed, full of piety, and much to be reverenced; for either the Church hath respect to the body and blood of Christ offered for her on the cross, and by force of his Almighty word, present on the altar; and so feareth not to call these a pure host, an holy host, an immaculate host, the holy bread of eternal life, and the cup of eternal salvation; or else, she hath an eye to the representative and commemorative oblation, of the passion or true body of Christ, which consisteth in faith, apprehending mercy by Christ, and opposing unto God the redemption that is in Christ; and so she doubteth not to offer this sacrifice of praise, for herself and all her members, for the hope of her salvation and safety; that is, with all due praise and thanksgiving, she

[1] Enchiridion Christianæ Religionis, [p. 97.]

acknowledgeth that she hath received from God, the hope of salvation, safety, and the redemption of the souls of her sons and daughters; and desireth that God will take in good part this oblation of her service and bounden duty, that he will dispose our days in peace, that he will deliver us from eternal condemnation, and that he will make us to be numbered with his elect, not for our merits or the worthiness of this service, but thorough Christ our Lord."

With these Georgius Wicelius[1], a man much honoured by the emperors Ferdinand and Maximilian, fully agreeth; defining the mass to be a sacrifice rememorative, and of praise and thanksgiving; and in another place[2] he saith, the mass is a commemoration of the passion of Christ, celebrated in the public assembly of Christians, where many give thanks for the price of redemption. With these agreeth the Interim[3], published by Charles the Fifth in the assembly of the states of the empire at Augusta, March 15th, 1548, and there accepted by the same states.

But some man, haply, will say, here are many authorities alleged, to prove that sundry worthy divines in the Roman Church, in Luther's time, denied the new real offering or sacrificing of Christ, and made the sacrifice of the altar to be only representative and commemorative; but before his time

[1] "Vescor Eucharistia εὐχαριστῶν, i.e. gratias agens Deo Patri, ut qui me pretiosissimo corpore et sanguine dilectissimi Filii sui Servatoris mei in mortem traditi a morte me volens ac lubens redemit. Cujus incomparabilis summique facti recordatione fruor, subinde apud me animo revolvens tremendæ illius passionis historiam, inque illa fidem meam substentans et alens jugiter."—Georgius Wicelius, Catechist. examen. [8vo. Mogunt. 1545.]

[2] "Quam ob causam, et cui usui denique paratur mensa illa Domini. Resp. In memoriam inque annunciationem passionis ac mortis dominicæ. Utque hoc sacro officio ab ecclesia gratiæ agantur cœlesti Patri pro tam immenso redemptionis beneficio."—Id. quæst. catech. Num. LXXVII. p. 25. 8vo. Mogunt. 1543.

[3] "Hæc est munda et salutaris oblatio, illius unici sacrificii quo omnium salus comparata est rememorativa, non solum significans, sed reipsa in se comprehendens veritatem illarum rerum quas diversorum sacrificiorum oblationes olim præsignabant, &c. . . . ut passionis dominicæ memoriam recolentes Deo gratias agamus, pro salute nobis in cruce impetrata, &c."—Interim. Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestatis declaratio, &c. in Comitiis Augustanis, XV. *Maii.* anno 1548 proposita, &c. 4to. Art. XXII.

there were none found so to teach. Wherefore I will shew the consent of the Church to have been clear for us, touching this point, before his time, and against the Tridentine doctrine now prevailing.

Bonaventura[1], in his exposition of the mass, hath these words: "The body of Christ is elevated and lifted up, in the mass, for divers causes: but the first and principal is, that we may obtain and regain the favour of God the Father which we have lost by our sins; for there is nothing that offendeth God and provoketh him to be displeased, but sin only, as the psalmist saith, 'They provoked and displeased God with their inventions:' the priest, therefore, lifteth up the body of Christ on the altar, as if he should thus say: O heavenly Father, we have sinned and provoked thee to anger, but now look on the face of Christ thy Son, whom we present unto thee, to move thee to turn from thy wrath and displeasure, to mercy and grace; turn not away thy face therefore from this thy holy child Jesus, from this thy Son; but remember that thou hast said, of this same thy Son; 'This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased:' correct, therefore, mercifully, in us, whatsoever thou findest in us fit to be corrected, and turn us unto thee, and turn thy wrath from us."

"The question is proposed," saith Petrus Cluniacensis[2],

[1] "Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi multis de causis elevatur a sacerdote in missa. Quarum prima et præcipua est ad gratiam Dei Patris quam peccatis nostris perdimus obtinendam. Solo enim peccato offenditur et irritatur, sicut dicit Psalmista: 'Irritaverunt Deum in adinventionibus suis.' Sacerdos igitur elevat in altari corpus Christi, quasi dicat, O Pater cœlestis, peccavimus, et te ad iracundiam provocavimus. Sed nunc respice in faciem Christi Filii tui, quem tibi præsentamus et te ab ira ad misericordiam provocamus. Ne ergo avertas faciem tuam a puero tuo, scilicet a Filio tuo, sed memento quod dixeris de eodem Filio tuo, 'Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi complacui.' Corrige ergo in nobis misericorditer propter eum quicquid inveneris corrigendum, et converte nos ad te, et averte iram tuam a nobis."—Bonaventura, Expos. Missæ. [cap. IV. tom. VII. p. 83. fol. Rom. 1596.]

[2] "Quæritur, cur hoc sacrificium toties iteratur cum Christus semel in cruce oblatus ad tollenda totius mundi peccata sufficiat; maxime cum non hic aliud, et ibi aliud, sed hic et ibi idem prorsus sacrificium hoc est idem Christus offeratur, videndum est. Si enim illud in cruce suffecit, superfluum hoc in altari videtur. Sed non est superfluum, &c.;

"why this sacrifice is so often repeated, seeing Christ once offered on the cross, is sufficient to take away the sins of the whole world; especially seeing, here and there, not a divers, but the same sacrifice, that is, the same Christ, is offered. For if that on the cross sufficed, this seemeth to be superfluous: but it is not superfluous, &c.; for after he had said, 'Do this,' he addeth, 'in remembrance of me.' This then is the cause of this sacrament, even the commemoration of CHRIST. Our Saviour knew what he had done, and what he would do for man; he knew how great and singular that work was which he had done, in putting on the nature of man; he knew how wonderful that work would be that he was to do, when he should die for man; he knew that, by this work, he should save man; but that no man could be saved without the love of this work; he knew that this work of his becoming man, and dying for man, as it was renowned above all his works, so it was especially to be recommended unto men, for whom it was done; it was specially to be commended to them, seeing his flesh was tormented for them, his soul grieved, and death seized on him, that they might live; this was solemnly to be commended unto them, that Christ might be beloved; that being beloved, he might be possessed; that being once had, he might never be lost. But this love of him could not have been retained by men, if they should have forgotten

...nam postquam dixit; 'Hoc facite,' statim addidit, 'in meam commemorationem.' Hæc est ergo causa sacramenti, commemoratio Christi. Noverat Salvator quid fecerat, quid facturus erat propter hominem; noverat stupendum quod gesturus erat moriendo propter hominem. Sciebat hoc se opere salvaturum hominem, sed absque hujus operis dilectione nullum posse salvari hominem. Sciebat quia humanitatis et mortis suæ opus sicut super omnia opera sua summe celebratum, sic mortalibus pro quibus fiebat summe erat commendandum. Commendandum erat utpote cujus caro pro illis torquebatur, cujus anima pro ipsis tristabatur, cujus novissime mors illorum vitæ ministrabatur. Hoc certe solemniter commendandum erat ut Christus diligeretur, dilectus haberetur, habitus nunquam perderetur. Sed hæc ejus dilectio ab hominibus servari non poterat memoria pereunte; nec fugax memoria diu retineri valebat nisi signo congruo apparente. . . . Ea de causa signum hoc a Christo propositum est, quod ita signum est ut sit idem quod signat. Hoc autem contra veteris sacrificii multiplicitatem quæ in nullo erat idem quod signabat."—Petr. Cluniac. Epist. contr. Petrobrus. Tom. XXII. p. 1066. Max. Bibl. Vet. Patr. de La Bigne. Lugd. 1677.

him; neither could they have retained the memory of him, unless they should have been put in mind of him, by some fitting outward sign. For this cause was this sign proposed and appointed by Christ; which yet is so a sign, that it is the same thing that it signifieth; and herein it differeth from the sacrifices of the old law, which were not that they signified. *Sed istud nostri sacrificii signum, non aliud sed ipsum est quod signat, ita vero est ei idem quod signat, ut quantum ad corpus, id est, ad veritatem carnis et sanguinis Christi pertinet, sit idem quod signat,* [*non quoad mortem et passionem,*] *neque enim ibi Christus ut olim dolorem et mortem patitur, cum tamen immolari dicatur, cum videlicet inviolabitur in altari frangitur, dividitur, comeditur, cum iis, et quibusdam aliis signis in quantum fieri potest mors Domini maxime repræsentatur, unde sicut dixi, quantum ad veritatem corporis et sanguinis Christi pertinet, est idem quod signat* [*non quoad mortem et passionem.*] *quam tamen maxime signat:* that is; 'This sign of our sacrifice is no other but the same thing that it signifieth; but we must so understand it to be the same thing that it signifieth, in respect of the truth of the flesh and blood of Christ which it signifieth, but not in respect of his passion and death, though it very lively express and signify that also; for Christ doth not there suffer grief or death, as once he did, though he be said there to be offered and immolated, when he is inviolably broken upon the altar, distributed, and eaten, and when by these and the like signs, Christ's death is represented as much as possibly it may be; so that as I said, if we speak of the truth of the body and blood of Christ, this sign is the thing it signifieth; but if we speak of the death and suffering of Christ, it is not so; though it do very clearly and expressly represent and signify that his death and passion.'" Thus, we see, he maketh the sacrifice to be merely representative.

Algerus excellently expresseth the same thing in these words: *Notandum quia quotidianum nostrum sacrificium, idem ipsum dicit cum eo, quo Christus semel oblatus est in cruce, quantum ad eandem veram hic et ibi corporis substantiam; quod vero nostrum quotidianum illius semel oblati dicit esse exemplum, id est, figuram, vel formam, non dicit ut hic vel ibi alium Christum constituat, sed ut eundem in cruce semel, in altari quotidie, alio modo immolari et offerri*

ostendat; ibi in veritate passionis qua pro nobis occisus est; hic in figura et imitatione passionis ipsius, qua Christus non iterum vere patitur, sed ipsius vere memoria passionis quotidie nobis iteratur: quod et ipse Ambrosius notans subjicit. 'Quod nos facimus, in commemorationem fit ejus quod factum est; Hoc enim facite, inquit, in meam commemorationem, non aliud sacrificium sed ipsum semper offerimus, magis autem sacrificii recordationem operamur.' Non ergo est in ipsius Christi veritate diversitas, sed in ipsius immolationis actione, quæ dum veram Christi passionem et mortem quadam sua similitudine figurando repræsentat, nos ad imitationem ipsius passionis invitat, et accendit, contra hostem nos roborat, et munit, et a vitiis purgans, et virtutibus condecorans, vitæ æternæ idoneos et dignos exhibet[1]: that is, "It is to be noted, that our daily sacrifice is the same thing with that sacrifice whereby Christ was once offered upon the cross, in that the same true substance is offered here, that was offered there; whereas therefore he saith, that the sacrifice which we daily offer, is a similitude, figure, or representation of that sacrifice which Christ once offered, he is not to be conceived to imagine, that there is one Christ essentially here, and another there, but his meaning is to shew that the same Christ once offered on the cross, is daily offered, in another sort, on the altar; there, in the truth of his passion being slain for us; here, in figure and imitation of his passion: not suffering again, indeed, but having the memory of his passion which once he endured, daily renewed: which thing Ambrose himself also observing, hath these words: 'That which we do is done in remembrance of that which was then done; for he saith, Do this in remembrance of me. We do not therefore offer another sacrifice, but we always offer the same; or rather that we do, is a remembrance of that sacrifice which was once offered.' There is, therefore, no diversity in the truth and being of that Christ that offered himself, and that we offer, but in the action of offering: for while that which we do, representeth the true passion and death of Christ; and, by a certain similitude it hath of the same, setteth it lively before our eyes; it inviteth and enflameth us to the imitation of his

[1] Algerus De Sacram. Lib. I. cap. 16. [Tom. XXI. p. 268. Bibl. ejusd.]

passion, it strengtheneth and confirmeth us, against the enemy, it purgeth us from sin, beautifieth us with virtues, and maketh us meet and worthy to enter into eternal life." And afterwards he hath these words: *Semel passus in cruce, qui non manifeste sed invisibiliter est in sacramento, quotidie non passus, sed quasi pati repræsentatus, hanc immolationem non vero sed imaginario actu passionis et mortis fieri, et tamen veram salutem operari testatur* Gregorius, Dialog. 4. c. 58: that is, "Christ suffered once on the cross, who not visibly, but invisibly, is in the sacrament; neither doth he daily suffer, but his suffering is daily represented; this immolation, or offering, Gregory saith, consisteth not in the truth of passion or death, but in a mere representation of the same, and that yet it worketh true salvation." And after he addeth: *Licet non vera sed imaginaria passione in seipso immoletur; vera tamen et non imaginaria passione in membris suis immolatur, quando nos quia in memoriam passionis suæ, sacramentum tantæ pietatis suæ agimus sacrificando ipsum, flendo, et cor nostrum vera compunctione atterendo, mortem tam pii et dilecti Domini et Patris annunciamus.* That is, "Though Christ be not offered by any real passion in himself, but in a mere representation of his passion, yet he is offered by a true and more than imaginary passion in his members; while we who in memory of his passion celebrate this sacrament, of his so great goodness and loving-kindness towards us, and offer this sacrifice by weeping and breaking our heart with true compunction, shew forth the death of our so gracious and dearly-beloved Lord and Father."

Paschasius[1] maketh the same construction of the sacrifice: and Peter Lombard[2] proposing the question, whether that the priest doth, may properly be named a sacrifice, or immolation,

[1] "Illud fidei sacramentum jure veritas appellatur. Veritas ergo est dum corpus Christi et sanguis virtute spiritus in verbo ipsius ex panis vinique substantia efficitur. Figura vero, dum sacerdos quasi aliud exterius gerens, ob recordationem sacræ passionis ad aram, quod semel gestum est, quotidie immolat agnum."—Paschasius, [De Corp. et Sang. Dom. cap. IV. col. 1564. fol. Lut. Par. 1618.]

[2] "Semel Christus mortuus in cruce est, ibique immolatus est in semetipso: quotidie autem immolatur in sacramento, quia in sacramento recordatio est illius quod factum est semel."—Petr. Lombard. Sent. Lib. IV. dist. 12. [p. 407. 4to. Lovan. 1568.]

answereth, that Christ was only once truly and properly offered in sacrifice, and that he is not properly immolated or sacrificed, but in sacrament and representation only.

Bellarmine's[1] shift to avoid this testimony is very silly, for he saith that Peter Lombard did not propose the question, whether and how Christ may be said to be sacrificed, but how he may be said to be so sacrificed, as to be slain; and that in this sense he saith truly, that Christ was only once properly sacrificed, for that he cannot be said any more to be killed or slain, but in mystery and signification or representation only. Whereas it is most clear and evident, that he proposeth the question simply, and in general, whether he may be said to be sacrificed, or not; and seeing the sacrificing of a living thing doth import the killing and destroying of it, and the sacrificing of Christ the killing of Christ, he[2] pronounceth that, as Christ can die no more, so he can no more be properly sacrificed; and that therefore when he is said to be sacrificed or offered in the eucharist, we must understand that he is offered only in representation, and not really. That this is his meaning, it appeareth by that which he hath, writing upon the epistle to the Hebrews[3], where he doth not propose the question whether Christ may be said to be so offered often, as to die often, but how it conveth to pass that the Church daily offereth sacrifice, seeing, as the apostle saith, where there is one sacrifice having force to take away sin once offered, there is no need that any more sacrifices should

[1] "Petrus Longobardus... accipit nomen sacrificii et immolationis pro occisione, ac si apertius quæsivisset an quod gerit sacerdos sit dicenda Christi occisio: respondet autem rectissime Christum semel tantum vere immolatum, id est, occisum fuisse, nunc autem non proprie immolari, id est, occidi, sed solum in sacramento et repræsentatione."—Bellarm. de Eucharist. Lib. v. cap. 15. Tom. III. p. 403, c. fol. Ven. 1721.

[2] "Christus hostiam obtulit, ipsum offerimus et nunc, sed quod nos agimus recordatio est sacrificii."—Petr. Lomb. (ubi supr.)

[3] "Quid ergo nos? nonne per singulos dies offerimus? Offerimus quidem. Ceterum si nos quotidie offeramus, ad recordationem mortis ejus faciamus, et una hæc hostia est non multæ, quia semel tantum oblata est. Ipsam nos offerimus, et nunc et tunc oblata nunquam consumi potest: quod nos agimus recordatio sacrificii est."—Id. in Hebr. cap. x. fol. 254. 1535.

be offered; and answereth hereunto, that the thing now offered is the same that was offered on the cross; that the offering of it now is commemorative; and that that which we do, is but *recordatio sacrificii*, the calling to mind of Christ's sacrifice once offered, that it may be applied unto us, for the remission of our sins; so absolutely excluding all sacrifice for sin properly so called, of what kind soever it be. And Thomas Aquinas[1] on the same place, proposing the objection of the repetition and daily reiteration of sacrifice in the Church, which seemeth to import, that that of Christ was not sufficient to take away sin, answereth, that we offer not any other, but the very same sacrifice that Christ did, that is, his body and blood; and that it is no new or different oblation properly so named, but a commemoration only of that sacrifice which Christ once offered.

Henricus Gorrichem[2] writing upon the sentences saith, that in the eucharist there is the offering of a sacrifice, not really or in the thing itself, but in similitude; for that which is there daily done is a sign bringing to our remembrance, and figuring or representing that oblation that was once made. With whom Lyra[3] agreeth; his words are: *Si dicas sacrificium altaris quotidie offertur in Ecclesia; dicendum quod non est ibi sacrificii iteratio, sed unius sacrificii in cruce oblati quotidiana commemoratio:* that is, "If thou say the sacrifice of the altar is daily offered in the Church, it must be answered, that there is no reiteration of the sacrifice, but a daily commemoration of that sacrifice that was once offered on the cross." This he saith in answer to that

[1] "Item contra hoc quod hic dicitur, quod non iteretur; contra, quia nos quotidie offerimus. Respondeo; dicendum quod non offerimus aliam quam illam quam Christus obtulit pro nobis; scilicet sanguinem suum: unde non est alia oblatio, sed est commemoratio illius hostiæ quam Christus obtulit."—Aquin. in Hebr. cap. x. [fol. 221. tom. XVI. fol. Ven. 1591.]

[2] "Quæritur utrum corpus quotidie immolatur: et utrum illud quod facit sacerdos in hoc sacramento possit proprie dici sacrificium vel immolatio. Et respondet ad utrumque quod sic: non tamen in re sed in similitudine: quod enim quotidie geritur signum est memoriale et figura immolationis semel factæ."—Henric. Gorichen. in IV. sent. dist. 12. [cap. V. fol. 169. fol. Bas. 1513.]

[3] Lyra, (Nicol. de) in Hebr. x. [col. 904. tom. VI. Bibl. Sacr. cum gloss. ordinar. Lugd. 1589.]

objection, that seeing now, as in the time of the law, there is often offering for sin, it seemeth no sufficient sacrifice hath been offered; which objection could not be cleared by his answer, unless he denied the often offering of any kind of sacrifice for sin, whether bloody or unbloody.

Wherefore that which Bellarmine[1] hath, that Aquinas and the other schoolmen for the most part, do no otherwise say that the sacrifice of the mass is an immolation of Christ, but in that it is a representation of Christ's immolation on the cross, or because it hath like effects with that true and real sacrificing of Christ that implied his death, is most true: his evasion is found too silly, and it is made clear and evident, that the best and worthiest amongst the guides of God's Church before Luther's time, taught as we do, that the sacrifice of the altar is only the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and a mere representation and commemoration of the sacrifice once offered on the cross; and consequently are all put under the curse, and anathematized by the Tridentine Council[2]. So that the face of religion was not the same, before, and at Luther's appearing, that now it is, as M. Brerely would have us to believe.

Wherefore to conclude this point, it appeareth by that which hath been said, that neither the canon of the mass rightly understood, includeth in it any such points of Romish religion as some imagine; but in sundry, yea in all the capital differences between us and them of the Roman faction, witnesseth for us, and against them; and that the prelates and guides of the Church formerly made no such construction of it as now is made. That it may have a good sense, our

[1] "Sanctus Thomas et alii scholastici non fuerunt solliciti de eo quod nunc est in controversia sed solum qua ratione sacrificium missæ dici possit Christi immolatio, id est occisio, et ideo fere respondere solent, dici immolationem quia est repræsentatio immolationis, vel quia habet effectum similem cum ipsa vera et reali Christi occisione." —Bellarm. de Missa, Lib. I. [de Euchar. Lib. v. cap. 15. tom. III. p. 403. fol. Ven. 1721.]

[2] "Si quis dixerit missæ sacrificium tantum esse laudis et gratiarum actionis, aut nudam commemorationem sacrificii in cruce peracti, non autem propitiatorium; vel soli prodesse sumenti; neque pro vivis et defunctis, pro peccatis pœnis satisfactionibus et aliis necessitatibus offerri debere, anathema sit."—Concil. Trident. de Missa. [Session. XXII. can. 3. Labbe. Tom. XX. col. 131. Ven. 1733.]

men confess. I could, saith Luther, make such a construction of the canon of the mass, as might stand with the rule of faith; and I have somewhere so done: but seeing it is obscure, and the rule of the lawyers is, that he that will speak obscurely, shall have his words construed against him, and not for him; I will not, saith he, take so much pains, as to seek out and declare the best meaning that may be conceived of it, but a better form being found out, will leave this and embrace that. That it is obscure I shewed out of Cassander; and that if it be to be retained it must have some scholies, or explications, either added in the margent, or inserted into the text, that it may be understood and rightly used; which thing if it be done, it will seem a new one; and if it have such explications as he would have, it will differ little or nothing from our liturgy.

There is extant a certain form[1] of reformation exhibited by Charles the Fifth to the ecclesiastical states of the empire, and accepted and received by them, wherein they profess, that the canon of the mass, which the Church of God hath used and retained so many ages, containeth nothing in it that is not consonant to the courses of antiquity, so that it is not to be condemned or changed, by any private authority; so insinuating that by public it may: but touching the other parts of the mass, though for the most part they be nothing but praises of God, prayers of the Church, and holy lessons, and readings, and so far forth not to be despised, yet if there be any new collects, sequences, or prefaces, either unlearned or depending upon apocryphal histories, or not so fitting to the sacrifice of the mass, which later ages have brought in, they prescribe that they be removed, and that things may be brought back to their ancient purity. Besides this, we have

[1] "Canon missæ quem tot jam seculis retinuit ecclesia Dei nihil continet quod non sit consonum iis quæ a tempore apostolorum apud altaris sacrificium supplicata, pronunciata, vel observata sint: ut prorsus sacrilegium sit eum vel damnare vel authoritate privata immutare. Quod ad reliquas missæ partes attinet, etsi omnes illæ nihil sint aliud quam aut laudes Dei, aut preces ecclesiæ, aut lectiones sacræ, et ideo minime negligenter habendæ, tamen si quas novas collectas sequentias præfationes et id genus res vel indoctas vel incertas et apocryphis historiis innixas, aut missæ sacrificio parum congruentes recentior ætas invexit, tales omnes tollendas censemus, atque ad probatissimam codicum fidem restituendas."—Goldast. Tom. II. p. 332. cap. XII.

extant certain articles[1] concerning the reformation of the Church, proposed by the embassadors of Ferdinand the emperor, in the Council of Trent; amongst which these are found: that the breviaries and missals should be purged; that all those things which are not taken out of divine scripture, should be removed; that the prolixity of psalms and prayers should be contracted, good choice being made; that a new *agend* or form of divine service should be composed, and that then, all that would not use it should be severely punished.

So that M. Brerely's main objection, which he thought unanswerable, falleth to the ground. For the canon of the mass rightly understood, is found to contain nothing in it contrary to the rule of faith, and the profession of the protestant Churches; the abuses of private masses and half communions are found to have been beside, and against the words and meaning of them that composed the canon, and not without the dislike of many good men, before and since Luther's time; and the construction that they now make of the word "sacrifice," so often used in it, appeareth to be a mere perverting of the meaning of the canon to a sinister sense, never intended by the authors of it, nor ever allowed by the best men in the Church. This canon, notwithstanding, is found to have some passages, that in the judgment of men right learned, cannot well have any true meaning, unless the old custom of offering bread and wine on the Lord's table, out of which the sacrament may be consecrated, be restored; so that those parts, that custom being discontinued, may well be omitted. Some other parts are obscure, and need explication; which being added, or inserted, it will differ little or nothing from those forms of consecration of those holy mysteries that now are in use in the reformed Churches of England, and some other places, therefore brought in, because in later ages many things were added to the canon anciently in use, which the best and gravest in the Church thought fit to be taken away, and a new form of divine service to be com-

[1] "Breviaria et missalia purganda, resecandaque omnia quæ non ex divinis sint desumpta literis, et tædiosam prolixitatem psalmorum et orationum habito delectu contrahendam. Et faciendam novam agendam, quam si qui parochi nolint recipere tunc graves pœnas eis injungendas."—Apud Goldast. ibid. p. 376.

posed. So that the Church that formerly was, having no different judgment touching matters dogmatical, no liking of those abuses in practice which some had brought in, and wishing things to be brought to such a course as Protestants now have brought them; it may well be said to have been a protestant Church, in such sort as I have formerly shewed.

Only two things may be objected against that which hath been said; the one touching the prayer for the dead; the other touching the commemoration of the saints, and prayer that God through their intercession, and for their merit, will give unto us such things as we desire; both which seem to make much against the religion of Protestants, and to be points of Roman religion, and contained in the very canon of the mass, which the Church used in the days of our fathers; so that that Church wherein they lived and died could be no protestant Church. But the answer hereunto is easy. For touching the first of these two, which is prayer for the dead, it is well known that Protestants do not simply condemn all prayer in this kind: for they pray for the resurrection, public acquittal in the day of judgment, and the perfect consummation and bliss of them that rest in the Lord, and the perfecting of whatsoever is yet wanting unto them.

The Apology of the confession of Augusta[1] saith expressly, in the name of all those worthy princes, people, and states, that subscribed the Augustane confession, that they do not condemn nor forbid prayer for the dead. And Chemnicius[2] saith, "It is a beastial apathy for men not to be affected with the death of their friends; presently so soon as ever they are gone, to put all remembrance of them out of their minds, and not to wish good unto them, nor to pray that it may be well with them; which desires and prayers yet must be moderated according to the word of God."

That it is lawful to pray for the acquittal and public remission of sins in the day of judgment, and the performing

[1] "Exigit charitas ut optemus defunctis omnem in Christo tranquillitatem et felicitatem, &c."—Augustanæ Confessionis Apologia. [Part. II. p. 137. fol. Argent. 1565.]

[2] "Bestialis ἀπάθεια esset nihil affici morte suorum, memoriam amicorum defunctorum statim ex animo delere, non ipsis bene velle et bene precari, quæ tamen omnia juxta verbum moderanda sunt."—Chemnit. Examen. Conc. Trident. part. III. [p. 538. fol. Genev. 1634.]

and perfecting of whatsoever is yet behind, there is no question that I know made by any: and I am well assured that in so doing, we exceeding christianly express our love towards the departed, and give testimony of our persuasion that the souls of them that die do live; and that their bodies also shall be raised up at the last day: which thing, as Cassander saith truly, all the Christian Churches throughout the world, as well those of the East, as of the West, do and ever did; though they do not so certainly resolve what their state is that are departed hence; what is yet wanting unto them; or wherein or how far forth they may be benefited by our prayers; but the Romish conceit of purgatory, and their praying to deliver thence, none of the Eastern Churches admit, neither do we.

This is that which our adversaries must find in the canon of the mass, if they will say any thing against us, for the proof of the Romish religion, out of the canon. Let us hear therefore what the form of the prayer for the dead is, which is found in the canon of the mass: the words of it are; "Remember, Lord, thy servants and thine handmaids, *N.* or *N.* which are gone before us with the badge of faith, and do sleep in the sleep of peace. O Lord, we pray thee to grant to them and to all that are at rest in Christ, a place of refreshing, of light and peace." That this prayer hath no respect to purgatory, or to the deliverance thence, it is evident: for how do they sleep in peace, that are tormented in purgatory; and whose pains are no less than those of hell, though they be not eternal? Or, who is so void of sense as to think, that all that are at rest in Christ are tormented in purgatory; and that to all these God is entreated, in this prayer, to grant a place of refreshing, of light, and peace?

So that, first, it is evident, that a place of refreshing, light, and peace, is wished to such as are not in purgatory: for it is wished to all that are at rest in the Lord: but all that are at rest in the Lord are not in purgatory: whence it will further follow, that the Church prayeth for them that she doth not think to be in purgatory; and consequently that prayer for the dead proveth not purgatory, as they would make the world believe that it doth. And secondly, that the Church, at that time when this form of prayer was first composed, did not believe or think that there is any purgatory;

for if she had had any such persuasion, she would not have forgotten to recommend to God the woeful estate of men so afflicted as they are supposed to be that are there.

That this prayer can have no reference to the state of men in purgatory-pains, it is so clear, that John the Twenty-second[1], who supposed, (as many of the ancient also did long before him, and the Eastern Christians still do;) that the souls of the just are so at rest in Christ, that yet they remain under the altar, that is, under the protection and comfort of the humanity of Christ, in a state and place of happiness foretasted, but not fully enjoyed, and that they shall not be lifted up above, to the view of the Deity of Christ as it is in itself, and the vision of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, till the judgment,—produceth this prayer for confirmation of his opinion, supposing that seeing a place of refreshing and peace is here wished to them that are at rest in Christ (which cannot in any sense be understood of such as are in purgatory,) therefore there is some state of men free from pain and punishment, wherein they are, and expect the accomplishment of happiness. To which, though Ockam[2] so answer, that he would have this prayer to have reference to the estate of distressed souls in purgatory; yet in the end he saith, it may be understood of the souls of holy men that are in heaven; and the meaning of it is, that the souls of such men as sleep

[1] "(Johannes) dicit in hæc verba: 'Animæ justorum usque ad diem judicii erunt sub altari, i.e. sub protectione et consolatione humanitatis Christi. Sed postquam Christus venerit ad judicium erunt supra altare, i.e. supra Christi humanitatem. Post diem judicii ipse elevabit eos et videbunt ipsam divinitatem.'"—Ockham. Compend. error. Papæ Johann. XXII. cap. vii. [in Goldast. Monarch. sacr. Rom. imp. Tom. III. p. 970.]

[2] "Taliter allegatur. Ad hoc, scil. quod animæ sanctæ in cœlo Deum minime sunt visuræ, est oratio ecclesiæ, quæ dicit pro defunctis: Qui nos præcesserunt et dormiunt in somno pacis. . . . In illa oratione orat ecclesia pro illis qui in purgatorio puniuntur. . . . Aliter potest dici, quod ecclesia in prædicta oratione non solum orat pro animabus in purgatorio existentibus, sed etiam orat pro animabus sanctis in cœlo, ut scilicet animæ sanctæ quæ dormiunt in somno pacis, resumptis corporibus ad locum refrigerii, lucis, et pacis quæ ultimum gradum essentialem et accidentalem pacis æternæ quem quandoque habituræ sunt, includit, perveniant, quam pacem animæ in cœlo ante diem judicii non habebunt."—Ockham. Dialog. Part. II. tract. 2. cap. iii. [in Goldast. ibid. p. 763.]

in the sleep of peace, having resumed their bodies, may enter into that place of refreshing, light, and peace, that includeth the highest essential and accidental degree of eternal peace, which they cannot have till the resurrection. And Florus[1], that lived in the time of Carolus Calvus, in his exposition of the mass, saith, It is most clear that the souls of perfect just men, so soon as they are loosed from the body, are received into heaven: but this is to be understood of the souls of apostles, martyrs, and confessors, and men of great perfection of life. For the souls of certain just men are not presently admitted into the heavenly kingdom; but though they be in blessed rest, yet are stayed in certain mansions, by which their stay and not enjoying presently what they most desire, it appeareth they come short of perfect righteousness. Besides these, he thinketh there is a third sort, of such as are in purgatory. Bernard[2], as it appeareth in the place of Ockam's dialogues above cited, maketh three estates of the soul; the first, *in corpore corruptibili;* the second, *in requie;* the third, *in beatitudine consummata;* the first, in the body subject to death and corruption; the second, in rest; the third, in consummate happiness. The second excludeth all punishment and affliction; the third all desire of having any higher perfection, or attaining any further good. A man of great place and worth that hath written not long since, feareth not to deliver his opinion, that the souls of the just are so in rest and peace, and in heavenly mansions, immediately after their departure hence, that yet they come not into the highest heaven and place of greatest felicity till the resurrection. Which of these opinions the author of this form of prayer followed, it doth not certainly appear. But, sure it is, he thought those who are there commended to

[1] "Luce clarius constat quia perfectorum justorum animæ, mox ut hujus claustra carnis exeunt, in cœlestibus sedibus recipiuntur. Verum hoc de apostolis, martyribus, confessoribus, ceterisque perfectioris vitæ viris fieri notandum est. Nam sunt quorundam justorum animæ quæ cœlesti regno licet in beata requie quibusdam adhuc mansionibus differuntur: in quo dilationis damno ostenditur quod de perfecta justitia aliquid minus habuerunt. At vero nonnulli . . . castigandi recipiuntur flammis ignis purgatorii."—Florus. Expos. Missæ. [Tom. IX. part. 2. p. 301. Magn. Bibl. Vet. Patr. Colon. Agripp. 1618.]

[2] Bernard. apud Ockham. ubi supr. cap. v. [p. 765.]

God, to be in a state of rest, far from pain and torment; and so, desired the perfecting of whatsoever is yet wanting unto them, without any reference to purgatory, or the delivering of any thence.

From this, of prayer for the dead, let us come to the other objection, touching the commemoration of the blessed apostles, and other saints, and holy martyrs, by and through whose intercession, and for whose merits, the priest and people desireth God to grant that they may, in all things, be kept safe and strongly defended, by the help of divine protection.

That the saints do pray for us *in genere*, desiring God to be merciful to us, and to do unto us whatsoever in any kind he knoweth needful for our good, there is no question made by us; and, therefore, this prayer wherein the Church desireth God to be gracious to her, and to grant the things she desireth, the rather for that the saints in heaven also are suppliants for her, will not be found to contain any point of Romish doctrine disliked by us.

But they will say, there is mention made, in this prayer, of the merits of those holy apostles and martyrs, and the Church desireth God to grant her petitions for those merits; which is contrary to the doctrine of Protestants, that deny all merit properly so named, and therefore cannot but condemn the opinion of one man's meriting for another.

For answer hereunto we must observe, as Cassander[1] rightly noteth, that there is no merit, properly so named, to be attributed to mortal and miserable men; and that though the ecclesiastical writers use the word merit, and when they speak of holy men's works call them merits, yet they think them not to be properly so; but do so name the good actions of holy men that proceed from faith, and the

[1] "Manifestum est quam ingens discrimen inter meritum Christi et merita sanctorum ab omnibus ecclesiasticis scriptoribus constituatur; cum meritum Christi unicum sit pretium redemptionis nostræ, quo solo a peccato et morte æterna redimimur, merita vero sanctorum, opera eorum bona sunt ex fide et operatione Spiritus Sancti facta, quæ Dei in ipsis dona sunt, atque ea tamen pro sua benignitate ita grata et accepta habet ut propter ipsa non ipsos solum præmiis afficiat, sed aliis etiam ejusdem corporis membris beneficia conferat."—Cassander. Consult. Artic. XXI. [p. 968.]

working of the Holy Ghost; because Almighty God, though they be his gifts, and joined, in them by whom they are wrought, with defect and imperfection, yet is so pleased to accept of them out of his goodness, that he not only rewardeth the doers of them with ample and great rewards in their own persons, but so as to do good to others for their sakes. So God said to Abraham, if there were but fifty righteous in the city, he would spare the whole city for their sakes. Neither only doth he good for their sakes whose works he thus rewardeth, while they live; but even after they are dead also. And therefore God promiseth that he will protect Hierusalem for his own sake, and for David his servant; which he must be understood to do, not only in respect of the promise made unto him, but with respect had to his virtue; according to the which we read 1 Reg. xv. 3, that God left a little light in Hierusalem, to Abijam the son of Rehoboam king of Judah, for David's sake, who did that which was right in the sight of the Lord. This David, saith Chrysostom[1], did not only please God while he was in the body, but he is found to have yielded great comfort after his death, to such as he left behind him alive. The prophet Esay cometh to Hezekiah, and saith unto him, I will defend this city for mine own sake, and for David my servant's sake. David is dead, but his virtues that pleased God do still live. O strange thing! O ineffable clemency! a man long since dead patronizeth him that liveth. In this sense, then, it is that the Church desireth God to be gracious unto her, in granting her petitions for the merit of those his holiest ones that she remembereth, no way derogating from the merits of Christ, but putting a great difference between them and those of the saints; for Christ's merit is the only price of our redemption, by which only we are redeemed from sin and eternal death; and, being reconciled to God, are adopted to be sons and heirs of eternal life: but the merits of the saints here mentioned, are nothing but those imperfect good works which they did while they lived here; which God was pleased so to accept, that he promised not only to reward them with great and ample rewards, in their own

[1] "ὁ Δαβὶδ ἀπέθανε, καὶ ἡ παῤῥησία αὐτοῦ ζῇ, καὶ ὁ τελευτήσας τοῦ ζῶντος προΐσταται."—S. Chrysostom. in Ps. L. Hom. 2. [Inter spuria. Tom. v. p. 596. Par. 1724.]

persons, but to do good for their sakes that did them to others also.

Bucer[1] speaking of the public prayers of the Church, which we call Collects, in which the intercession and merits of saints are commemorated, hath these words: "Seeing in these prayers, whatsoever is attributed to the intercession and merits of saints, all that is asked, not of the saints, but of our merciful God though Jesus Christ; they that so pray, do thereby profess and testify, that they acknowledge, that those things which they ask of God, by the intercession and for the merits of the saints, are the free gifts of God," &c. And a little after: "We willingly acknowledge, and publicly profess, that God doth reward the works of his saints, not only in their own persons, but in those also that pertain unto them, and for whom they intercede; for he hath promised to do good, to a thousand generations, to them that love him, and study to keep his commandments; hence it was that he would not heal those of the house of Abimelech, till Abraham interceded and intreated for them; and hence it was that God granted and gave the deliverance and salvation of all the people to Moses, when he intreated for the same." These are the words of Bucer; which not being contradicted by any of our profession, it is evident that no part of Romish religion disliked by us, can be proved out of this part of the canon of the mass.

Thus having cleared that great objection of Mr Brerely, touching the public Liturgy used in the Church in the days of our fathers, and made it appear, that the using thereof is no proof that the Church that then was, was not a pro-

[1] "Cum in his precationibus quicquid divorum tribuitur intercessionibus vel meritis, id totum non ab ipsis divis sed a misericordia Dei et per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum petitur, eo ipso qui sic orant confitentur et testantur, se ea quæ a Deo per sanctorum intercessionem et merita orant, agnoscere esse gratuita Dei dona. Nam et nos illud libenter agnoscimus atque prædicamus Deum sanctorum suorum opera remunerari, non tantum in ipsis, verumetiam in iis quæ ad ipsos pertinent, et pro quibus ipsi intercedunt. Promisit enim se diligentibus et præcepta sua studentibus benefacturum in mille generationes. Hinc domum Abimelech regis non nisi Abraham intercedente sanare voluit, et Moysi donavit salutem totius populi cum pro eo intercederet."—Bucer. in Cassandr. [ibid. p. 969.]

testant Church; and having made it clear and evident that both the Liturgy itself, and the profession of such as used it, shew plainly that the Church that then was, never allowed any Romish error, howsoever some did in the midst of her; it remaineth that I now proceed to shew, in the particulars, that the outward face of religion, at, and before Luther's appearing, was not, as Mr Brerely telleth us, the now professed Roman religion; and that whatsoever we have done in the reformation of the Church, was long before wished for, and desired by the best men amongst the guides of the Church.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE CANON OF THE SCRIPTURES.

THAT the Church did not admit the Canon of Scripture which the Romanists now do, nor ever accounted those books canonical which we think to be apocryphal, it will easily appear; in that all the most famous divines, from the beginning of the Christian world, even till the time of Luther, did reject those books as apocryphal that we do. The Church of the Jews (to whom, as St Paul saith, the oracles of God were committed), admitted but only twenty-two books, as delivered to them from God, to be the canon of their faith, as Josephus[1] witnesseth. Neither did the Christian Church ever admit any more.

Melito[2] bishop of Sardis being desired by Onesimus to

[1] "Οὐ γὰρ μυριάδες βιβλίων εἰσὶ παρ' ἡμῖν, ἀσυμφώνων καὶ μαχομένων· δύο δὲ μόνα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι βιβλία, τοῦ παντὸς ἔχοντα χρόνου τὴν ἀναγραφήν, τὰ δικαίως θεῖα πεπιστευμένα."—Joseph. contr. Apion. Lib. I. cap. viii. Tom. II. p. 1333.

[2] "Ἀκριβῶς μαθὼν τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία ὑποτάξας ἔπεμψά σοι· ὧν ἐστὶ τὰ ὀνόματα· Μωϋσέως πέντε, Γένεσις, Ἔξοδος, Λευιτικὸν, Ἀριθμοὶ, Δευτερονόμιον. Ἰησοῦς Ναυῆ, Κριταὶ, Ῥοὺθ, Βασιλειῶν τέσσαρα, Παραλειπομένων δύο. Ψαλμῶν Δαβὶδ, Σολόμωνος Παροιμίαι, ἡ καὶ Σοφία, Ἐκκλησιαστὴς, Ἆσμα Ἀσμάτων, Ἰὼβ. Προφητῶν, Ἡσαΐου, Ἱερεμίου· τῶν δώδεκα ἐν μονοβίβλῳ, Δανιὴλ, Ἰεζεκιὴλ, Ἔσδρας."—Euseb. H. E. Lib. IV. [cap. xxvi. p. 191. Ed. Reading. Cantabr.]

send him a catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament, writeth thus unto him: "Having diligently sought out the books of the Old Testament, and put them in order, I have sent them unto you; the names whereof are these: the five books of Moses: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; then, Jesus the son of Nave, Judges, Ruth, the four books of Kings, two books of Chronicles, the Psalms of David, the Proverbs, which is also called the Wisdom of Solomon; Ecclesiastes, the Canticles, Job, the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, one book of the twelve Prophets, Daniel, Ezekiel, Esdras." Some so translate the words of Melito, as if he reckoned the Wisdom of Solomon as a separate book, and so meant the book that is commonly called the Wisdom of Solomon, and is by us accounted to be apocryphal: but Ruffinus translateth as we do; and, that we have rightly expressed the meaning of this worthy bishop, and, that he only added this, as a glorious title to the book of Solomon's Proverbs, which (as Eusebius[1] saith) the ancients usually called *Σοφίαν Πανάρετον*, the reader will soon be satisfied, if he peruse that which D. Raynolds[2] hath, touching this point, in his prelections. Eusebius[3] sheweth that Josephus, according to the ancient tradition of the Jews, numbered only twenty-two canonical books of the Old Testament, as we do; and in his Chronicle[4] he saith expressly, that the books of the Maccabees are not in the canon.

"Read," saith Cyril of Hierusalem[5] in his Catechism, "the

[1] Euseb. H. E. Lib. IV. cap. xxii. p. 184.

[2] ["Censura librorum Apocryphorum Vet. Test. Prælectionibus CCL. posthumis in Acad. Oxon. tractata, a Johanne Rainoldo."—Oppenheim. 1611.] Prælect. xiv. col. 116. sqq.

[3] Euseb. H. E. Lib. III. cap. x. p. 103.

[4] "Macchabæorum libri Græcorum regnum hinc computant; id quod in sacerdotalibus ipsorum codicibus haud numeratum comperitur."—Id. Chron. paulo ante ann. mund. 4890. [Olymp. cxvii. Part. ii. p. 227. ed. J. Baptist. Aucher. Ven. 1818. ex Armen. text.]

[5] "*Ἀναγίνωσκε τὰς θείας γραφὰς, τὰς εἴκοσι δύο βίβλους τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης· . . . . . τούτων τὰς εἴκοσι δύο βίβλους ἀναγίνωσκε· πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἀπόκρυφα μηδὲν ἔχε κοινόν. ταύτας μόνας μελέτα σπουδαίως ἃς καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ μετὰ παῤῥησίας ἀναγινώσκομεν· πολύ σου φρονιμώτεροι ἦσαν οἱ Ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἐπίσκοποι οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προστάται οἱ ταύτας παραδόντες· σὺ οὖν τέκνον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὤν, μὴ παραχάραττε τοὺς θεσμούς· καὶ τῆς μὲν παλαιᾶς διαθήκης ὡς εἴρηται τὰς εἴκοσι μελέτα βιβλοὺς . . . . .*

divine Scriptures, that is, the twenty-two books of the Old Testament:" and a little after, "Read, therefore these twenty-two books, but with the Apocrypha have nothing to do; meditate upon the divine Scriptures, which we confidently read in the Church: the holy apostles, the guides of truth, who delivered unto us these books, were more wise and religious than thou art. Seeing, therefore, thou art but a son, transgress not the precepts of the Fathers. Now, these are the books which thou must read;" and then numbereth all the books of the Old Testament, and omitteth all those that are controverted; saving that he addeth that of Baruch, thinking it a part of Jeremiah's prophecies. Of the same opinion is Epiphanius[1], making no mention of any of the books rejected by us as apocryphal, but only the book of Wisdom, and Jesus the son of Sirach; which he saith "are profitable, but not to be esteemed as the twenty-two books (or twenty-seven, as some count them), that were kept in the ark of the covenant;" which are the books by us acknowledged to be canonical.

Amphilochius[2] bishop of Iconium, writing to Seleucus, hath these words: "I will reckon unto thee all the books that proceeded from the Holy Ghost; and that thou mayest clearly conceive that which concerns this matter, I will first number unto thee the books of the Old Testament;" and then he nameth the five books of Moses, Joshua, and the Judges,

τῶν Ἱερεμίου μετὰ Βαρουχ καὶ θρήνων καὶ ἐπιστολῆς."—Cyril. Hierosol. Catech. iv. [p. 36. Lut. Par. 1631.]

[1] "Καὶ αὗται χρήσιμοι μὲν εἰσὶ καὶ ὠφέλιμοι, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν ῥητῶν οὐκ ἀναφέρονται. διὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀαρὼν ἀνετέθησαν, τοῦ τε ἐν τῇ τῆς διαθήκης κιβωτῷ."—Epiphan. de Pond. et Mensur. [Tom. II. p. 162, C.]

"Ἱερεμίαν μετὰ τῶν θρήνων καὶ ἐπιστολῶν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Βαρουχ ... εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι δύο βίβλοι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀμφιλέκτῳ, ἡ Σοφία τοῦ Σιρὰχ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Σολόμωνος, χωρὶς ἄλλων τινῶν βιβλίων ἐναποκρύφων."—Contr. Epicureos. Hæres. [Tom. I. p. 19, B. ed. Petav. Par. 1622.]

[2] "Τούτων χάριν σοι τῶν θεοπνεύστων ἐρῶ
Βίβλων ἑκάστην· ὡς δ' ἂν εὐκρινῶς μάθῃς,
Τὰς τῆς παλαιᾶς πρῶτα διαθήκης ἐρῶ.
* * * * * *
Τούτοις προσεγκρίνουσι τὴν Ἐσθήρ τινες."

Nazian. ad Seleuc. [Sect. ii. carm. 8. lin. 261. Tom. II. p. 1102. Par. 1840.]

Ruth, four books of the Kings, two of the Chronicles; two of Esdras, Job, the Psalms, three of Solomon, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles; the twelve Prophets, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zachariah, Malachi; the four Prophets, Issiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel; and concludeth that to these some add Esther. The reason why some doubted of Esther I have elsewhere shewed, out of Sixtus Senensis, to have been, the apocryphal additions to the book. I have somewhere cited this book as a part of Gregory Nazianzen's works, because some think it so to be, and put it amongst his works: but Gregory[1] hath delivered his opinion clearly touching this matter, though that book happily be not his: "Be conversant," saith he, "day and night, in the divine oracles; but lest such books as are not of this sort deceive thee, (for many erroneous books are inserted), receive the true and just number of books that are divine;" and then nameth all the books that we admit; save that he omitteth the book of Esther, upon the same reason that I noted out of Sixtus Senensis: and when he hath named these, he addeth those of the New Testament; and then pronounceth, that whatsoever is not within this number is to be accounted amongst bastard and counterfeit books.

Origen, expounding the first Psalm, putteth down a catalogue of the holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, writing thus in precise words, as Eusebius[2] telleth us; "We must not be ignorant that the books of the Old Testament, as the Hebrews do deliver, are twenty-two, which is the number of their letters:" and then nameth all the books admitted by us, and addeth, that the books of Maccabees are without

1 "Θείοις ἐν λογίοισιν ἀεὶ γλώσσῃ τε νόῳ τε
Στρωφᾶσθ' .....
Ὄφρα δὲ μὴ ξείνῃσι νόον κλέπτοιο βίβλοισι
(Πολλαὶ γὰρ τελέθουσι παρέγγραπτοι κακύτητες),
Δέχνυσο τοῦτον ἐμεῖο τὸν ἔγκριτον, ὦ φίλ', ἀριθμόν.
* * * * * * *
Εἴ τι δὲ τούτων ἐκτὸς, οὐκ ἐν γνησίαις."

Id. [carm. xii. sect. 1. p. 258.]

2 "Οὐκ ἀγνοητέον δ' εἶναι τὰς ἐνδιαθήκους βίβλους ὡς Ἑβραῖοι παραδεδόασι δύο καὶ εἴκοσι· ὅσος ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς στοιχείων ἐστίν. .... ἔξω δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ Μακκαβαϊκά." Euseb. H. E. Lib. VI. [cap. XXV. p. 289.]

this number. Athanasius[1] agreeth with Origen, writing in this sort: "All our Scripture that are Christians, was given by divine inspiration; neither hath this Scripture infinite books, but a definite number, and contained in a certain canon: and these are the books of the Old Testament; Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth; the first and second of Kings, accounted one book; the third and fourth of Kings, accounted one book; Chronicles, first and second accounted one book; Esdras, the first and second, one book; the Psalms of David, a hundred and fifty-one; Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Job, the twelve Prophets contained in one volume, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi; four other Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel; the books therefore of the Old Testament are twenty-two in number, answerable to the Hebrew letters. Beside these there are certain other books of the Old Testament, that are not in the canon, and these are read only to the Catechumens or Novices:" amongst these he numbereth the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, Judith, Tobit; but mentioneth not the books of Maccabees at all; to these he addeth the book of Esther, accounting it apocryphal, being mispersuaded of the whole, by reason of those apocryphal additions, as before I noted out of Sixtus Senensis. In the conclusion of his Synopsis, he mentioneth, together with the former, four books of Maccabees, and the story of Susanna; but saith, "they are in the number of them that are contradicted."

The Council of Laodicea[2] decreeth in this sort: "Let no

[1] "Πᾶσα γραφὴ ἡμῶν Χριστιανῶν θεόπνευστός ἐστιν. οὐκ ἀόριστα δὲ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὡρισμένα καὶ κεκανονισμένα ἔχει τα βιβλία, καὶ ἔστι τῆς μὲν παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ. . . . . ὁμοῦ τὰ κανονιζόμενα τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία εἴκοσι δύο, ἰσάριθμα τοῖς γράμμασι τῶν Ἑβραίων. ἐκτὸς δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ πάλιν ἕτερα βιβλία τῆς αὐτῆς διαθήκης οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν ἀναγινωσκόμενα δὲ μόνον τοῖς κατηχουμένοις." Et p. 201, "Καὶ ταῦτα ἠρίθμηντα, Μακκαβαϊκὰ βιβλία δ'. Πτολεμαϊκὰ, Ψαλμοὶ, καὶ ᾠδὴ Σολόμωνος, Σωσάννα. ταῦτα τὰ ἀντιλεγόμενα."—Athanas. Synops. Sacr. Script. [Tom. II. p. 126. Par. 1698.]

[2] "Οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς διαθήκης. Ὅσα δεῖ βιβλία ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, κ. τ. λ."—Concil. Laodic. can. 59, 60. [Labbe. Concil. Tom. I. col. 1540. Ven. 1728.]

books be read in the Church, but the books of the Old and New Testament;" and then addeth, "These are the books of the Old Testament that are to be read: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two of Chronicles, Esdras, the book of the Psalms one hundred and fifty; the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Job, Esther, twelve Prophets, Hosea, &c.; Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel." The canons of this council are confirmed by the sixth general council holden in Trullo[1]. To these we may add Damascene[2], who having numbered all those books, and those only, as canonical, that we do, addeth, that "the book of Wisdom, and of Jesus the son of Sirach, are good books, and contain good lessons of virtue; but that they are not numbered in this account, neither were laid up in the ark." Leontius Advocatus Byzantinus[3] saith, there are only twenty-two books of the Old Testament; and reckoneth all those, and those only, that we do. All these worthies that we have hitherto produced to testify in this case, are of the Greek Church: wherefore let us pass to them of the Latin. Hilary[4], bishop of Poictiers,

[1] "Ἐπισφραγίζομεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας ἱεροὺς κανόνας τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ μακαρίων πατέρων ἡμῶν ἐκτεθέντας, τουτέστι..... τῶν ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ τῆς Φρυγίας," κ. τ. λ.—Concil. in Trullo Generale sext. [aliter quinisext. Vid. notat. in loc. Labbe, Tom. VII. col. 1345.]

[2] "Ἡ δὲ Πανάρετος, τουτέστιν ἡ Σοφία τοῦ Σολομῶντος καὶ ἡ Σοφία τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ μὲν τοῦ Σιρὰχ ἐξέθετο Ἑβραϊστὶ, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ ἡρμήνευσεν ὁ τούτου μὲν ἔκγονος Ἰησοῦς, τοῦ δὲ Σιρὰχ υἱὸς, ἐνάρετοι μὲν καὶ καλαὶ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀριθμοῦνται, οὐδὲ ἔκειντο ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ."—Damascene de Fid. Orthod. Lib. IV. [cap. xvii. Tom. I. p. 284. Par. 1712.]

[3] Leont. Byzant. de Sectis. art. ii. [in Max. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. De La Bigne. Tom. IX. p. 663. Lugd. 1677. Latine. Græce vero, p. 403. in Legat. Imper. Manuel. ad Armen. Bas. 1578. "τῆς μὲν παλαιᾶς γραφῆς βιβλία εἰσὶν κβ'."]

[4] "In viginti duos libros lex Veteris Testamenti deputatur, ut cum litterarum numero convenirent. Qui ita secundum traditiones veterum deputantur, ut Moysi sint libri quinque, Jesu Nave sextus, Judicum et Ruth septimus, primus et secundus Regnorum in octavum, tertius et quartus in nonum, Parilipomenon duo in decimum sint, sermones dierum Esdræ in undecimum, liber Psalmum in duodecimum, Salomonis, Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Canticum Canticorum in tertium decimum, et quartum decimum, et quintum decimum, duodecim autem Prophetæ in sextum decimum, Esaias deinde et Jeremias cum Lamen-

saith: "The law of the Old Testament is contained in twenty-two books, according to the number of the Hebrew letters, which are so disposed, and put in order, according to the tradition of the ancient, that there are five books of Moses; that Joshua is the sixth; the Judges, and Ruth, the seventh; the first and second of Kings, the eighth; the third and fourth, the ninth; two of Chronicles, the tenth; Esdras the eleventh; Psalms, the twelfth; Solomon's Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth; the twelve Prophets, the sixteenth; Isaiah, Jeremiah with the Lamentations and epistle, Daniel, Ezekiel, Job, and Esther, do make up the number of twenty-two books; some have thought good to add Tobit, and Judith, and so to make the books to be twenty-four in number, according to the number of the Greek letters."

Ruffinus[1], in the explanation of the Creed, which is found amongst the works of Cyprian, and so attributed to him, setteth down a catalogue of those books which, according to the tradition of the ancient, are believed to have been inspired by the Holy Ghost, and delivered to the Churches of Christ; containing all those books which we admit, secluding all those that are now in question: "It must be known," saith he, "that there are other books which are not called canonical, but ecclesiastical, by the ancient: as the Wisdom of Solomon, and that of the son of Sirach. And in the same rank we must put the book of Tobias, and Judith, and the

tatione et epistola, sed et Daniel, et Ezechiel, et Job, et Hester, viginti et duum librorum numerum consumment. Quibusdam autem visum est, additis Tobia et Judith, viginti quatuor libros, secundum numerum Græcarum litterarum, connumerare."—Hilar. Prolog. in Psalmos. [col. 10. Par. 1693.]

[1] "Sciendum tamen est quod et alii libri sunt qui non canonici sed ecclesiastici a majoribus appellati sunt; ut est Sapientia Solomonis, et alia Sapientia quæ dicitur filii Syrach,.... Ejusdem ordinis est libellus Tobiæ, et Judith, et Maccabæorum libri. In Novo vero Testamento libellus qui dicitur Pastor sive Hermatis,.... quæ omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem fidei ex his confirmandam..... Hæc nobis a patribus, ut dixi, tradita opportunum visum est hoc in loco designare ad instructionem eorum qui prima sibi ecclesiæ ac fidei elementa suscipiunt, ut sciant ex quibus sibi fontibus verbi Dei haurienda sunt pocula."—Ruffin. Expos. Symbol. [ad calc. Opp. Cyprian. p. 26. ed. Fell. Oxon. 1682.]

books of the Maccabees: and in the New Testament, the *book* of the Pastor; all which truly they would have to be *read* in the Church, but not to be alleged for proof of any *matter* of faith that was questioned, or doubted of;" and then concludeth, that "he held it very fit to put down these things, which were delivered by tradition from the Fathers, that they that are to learn the first elements and rudiments of Christian religion, may know out of what fountains to draw."

Hierome[1], in his prologue which he prefixed before the books of the Old Testament by him translated out of Hebrew into Latin, saith, "There are twenty-two books of the Old Testament; and that as there are but twenty-two Hebrew letters, by which we write whatsoever we speak, so there are twenty-two books, by which, as by letters and beginnings in the doctrine of God, the tender infancy of the just man that yet is like a child hanging on the breast, is informed and instructed:" and then nameth all the books which we admit; and after addeth, "Whatsoever is besides these, is to be put amongst the Apocrypha; and that therefore the book of Wisdom, of Jesus the son of Sirach, of Judith, Tobias, and Pastor are not in the canon." And the same Hierome, in his preface before the books of Solomon, having made mention of the book of Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus, and delivered his opinion that it is untruly called the Wisdom of Solomon, and

[1] "Quomodo igitur viginti duo elementa sunt, per quæ scribimus Hebraice omne quod loquimur; ita viginti duo volumina supputantur quibus quasi literis et exordiis, in Dei doctrina, tenera adhuc et lactens viri justi eruditur infantia.....

"Hic prologus scripturarum quasi *galeatum principium* omnibus libris quos de Hebræo vertimus in Latinum convenire potest, ut scire valeamus quidquid extra hos est, inter *ἀπόκρυφα* esse ponendum. Igitur Sapientia quæ vulgo Salomonis inscribitur, et Jesu filii Sirach liber, et Judith, et Tobias, et Pastor, non sunt in canone."—Hieron. in Prologo Galeato. [Præfat. in Samuel. et Malachim. Tom. IX. col. 453. Ed. Vallars. Veron. 1738.] Id. Præfat. in Esdram et Nehemiam. [ibid. col. 1524.]

"Fertur et *παράρετος* Jesu filii Sirach liber, et alius *ψευδεπίγραφος* qui Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur. Sicut ergo Judith et Tobiæ et Machabæorum libris legit quidem eos ecclesia, sed inter canonicas scripturas non recipit, sic et hæc duo volumina legat ad ædificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam."—Hieron. Præfat. in Proverb. [Tom. IX. col. 1293.]

attributed to him; then addeth that, "as the Church readeth the books of Judith, Tobias, and the Maccabees, but doth not account them amongst the canonical Scriptures; so these two books may be read for the edification of the people, but not for the confirmation of any doubtful point of doctrine." Sixtus Senensis[1] confesseth that Philastrius rejecteth the books of Maccabees. And the same Philastrius[2] in the heresy of the Prodianitæ, taxeth them, amongst other things, that they used the book of Wisdom, which Jesus the son of Sirach wrote long after Solomon's time.

The author[3] of the book *De mirabilibus Scripturæ*, that goeth under the name of Augustine, hath these words; *De lacu vero et Abacuck translato, in Belis Draconisque fabula, idcirco in hoc ordine non ponitur, quod in authoritate divinæ Scripturæ non habentur.* It is true, that Augustine, and the African bishops of his time, and some other in that age, finding these books which Hierome and the rest before cited reject as apocryphal, to be joined with the other, and together read with them in the Church, seem to account them to be canonical. Cajetan and others answer, that those Fathers speak of the canon of manners, not of faith; and of books not simply, but in a sort, canonical, so that they differ not from the other Fathers before alleged, that deny them to be canonical, as not being simply and absolutely so. How fit and true this answer is, I will not stand to examine; but this is most certain, that Augustine himself seemeth something to lessen the authority of this book; for whereas the example of Razias[4] killing himself is pressed against him, to prove that

[1] "Inter Latinos Philastrius eos (Maccabæorum libros) ex catalogo divinorum voluminum explodit."—Sixt. Senens. Bibl. Sanct. Lib. VIII. hæres. 12. [p. 659, B. fol. Colon. 1586.]

[2] "Prodianitæ.... utuntur Sapientiæ libro Sirach illius qui scripsit post Salomonem, id est, post multa tempora, librum unum Sapientiæ." —Philastr. de Hæres. catal. iii. cap. ix. in Bibl. Patr. De La Bigne. Tom. IV. [col. 14. fol. Par. 1610.]

[3] S. Aug. (Pseud.) De Mirab. Sacr. Script. Lib. II. cap. XXXII. [Tom. III. Append. col. 26. Par. 1680.]

[4] "Hanc quidem scripturam quæ appellatur Machabæorum non habent Judæi sicut Legem et Prophetas et Psalmos, quibus Dominus testimonium perhibet tanquam testibus suis, dicens (Luc. XXIV. 44): 'Oportebat impleri omnia quæ scripta sunt in Lege et Prophetis et Psalmis de me;' sed recepta est ab ecclesia non inutiliter si sobrie

it is lawful for a man to kill himself; "after other answers," he saith, "the Jews do not esteem this Scripture called the history of Macchabees, in such sort as the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, to which Christ giveth testimony as to them that bear witness of him, saying, *it behoved that all those should be fulfilled that are written of me, in the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms;* but it is received of the Church not unprofitably, if it be soberly read, and heard; especially in respect of those Macchabees, that, as true martyrs, endured grievous and horrible things of the persecutors, for the law of God:" and the council of Carthage[1], whereat Augustine was present, prescribing that no books should be read in the Church as canonical, but such as indeed are canonical, leaveth out the books of Macchabees, as it appeareth by the Greek edition; though they have foisted them into the Latin.

But howsoever these did not so exactly look into these things, as they of the Greek Church, and many of the Latin Church before named, but admitted those books, as in a sort canonical, that they found joined together with the other indubitate Scriptures which they had of the translation of the Septuagint; yet after Hierome had translated them out of the Hebrew, and prefixed his prologues and prefaces before the books translated by him, almost all the bishops and men of account in the Latin or West Church, so approved the same, that they admitted no other books as canonical but those that he did.

Pope Gregory the First[2], citing a certain testimony out of

legatur vel audiatur, maxime propter illos Machabæos qui pro Dei lege sicut veri martyres a persecutoribus tam indigna atque horrenda perpessi sunt."—S. August. contr. Epist. Gaudent. [Lib. I. cap. XXXVIII. Tom. IX. col. 655.]

[1] "Item placuit, ut præter scripturas canonicas nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum scripturarum. Sunt autem canonicæ scripturæ, Genesis, &c. . . . Machabæorum libri duo." Concil. Carthag. III. can. 24. (al. 47 vid. not. in loc.) [Labbe, Tom. II. col. 1409. fol. Ven. 1728.] (Exstat idem Græce in Cod. Can. Eccles. Afric. can. 24. ibid. col. 1272; ubi desiderantur libri Machabæorum: vid. notat. ad loc.)

[2] "De qua re non inordinate agimus, si ex libris, licet non-canonicis, sed tamen ad ædificationem ecclesiæ editis, testimonium proferamus."—Gregor. Magn. Moral. in Job. Lib. XIX. cap. XXI. [Tom. I. col. 622. Par. 1705.]

the first book of Macchabees, hath these words: "We offend not if, touching this thing, we allege and produce a testimony out of books, though not canonical, yet published for the edification of the people." This was the opinion of Pope Gregory; Gregory the First; Gregory the Great, our apostle, as they of the Romish faction tell us; and therefore it will not be safe for us to leave the faith first delivered unto us.

To the pope I will add certain cardinals. Bonaventura[1], in his preface before his exposition of the Psalter, undertaketh to shew which are the books of Scripture: "Scripture," saith he, "consisteth of the Old and New Testament, and the whole body of canonical Scripture is contained in these two:" then passing by the books of the New Testament, he reckoneth all those, and those only, that Hierome doth; sorting them into their several ranks and orders, as the Hebrews do. And, in another place, he saith[2], "There are four sorts of writings in which a student must be conversant: the books of holy Scripture; the writings of the Fathers; such sayings as have been gathered out of them; and the writings of philosophers. And because in the books of philosophers there is no knowledge to give remission of sins; nor originally in the Sums, because they have been extracted out of the originals of the Fathers; nor in them, because they have been taken out of the Scripture; therefore that is, principally, and in the first place, to be studied; and there we must seek that knowledge as in the fountain;" and then, that all may know which and how many these books of Scripture are that he will have to be thus studied, he saith, "According to Hie-

[1] "Scripturæ materia constat in duobus, scilicet, in Novo et in Veteri Testamento; in his autem duobus totum corpus canonicæ scripturæ continetur."—Bonaventur. Præfat. in Psalter. [Tom. I. p. 84. Mogunt. 1619.]

[2] "Sunt ergo quatuor genera scripturarum circa quæ oportet ordinate procedere et exerceri. Primi libri sunt sacræ Scripturæ. In Testamento Veteri secundum Hieronymum viginti duo libri; in Novo octo sunt. Secundi libri sunt originalia sanctorum. Tertii, sententiæ magistrorum. Quarti, doctrinarum mundialium, sive philosophorum. Qui ergo vult discere, quærat scientiam in fonte, quia apud philosophos non est scientia ad dandam remissionem peccatorum, nec apud summos magistrorum, quia illi ab originalibus extraxerunt. Originalia autem a Sacra Scriptura."—Id. in Hexaem. Serm. xix. Tom. I. p. 57.

rome there are twenty-two in the Old Testament, and in the New there are eight:

Hugo Cardinalis[1] repeateth certain verses, expressing which books are canonical, and which apocryphal: the verses are these:

> Quinque libros Moisi, Josue, Judicum, Samuelem,
> Et Melachim, tres præcipuos, bis sexque Prophetas,
> Hebræus reliquis censet præcellere libris.
> Quinque vocat Legem, reliquos vult esse Prophetas.
> Post hagiographa sunt, Daniel, David, Hester, et Esdras,
> Job, Paralipomenon, et tres libri Solomonis.
> Restant Apocrypha, Jesus, Sapientia, Pastor,
> Et Machabæorum libri, Judith, atque Tobias.
> Hi, quia sunt dubii, sub canone non numerantur:
> Sed, quia vera canunt, Ecclesia suscipit illos.

Here he numbereth the books canonical and apocryphal as we do. And the same Hugo, *In Prologum Galeatum*[2], speaking of the books rejected by us, saith, "that these books are not received by the Church for proof of doctrine, but for information of manners." And in another place[3] he saith, "they are not counted amongst the canonical." Cardinal Cajetan[4] saith, "those books only are to be accounted canonical which Hierome so accounted;" and admitteth none of those that are now questioned: this he wrote at Rome, as himself telleth us, in the year 1532.

From the Church of Rome, which was the principal amongst these of the West, let us proceed to see what other

[1] Hugo Cardinal. (a Sto Caro.) Prolog. in Josuam. [Tom. I. p. 178. Ven. 1600.]

[2] "Dicitur autem dupliciter liber aliquis apocryphus, vel quia auctor ignoratur, sed veritas patet: et tales recipit ecclesia non ad probationem fidei, sed ad morum instructionem. Vel quia veritas dubitatur, &c."...—Hugo. in Prolog. Galeat. Hieronymi. [In lib. Reg. Tom. I. fol. 218. b.]

[3] "...non sunt de numero illorum novem quæ proprie dicuntur hagiographa quæ sunt de catalogo, i.e. de numero viginti duorum librorum."—Præfat. in Tobiam. [Tom. I. p. 374.]

[4] "Divo Hieronymo, pater beatissime, universa ecclesia Latina plurimum debet, non solum ob annotatas ab eo in libris Veteris ac Novi Testamenti particulas, tum adjectitias tum ambiguas, sed etiam propter discretos ab eodem libros canonicos a non-canonicis."—Cajetan. in ult. Hester, [cap. X. Tom. II. p. 400. Comment. in S. Script. fol. Lugd. 1639.] et præfat. super Josuam ad Clem. VII. [8vo. Par. 1546.]

Churches thought of this matter. Thomas Aquinas[1], proposing the question whether the souls of them that are departed do know what things are done here; it being objected, that the dead do often appear unto the living, as Samuel appeared unto Saul: concerning Samuel he answereth, that it may be said that he appeared by divine revelation, according to that in Ecclesiasticus xlvi.: or else, if the authority of that book be not admitted because it is not in the canon of the Hebrews, it may be said that that apparition was procured by the devil.

Antonius[2], archbishop of Florence, affirmeth "that the authority of the six books questioned is not sufficient to prove any thing that is in controversy;" and that Thomas, *secunda secundæ*, and Lyranus, in his Prologue before the book of Tobias, do say, "that those books are not of so great authority, that any sufficient proofs may be drawn from them in matters of faith, as from the other books; and therefore pronounceth, he thinketh they have such authority as the writings of the Fathers approved by the Church. And he mentioneth a certain work entitled *Catholicon*, the author's name is not known: but the same author, as he telleth us, pronounceth, "that none of these books were received for proof of matters of faith, but only for information of manners[3]." By this of Antonius, who was present at the Council of Florence, it will easily appear to be merely supposititious, that we find in the abridgment of that council by Caranza[4],

[1] "Utrum animæ separatæ cognoscant ea quæ hic aguntur?—De Samuele dici potest, quod ipse apparuit per revelationem divinam; secundum hoc quod dicitur Eccl. 46. quod dormivit et notum fecit regi finem vitæ suæ. Vel illa apparitio fuit procurata per dæmones; si tamen Ecclesiastici auctoritas non recipiatur propter hoc, quod inter canonicas scripturas apud Hebræos non habetur."—Aquin. Summ. part. i. quæst. 89. art. 8. [p. 170. Colon. Agripp. 1622.]

[2] "Dicit Thomas. ii. ii. et Nicolaus de Lira super Thobiam, scilicet quod non sunt tantæ auctoritatis quod ex dictis eorum posset efficaciter argumentari in his quæ sunt fidei; sicut ex aliis libris Scripturæ sacræ. Unde forte habent auctoritatem talem qualem habent dicta sanctorum doctorum approbata ab ecclesia."—Antonin. Florent. Summ. part. iii. tit. 18. cap. 6. paragr. 2. [fol. 1485.]

[3] "Dicitur dupliciter liber apocryphus, . . . talem recipit ecclesia non ad fidei probationem licet ad morum instructionem. . . . Hæc in Catholicon."—Ibid. paragr. 3.

[4] "Eodem Spiritu inspirante utriusque testamenti sancti locuti

that these books were pronounced to be canonical: for had they been so, neither would he nor others have rejected them, after the holding of this Council: neither would such a decree have been omitted by all others that put out the councils, at large, and abridged.

Radulphus Flaviacensis[1], in his commentaries upon Leviticus, speaking of books pertaining to the sacred history, hath these words: "The books of Tobias, Judith, and of the Machabees, though they be read for the edification of the Church, yet have no perfect authority." Beda[2], after the history of Ezra, addeth: "Thus far the divine scripture containeth the course of times; what things afterwards we found digested among the Jews, they are taken out of the book of Macchabees, Josephus, and the writings of Africanus." It appeareth, by the epistle[3] of Hilary, bishop of Arles, that in Massilia, and in some other places of France, there were that took exception to Augustin alleging a place out of the book of Wisdom, cap. iv. *Raptus est ne malitia mutaret intellectum ejus;* and affirmed, that this testimony, as not being canonical, should have been omitted.

Hugo de Sancto Victore[4], having reckoned the twenty-

sunt. Quorum libros suscipit et veneratur ecclesia, qui titulis sequentibus continentur." . . . . (The apocrypha are included.) Caranza. [Summa concil. p. 270. 8vo. Par. 1550.]

[1] "Thobias, Judith, et Machabæorum, quamvis ad instructionem ecclesiæ legantur, perfectam tamen non habent auctoritatem."—Radulphus Flaviacens. in Levit. lib. xiv. præfat. [p. 203. Bas. 1527.]

[2] "Hucusque divina scriptura temporum seriem continet. Quæ autem post hoc apud Judæos sunt digesta, de libro Machabæorum et Josephi atque Africani scriptis exhibentur, qui deinceps universam historiam usque ad Romana tempora prosecuti sunt."—Beda, De Sex Ætat. Mund. [In ann. xx. Artaxerxis Longimani. Tom. II. p. 108. Colon. Agripp. 1688.]

[3] "Illud etiam testimonium quod posuisti, Raptus est ne malitia mutaret intellectum ejus, tanquam non canonicum definiunt omittendum."—Hilar. inter. Opp. August. [Epist. CCXXVI. Tom. II. col. 827.]

[4] "Quidam libri sunt quos non scribunt in canone, et tamen leguntur, ut Sapientia Salomonis et cæteri, . . . Item. cap. 12. Sapientia Salomonis et duo libri Machabæorum, Thobias, Judith, et liber Jesu filii Sirach apocryphi sunt: leguntur tamen et ad Vetus Testamentum pertinent, sed non sunt confirmati in canone."—Hugo de Sto Victor. De Scripturis et Scriptoribus sacris. cap. 6. [Tom. I. pp. 4, 6. Rothom. 1648.]

two books of the old Testament, saith: "There are, besides, certain other books, as the Wisdom of Solomon, the book of Jesus the son of Sirach, Judith, Tobias, and the book of Macchabees; which are read, but are not written in the canon: these he matcheth in authority with the writings of the Fathers." Richardus de Sancto Victore[1] delivereth his opinion of the same books in the same sort; and maketh them to be of no greater authority than the writings of the Fathers.

Petrus Cluniacensis abbas[2], after an enumeration of all the books that are canonical, saith: "There are yet, besides these authentical books, six other books not to be rejected, Judith, Tobias, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and the two books of Macchabees; which, though they attain not to the high dignity of the former, yet they are received of the Church as containing profitable and necessary doctrine." Ocham[3] to the same purpose saith, "that according to Hierome, in his Prologue before the book of Proverbs, and Gregory, in his Morals, the book of Judith, Tobias, and the Macchabees, Ecclesiasticus, and the book of Wisdom, are not to be received for confirmation of any matter of faith." For Hierome saith, as Gregory also doth, "that the Church

[1] "Scripta Patrum in textu divinarum Scripturarum non computantur quemadmodum in Veteri Testamento, ut diximus: quidam libri sunt qui non scribuntur in canone, et tamen leguntur, ut Sapientia Salomonis, &c."—Richard. a Sto Victor. Exceptionum, lib. ii. cap. 9. [p. 331. Ven. 1592.]

[2] "Restant post hos authenticos sacræ Scripturæ libros sex non reticendi libri, Sapientiæ, Jesu filii Sirach, Tobiæ, Judith, et uterque Machabæorum liber. Qui etsi ad illam sublimem præcedentium dignitatem pervenire non potuerunt, propter laudabilem tamen et pernecessariam doctrinam ab ecclesia suscipi meruerunt."—Petrus Cluniacensis, De authorit. Vet. Test. Epist. contr. Petrobrusianos. [Tom XXII. p. 1044. Maxima Biblioth. Vet. Patr. De La Bigne. Lugd. 1677.]

[3] "Secundum Hieronymum etiam in Prologo in libros Proverbiorum; et Gregorius in Moralibus,—Liber Judith, Thobiæ, et Machabæorum, Ecclesiasticus, atque liber Sapientiæ, non sunt recipiendi ad confirmandum aliquid in fide. Dicit enim Hieronymus, sicut Gregorius, Judith, et Thobiæ, et Machabæorum libros legit quidem ecclesia sed inter canonicas scripturas non recipit: sic et hæc duo volumina, scilicet Ecclesiastici et Sapientiæ, legit ad ædificationem plebis, non auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam."—Ockham. Dialog. part iii. tract. i. lib. III. cap. 16. [fol. 212. b. Lugd. 1494.]

readeth the books of Judith, Tobias, and the Macchabees; but accounteth them not amongst the canonical scriptures. So also it readeth those two volumes of Ecclesiasticus, and Wisdom, for the edification of the people, but not for confirmation of points of faith and religion."

Richardus Radulphus[1], archbishop of Armach, and primate of Ireland, saith: "It is defined in general councils that there are twenty-two authentical books of the Old Testament." Thomas Waldensis[2], provincial of the Carmelites here in England, an enemy to Wickliff, whose works were greatly approved by Pope Martin and the cardinals at that time, hath these words: "The length, breadth, and depth of the city are equal; for as in breadth, it can enlarge itself no farther than to the love of God and our neighbour; nor in height nor depth, than to God the rewarder of all; so in length, which is the catholic faith, it cannot grow beyond the twelve articles contained in the symbol, and found scattered in some of the twenty-two books; especially seeing the Holy Ghost saith, in the conclusion of all canonical scripture, 'Let him that will, take of the water of life freely.... I profess unto every one that heareth the words of this prophesy, if any man shall add, God shall add to his plague.'"

Lyra[3] writeth thus: "Now that I have, by God's help,

[1] "Conciliis generalibus diffiniunt xxii. libros Veteris Testamenti esse autenticos." Richard. Radulphus, In quæst. Armen. Lib. XIX. c. 19. [Radulphus Armachanus. Summa in quæstionibus Armenorum, fol. 156. b. Par. 1511.]

[2] "Hujus civitatis longitudo, latitudo, et altitudo, æqualia sunt dicit textus (Apocal. xxi. 16); ergo sicut secundum latitudinem quæ est charitas, non amplius possit crescere quam penes Deum et proximum, nec penes altitudinem sive profundum ejus, quæ est spes in omnium remuneratorem. Quomodo potest augere sibi longitudinem, quæ est fides catholica, ultra numerum quatuor-decem articulorum contentum in symbolo in uno lib. XXII. voluminum sparsim descripto: maxime dicente ibi Spiritu Sancto in conclusionem omnis Scripturæ canonicæ, 'Qui vult, accipiat aquam vitæ gratis. Contestor, si quis apposuerit ad hoc, apponet Deus super illum plagas scriptas in illo libro.'"—Thomas Waldensis. Doctrinalis Fidei, Lib. II. art. 2. cap. 22. [Tom. I. p. 203. Ven. 1571.]

[3] "Postquam, auxiliante Deo, scripsi super libros sacræ Scripturæ canonicos, incipiendo a principio Geneseos, et procedendo usque ad finem Apocalipseos, de ejusdem confisus auxilio super alios intendo scribere qui non sunt de canone: scilicet Liber Sapientiæ, Ecclesias-

written upon the canonical books of holy Scripture, beginning at Genesis, and so going on to the end; trusting to the help of the same God, I intend to write upon those other books that are not canonical; such as are the book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobias, and the books of Macchabees:" and addeth, "that it is to be considered, that these books which are not canonical, are received by the Church, and read in the same, for the information of manners; yet is their authority thought to be too weak to prove things that are in controversy." And, writing upon the first of Esdras, I. c. he saith[1], "that though the books of Tobias, Judith, and the Macchabees, be historical books, yet he intendeth to pass them over; because they are not in the canon, neither with the Jews, nor with the Christians." Tostatus[2], bishop of Abulen, approveth the judgment of Lyra. Ximenius[3], that was made a cardinal in the time of Leo the Tenth, put forth the Bibles called *Biblia Complutensia;* and in the Preface before the same, treating of the books by us thought to be apocryphal, he saith, "they are not in the canon; and that

ticus, Judith, Tobias, et libri Machabæorum.... Considerandum, quod libri qui non sunt de canone, recepti sunt ab ecclesia ut ad morum informationem in ea legantur, tamen eorum auctoritas ad probandum ea quæ in contentionem veniunt, minus idonea reputatur."—Lyra, Præfat. Exposit. in Tobiam. [Tom. II. fol. 283.]

[1] "Libros autem Tobiæ et Judith et Machabæorum, licet sint historiales, tamen intendo eos ad præsens pertransire, quia non sunt de canone apud Judæos nec apud Christianos."—[Tom. I. fol. 240. C. Biblia vulgata cum Gloss. Ordin. et postill. Nicolai de Lyra. fol. Bas. 1506.]

[2] "Tales autem libros ecclesia recipit permittens eos singulis fidelibus legere; ipsa quoque in officiis suis illos legit propter multa devota, quæ in illis habentur; neminem tamen obligat ad necessario credendum id quod ibi habetur; sicut est de libro Sapientiæ Salomonis, et de Ecclesiastico, et de libro Machabæorum, et de Judith, et de Tobia. Isti enim licet a Christianis recipiantur et probatio ex eis sumpta sit aliqualiter efficax, quia ecclesia eos libros tenet, contra hereticos tamen aut Hebræos ad probandum ea quæ in dubium veniunt non sunt efficaces."—Tostatus Abulens. Præfat. in Mat. quæst. ii. [fol. 2. A. Ven. 1596.]

[3] "At vero libri extra canonem, quos ecclesia potius ad ædificationem populi quam ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam recipit, Græcam tantum habent scripturam."... [Biblia Polyglotta a D. F. Francisco Simenio de Cisneros. Tom. I. Prolog. ad lectorem. fol. Compluti de Brocario. 1514.]

the Church readeth them rather for edification of the people, than to confirm any doubtful points of doctrine; and that therefore they are not canonical."

Dionysius Carthusianus[1], in his Prologues before the books of Ecclesiasticus and Tobias, denieth them to be canonical; as also the book of Judith: and writing upon the first chapter of Macchabees, he denieth it to be canonical. Ludovicus Vives[2], treating of history sacred and profane: "Now come in," saith he, "the books of Kings, and the Chronicles, the apocryphal books of Hester, Tobias, and Judith; Esdras, which being divided into four books, the two first are accounted canonical by the Hebrews, the two latter are apocryphal." And in another place[3], speaking of the history of Susanna and Bel, he putteth them amongst the Apocrypha. With these accordeth Driedo[4].

[1] "Liber iste non est de canone; id est, inter scripturas canonicas computandus, quamvis de ejus veritate non dubitetur."—Dionysius Carthusianus præfat. in Ecclesiasticum. [Enarrationes in quinque libros Sapientales. fol. 215. A. Colon. 1533.]

"Denique iste liber non computatur inter scripturas canonicas, tamen de ejus veritate non dubitat mater Ecclesia, propter quod eum recipit, et legendum instituit, non ad confirmationem atque probationem eorum quæ veniunt in contentionem, id est, credendorum de quibus inter catholicos et incredulos extat disputationis contentio, sed ad morum informationem. Est namque hic liber historicus, etiam valde moralis et doctrinalis. Extense sumendo Scripturas divinas, puta pro omnibus libris in Biblia contentis et de Deo tractantibus, liber iste sicut et liber Judith inter divinas censetur scripturas."—Id. præfat. in Tobiam. [Enarrationes in Job, Tobiæ, Judith, Hester, Esdræ, Nehemiæ, I. et II. Machabæorum. fol. 131. B. Colon. 1534.]

"Non est autem hic liber in canone, tamen ab ecclesia tanquam verus receptus est."—Id. in Machab. I. cap. i. [ibid. fol. 183.]

[2] "Accedunt jam libri Regum et τῶν Παραλειπομένων, Esther, Tobias, Judith, apocryphi; Esdras, cujus in quatuor libros divisi, priores duo ab Hebræis agnoscuntur in canone, posteriores apocryphi sunt."—Ludovicus Vives, De tradendis disciplinis. Lib. v. [Tom. I. p. 508. Bas. 1555.]

[3] Id. Comment in Aug. de Civ. Dei. Lib. XVIII. cap. 31. [Cap. XXXVI. p. 632. Bas. 1522: "Tertius et quartus libri Esdræ inter apocrypha rejiciuntur, quos Hieronymus vocat somnia."]

[4] "Tertium autem et quartum Esdræ, secundum Machabæorum, Trium Puerorum Hymnum, Susannæ, et Belis Draconisque historias aut non habent aut prorsus rejiciunt et conflctas tradunt... quæ apud Danielum non in Hebraico volumine sed in sola Theodotionis editione

To these may be added the Glosses. The Ordinary Gloss was begun by Alcuinus, as Antoninus Florentinus[1] and Gaguinus[2] do think; or by Strabus Fuldensis, as Trithemius[3] and Sixtus Senensis[4] think: but it was afterwards enlarged by divers, which gathered sundry sentences and sayings out of the writings of the Fathers, and put them into it. This Gloss grew to be in great request, and used in all Churches of the West. In the preface thereof are these words[5]: "There are

reperiuntur."....—Driedo, De Eccles. Dogm. Lib. I. cap. ult. [p. 41. Lovan. 1533.]

[1] "Floruerunt autem eo tempore duo singulares viri: scilicet Albinus qui et Alchuinus dictus est, eruditissimus vir, ex Anglia ortus, magister Karoli in artibus liberalibus et scripturis sacris, et Rabbanus prius abbas postea archiepiscopus Moguntinus. Qui Alchuinus aliquos libros composuit.... Sed et glossas ordinarias super totam sacram scripturam dicitur ipsum edidisse ex dictis vel sententiis diversorum doctorum excerptas." [Opus Hystoriarum seu Cronicarum Antonini archiepiscopi Florentini. Part. ii. tit. 13. cap. 5. fol. 135. Lugd. 1512.]

[2] "Carolus Magnus liberalibus artibus animum excoluit, præceptore primum Petro Pisano, deinde Alcuino Anglo, quem glossæ in Bibliam quam ordinariam vocant auctorem Antoninus Florentinus prodit."—Gaguinus, Hist. Franc. Lib. IV. cap. 1. [fol. 21. Lugd. 1497.]

[3] "Strabus monachus Fuldensis, natione Theutonicus, Rabani abbatis quondam auditor et scriba,... hic denique Strabus glossam quæ Ordinaria nunc dicitur super totam Bibliam ex dictis sanctorum Patrum primus comportasse memoratur, quam alii multis postmodum adjunctis sententiis Patrum ampliarunt." [Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum a Johanne a Trittenheim abbate Spanhemense, in A.D. 840. fol. 56. Bas. 1529.]

[4] "Strabus monachus cœnobii Fuldensis, natione Germanus,.... collegit ex dictis sanctorum Patrum appositis eorum nominibus commentarias in universa sacrosancta Biblia quas nunc Glossam Ordinariam appellant." Sixt. Senens. Bibliothecæ. Lib. IV. [p. 304. c. Colon. 1586.]

[5].... "Quia sunt multi qui ex eo quod non multam operam dant sacræ scripturæ, existimant omnes libros qui in Biblia continentur pari veneratione esse reverendos atque adorandos, nescientes distinguere inter libros canonicos et non-canonicos, quos Hebræi inter apocrypha computant, unde sæpe coram doctis ridiculi videntur, et perturbantur; scandalizanturque cum audiunt aliquem non pari cum cæteris omnibus veneratione prosequi aliquid quod in Bibliis legatur; idcirco id distinximus, et numeravimus, primo libros canonicos et postea non-canonicos: inter quos tantum distat quantum inter certum et dubium.

some books canonical, some not canonical; between which there is as great difference as there is between that which is certain and that which is doubtful. For the canonical books were composed by the immediate direction and suggestion of the Holy Spirit: they that are not canonical are very good and profitable, but their authority is not reputed sufficient to prove the things that are questionable. This the author thinketh so clear, that he fasteneth the note of ignorance upon all such as think otherwise; and professeth, that therefore he held it necessary to prefix this preface, because there are many, who not giving themselves much to the study of Holy Scripture, suppose that all those books that are bound up together in the Bible, are to be, in like sort, honoured and esteemed; not knowing how to put a difference between books canonical and not canonical, which the Hebrews separate from the canon, and the Greeks account apocryphal; and so oftentimes make themselves ridiculous to them that are learned." He citeth the authority of Origen, Hierome, and Ruffinus, rejecting the six books questioned; and though he knew the opinion of Augustine[1], yet doth he not follow it; only he saith, that amongst the books not canonical, they that are rejected by Augustine, as Baruch and the third and fourth of Esdras, are less to be esteemed than those that he alloweth. And immediately after this preface, followeth Hierome's epistle to Paulinus; and afterwards, his *Prologus Galeatus*, and his prologue before the books of Solomon. And the Gloss everywhere inculcateth, when it cometh to these six books, that they are not canonical. *Incipit liber*

Nam canonici sunt confecti Spiritu Sancto dictante, non-canonici autem sive apocryphi nescitur quo tempore quibusve auctoribus sint editi; quia tamen valde boni et utiles sunt, nihilque in eis quod canonicis obviet invenitur, ideo ecclesia eos legit, et permittit ut ad devotionem et ad morum informationem a fidelibus legantur: eorum auctoritas tamen ad probandum ea quæ veniunt in dubium aut in contentionem, et ad confirmandam ecclesiasticorum dogmatum auctoritatem non reputatur idonea."—Glossa Ordinaria. [Biblia vulgata cum Glossa Ordinaria et postillis Nicol. de Lyra. citat. supr. Tom. I. fol. 2. præfat.]

[1] "Minoris auctoritatis sunt Baruch et tertius et quartus Esdræ, nam Augustinus (De doctrina Christiana, Lib. II. cap. 42. Tom. III. col. 44.) nullam de his facit mentionem, cum tamen alios apocryphos canonicis annumeret."

Tobiæ, &c.: "Here begins the book of Tobias, which is not canonical," &c. In the edition of the Bibles with the Glosses there is found an exposition of the prologues of Hierome, written and composed by Brito[1], more ancient than Lyra; for he is cited by him, and honoured with the title of a famous and worthy man, who professeth that the books questioned are not canonical.

Gratian[2], in the decree, maketh no mention of the opinion of Gelasius, touching the canonical scriptures; disliking, as it seemeth, his opinion, and yet not willing to oppose against it. But the Gloss upon the next distinction saith[3]: "There are certain apocryphal books, that is, without author; as the Wisdom of Solomon, the book of Jesus the Son of Sirach called Ecclesiasticus, the book of Judith, the book of Tobias, and the books of the Maccabees: these books are said to be apocryphal, and yet they are read but haply, not generally. Driedo[4] citeth this place of the gloss, and reprehendeth the author of it, as not giving the true reason why these books are called apocryphal; but yet thinketh as he doth, that they are apocryphal.

Sanctes Pagninus[5], in his Epitome of historical books that

[1] "Incipit expositio fratris Britonis ordinis sancti Francisci super epistolas sancti Hieronymi, quem ponit pro prologo Bibliæ." [Biblia Vulgata. ibid. fol. I. E.]

"Unus alius frater Brito de ordine nostro prologos Bibliæ valde sufficienter exposuit, quod opus habetur communiter."—Lyran. Prolog. ii. in Exposit. suas. [Ibid. fol. 3. H.]

[2] Gratian Dist. XV. canone Sancta Romana. [Decret. part. I. In corp. Jur. canon. Vol. I. col. 31. Lips. 1839.]

[3] "Atque inter apocrypha, id est, sine certo auctore, ut Sapientia Salomonis, liber Jesu filii Syrach, qui dicitur Ecclesiasticus, et liber Judicum, et Thobiæ, et liber Machabæorum, hi apocryphi dicuntur, et tamen leguntur sed forte non generaliter."—Dist. xvi. can. Canones qui... glossa in verbum Apocrypha. [Ibid. col. 36.]

[4] "Respondeo si hoc pacto intelligeremus apocryphum, multi libri sacri essent apocryphi, et extra canonem.. . Dicuntur apocrypha non ea quorum dubius aut incertus est vel auctor vel collector, sed ea quæ sunt occulta seu recondita, non confirmata et celebrata communi ecclesiæ lectione..... Hujus generis sunt apud Hebræos historia Judith, Thobiæ, Ecclesiasticus, et Machabæorum primus."—Driedo, De Eccles. Dogm. Lib. I. cap. 4. [p. 48. Lovan. 1533.]

[5] "Nec aliena est Hebræorum distinctio, vocantium Legem, Prophetas, hagiographa; inter quæ et Psalmi Davidis numerantur; ut

are canonical, prefixed before the Bible, translated by him into Latin, accounteth all those that Hierome doth to be canonical; the rest hagiographal. Bruciolus[1], in the preface of his commentaries upon the Bible, translated by him into Italian, saith, he hath commented upon all the books of the Old Testament; and yet he hath not commented upon the six books that are questioned. In the Bibles put out at Antwerp by Arias Montanus[2], with the interlineal translation, all those books are omitted. In the edition of the Bible printed at Antwerp by Birkmannus, that very year that the Council of Trent was holden to determine this point, touching the canonical and apocryphal scriptures, and the like, the author, suppressing his name, prefixeth a preface before the same his edition; and in it rejecteth all the books now questioned, in more peremptory sort than many of the former did.

Here we see a cloud of witnesses, in all ages, and in all parts of the world, witnessing to the truth of that we affirm touching the canon of the scripture; and rejecting those books as apocryphal, or not canonical, which we reject, even till and after the time of Luther: so that the Church wherein our fathers lived and died, is found, as I said, to be, in this point, a Protestant Church: wherefore, let us proceed to other particular points of controversy.

etiam Hieronymus in Prologo suo Galeato quem præposuit libris Regum testatur." [Biblia Latine ex interpretatione Santis Pagnini et Francisci Vatabli. fol. Bas. 1564.]

[1] [I sacrosanti libri del Vecchio Testamento tradotti dalla Ebraica verita in lingua Italiana et con breve et catholico commento dichiariti. Per Antonio Brucioli. fol. Ven. 1540.]

[2] Arias Montanus. [Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, Philippi II. Hispaniarum regis jussu edita ac impressa; cura Benedicti Ariæ Montani. Antwerp. Plautinus. 1559, 1572, 8 vols. fol.]

CHAPTER II.

OF THE SUFFICIENCY OF THE SCRIPTURE.

THAT the Church formerly did not deny the sufficiency of the scripture for the direction of Christian men in matters of faith and religion, as the Romanists now do, but acknowledged and taught, that it containeth all things necessary to salvation, accordingly as we now profess, it appeareth by the testimonies of these divines. Gregorius Ariminensis[1], sometime Prior-general of the Friars Heremites of the order of Saint Augustine, writing upon the Sentences, hath these words[1]: "That is, properly, a theological discourse, that consisteth of sayings or propositions contained in the holy scripture, or of such as are deduced thence, or, at the least, of such as are consequent and to be deduced from one of these: this, saith he, is proved, *ex communi omnium conceptione; nam omnes arbitrantur tunc solum theologicè*

[1] "Discursus proprie est qui constat ex dictis sive propositionibus in sacra scriptura contentis ; vel ex his quæ deducuntur ex eis; vel saltem ex altera hujus..... Idem probatur ex communi omnium conceptione: nam omnes arbitrantur tunc solum theologice aliquid probare cum ex dictis probant sacræ scripturæ..... Conclusiones autem theologicas distinguendo contra principia dico omnes veritates non secundum se formaliter in sacra scriptura contentas; sed ex contentis in ipsa de necessitate sequentes: et hoc sive sint articuli fidei sive non: sive etiam sint scibiles vel scitæ per scientiam aliam vel non: sive etiam sint determinatæ per ecclesiam sive non. Ceterarum autem veritatum scilicet non sequentium ex dictis sacræ scripturæ nullam dico esse conclusionem theologicam. Hoc autem probatur ex dictis Augustini, Lib. XIV. cap. 3. de Trin. [Tom. VIII. col. 948. Par. 1679.] ubi dicit se huic scientiæ tribuere non quicquid ab homine sciri potest in rebus humanis, sed illud tantum quo fides saluberrima quæ ad veram beatitudinem ducit, gignitur, nutritur, defenditur, roboratur: sed constat quod quodlibet tale vel expresse secundum se continetur in sacra scriptura vel ex contentis in ea deducitur; alioquin non ipsa sufficeret ad nostram salutem, et nostram defensionem fidei, &c.: quod est contra August. II. de Doc. Christ. cap. ult. (Cap. 42. Tom. III. col. 44.) dicentem quod quicquid homo extra didicerit si noxium est ibi damnatur, si utile ibi invenitur."—Gregorius Ariminensis, in Sent. lib. I. prolog. dist. i. quæst. 1. artic. 2. [fol. 4. Ven. 1503.]

aliquid probari, cum ex dictis probatur sacræ scripturæ, out of the common conceit and apprehension of all men: for all men do think that then only a thing is proved theologically, when it is proved out of the sayings of holy scripture: and if we distinguish theological conclusions from principles theological, I affirm that all those verities that are not, formally, and in precise words, contained in holy scripture, but are necessarily deduced from things so contained in it, are conclusions theological, whether they be determined by the Church, or not: for the Church determineth that a proposition is to be believed precisely, because it seeth it is necessarily deduced from the words of holy scripture; but no other that is not so deduced, is to be accounted a theological conclusion: which is proved out of the sayings of Saint Augustine, in his fourteenth book *de Trinitate*, cap. i., where he saith, he doth not conceive that all that that may be known by man in human things pertaineth to this science, but those things only whereby the most wholesome faith that leadeth to true happiness is begotten, nourished, defended, and strengthened: but it is evident, that every such thing is either expressly, and in precise terms, contained in holy scripture, or is deduced from things so contained in it: for otherwise the scripture should not be sufficient to our salvation, and the defence of our faith: which is contrary to Saint August. ii. *de Doctrina Christiana*, where he saith, *Quicquid homo extra didicerit, si noxium est, ibi damnatur; si utile, ibi invenitur:* that is, Whatsoever a man shall learn without and beside the scripture, if it be hurtful, it is there condemned; if profitable, it is there found." Here we have a pregnant testimony, of a man of eminent place and great worth, peremptorily resolving for the sufficiency of the Scripture, and assuring us that this was not his private conceit, but the general opinion of all men in his time, and before.

Scotus[1] agreeth with Ariminensis; his words are these: "Whatsoever pertaineth to the heavenly and supernatural knowledge, and is necessary to be known of man in this life,

[1] "(In quæst. Utrum cognitio supernaturalis necessaria viatori sit sufficienter tradita in sacra scriptura?) Patet quod sacra scriptura sufficienter continet doctrinam necessariam viatori."—Scotus. Prolog. in I. Sent. qu. 2. [Tom. v. p. 63.]

is sufficiently delivered in the sacred scriptures;" and in another place[1]: *Sicut theologia beatorum habet terminum, ita et nostra ex voluntate Dei revelantis: terminus autem præfixus a voluntate divina, quantum ad revelationem generalem, est eorum quæ sunt in sacra scriptura; quia sicut habetur Apocalyp. ultimo, qui apposuerit ad hæc, Apponet ei Deus plagas quæ apponuntur in libro isto; igitur theologia nostra de facto non est nisi de his quæ continentur in scriptura, et de his quæ possunt elici ex ipsis;* that is, "As the theology of those blessed ones that are in heaven hath a certain bound, without and beyond which it extendeth not itself; so also, that theological knowledge that we have, hath bounds set unto it by the will of God, that revealeth divine and heavenly truth unto us; and the bound prefixed by the will of God, who generally will reveal no more, is within the compass of such things as are found in the holy scripture; because, as it is in the last of the Revelation, Whosoever shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are added in this book."

Ockam[2], in his Dialogues, saith: "There is one opinion, that only those verities are to be esteemed catholic, and such as are necessarily to be believed for the attaining of salvation, which either expressly are delivered in scripture, or by necessary consequence may be inferred from things so expressed; and that they that follow this opinion, allege sundry authorities for proof of the same, as that of Augustine[3]: *Ego solis scripturarum libris didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, ut earum nullum auctorem in aliquo errasse firmissime credam, &c. alios autem ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate, quantave doctrina polleant, non ideo verum putem quia ita ipsi senserint, sed quia per alios auctores*

[1] Id. prolog. qu. 3. ad tertiam qu. [Ibid. p. 102. Lugd. 1639.]

[2] "Una sententia est quod illæ solæ veritatates sunt catholicæ reputandæ et de necessitate salutis credendæ quæ in canone Bibliæ explicite vel implicite asseruntur: ita quod si aliquæ veritates in Biblia sub propria forma minime continentur ex solis tamen contentis in ea consequentia necessaria et formali possunt inferri, sunt inter catholicas commemorandæ. Hanc sententiam auctoritate Augustini conantur ostendere." — Ockam. Prolog. l. 2. part. I. c. i. [fol. 6. Lugd. 1494.]

[3] August. ad Hieron. [Epist. LXXXII. Tom. II. col. 190. Par. 1679.]

canonicos, vel probabiles rationes, quod a vero non aberrent mihi persuadere potuerunt: "I have learned to give this honour and reverence only to the books of scripture, as that I should believe that none of the authors of them in aught have erred, &c.: but others I so read, that how great soever their sanctity and learning be, I do not therefore think that to be true which they have written, because it was their opinion, but because they are able to persuade me, either by some other canonical authors, or by probable reasons, that they have not erred from the truth." And, in another place[1]: *Quis nesciat sanctam scripturam canonicam tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti, certis terminis suis contineri, eamque posterioribus omnibus episcoporum libris præponi, ut de illa omnino dubitari et disceptari non possit, utrum verum vel utrum rectum sit quicquid in ea scriptum esse constiterit: episcoporum autem literas, quæ post confirmatum canonem vel scriptæ sunt, vel scribuntur, et per sermonem forte sapientiorem cujuslibet in ea re peritioris, et per aliorum episcoporum graviorem auctoritatem, doctioremque prudentiam, et per concilia, reprehendi licere, si quid in iis forte a veritate est deviatum?* "Who knows not that the holy canonical scripture, as well of the Old as the New Testament, is contained within its certain bounds: and that it is preferred before all the books of bishops that have been written since: so that there may be no doubt made, nor dispute raised concerning it, whether whatsoever is certainly known to be registered in it, be true or right? But that the letters of bishops, which either have been or are written since the confirmation of the canon, may be reprehended if in any thing they have strayed from the truth, both by the speech perchance wiser of some one better skilled in that matter, and by the more grave authority and more learned wisdom of other bishops, and by general councils." And Hierom: *Quod de scripturis auctoritatem non habet, eadem facilitate contemnitur quâ probatur:* "That which hath not authority and confirmation from the scriptures, is with like facility rejected as it is urged." Others he sheweth to be of a contrary opinion: but being pressed to give instance of things necessarily believed, and yet not contained in the scripture,

[1] Id. de unico Baptismo. (De Baptism. contr. Donatist. Lib, II. cap. 3. Tom. IX. col. 98, A.)

they give no other but certain matters of fact; as that the apostles composed the symbol called the Apostles' Creed; that Peter was at Rome; and things of that nature.

Ockam, in this place, delivereth not his own opinion, but only reciteth the contrary opinions of other men: but in another place, inveighing against the canonists, and going about to prove that it principally pertaineth to divines to define and determine what is catholic, and what heretical; after many convincing reasons, he addeth this, in the conclusion[1]: "The defining of things in this kind pertaineth principally to the professors of that science to which nothing may be added, and from which nothing may be detracted; but of this sort is the profession of divines; and therefore Moses saith, in the person of God, Deuteronomy iv., Ye shall not add unto the word I speak unto you, neither shall ye take from it: to which that of Solomon answereth, Proverbs xxx. where, speaking of the word of God, he saith: Add nothing to his words, lest thou be reproved, and found a liar: and hence it is that the Holy Ghost doth terribly threaten, by John the Evangelist, in the last of the Revelation, all them that add or take any thing from the holy scripture; saying, If any man shall add more than this, God shall add unto him the plagues that are in this book; and if any man shall take any thing from the words of the prophecy of this book, God shall take his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city. By all which it is evidently collected, that nothing is to be added to the holy scripture, nor nothing to be taken from it."

[1] "Ad tractatores illius scientiæ principaliter pertinet diffinitio sæpe fata cui non licet aliquid addere nec auferre; hujusmodi est autem theologia, Moyse in persona Dei dicente, Deut. c. iv. [v. 2.] 'Non addetis ad verbum quod vobis loquor, nec auferetis ab eo;' cui correspondet Salomon, Proverb. xxx. 6, de sermone Dei loquens, ait: 'Ne addas quicquid verbis illius, aut arguaris inveniarisque mendax.' Hinc addentibus aut auferentibus aliquid ex scriptura divina Spiritus Sanctus per beatum Johannem Evangelistam, Apoc. ult. terribiliter comminatur dicens: 'Si quis apposuerit adhuc super hoc, apponet super eum Deus plagas quæ sunt in libro isto: et si quis diminuerit de verbis prophetiæ libri hujus, auferet Deus partem ejus de libro vitæ, et de civitate sancta.' Ex quibus omnibus evidenter colligitur quod ad sacram scripturam nihil est addendum nec aliquid auferendum ex ea." —Id. Dialog. Lib. i. p. 1. cap. 2. [Ibid. fol. xi.]

Cardinal Cameracensis[1] agreeth fully with Ariminensis before cited; for first, he distinguisheth principles and conclusions theological: principles he maketh to be the verities of the sacred canon; conclusions, to be those verities which are not found formally, and in express words, or precise terms, in scripture, but may necessarily be deduced from things so contained; whether they be articles, or not; whether they be determined by the Church, or not determined: and then pronounceth, that that only is a theological discourse which consisteth of sayings and propositions contained in the sacred scriptures, or of such as may be deduced from them; and that then only we say a thing is theologically proved, when it is concluded out of the words of holy scripture.

To these we may add Waldensis[2], his words are these; "That Wickliffe affirmeth, that neither friars nor prelates may define any thing, in matters of faith, unless they have the authority of sacred scripture, or some special revelation, I dislike not; but I condemn his waywardness and craft, and think it necessary, lest we wrest the scriptures and err in the interpretation of them, to follow the tradition of the Church, expounding them unto us, and not to trust to our own private and singular conceits." Gerson[3] acknowledgeth

[1] "Patet quæ sint conclusiones proprie theologicæ distinguendo conclusiones contra principia. Sunt illæ veritates quæ non formaliter in sacra scriptura continentur, sed ex contentis in ipsa de necessitate sequuntur; sive sint articuli sive non; sive sint per ecclesiam determinatæ sive non. Discursus proprie theologicus est qui constat ex dictis seu propositionibus in sacra scriptura contentis; vel ex his quæ deducuntur ex his vel ex altera hujusmodi. . . . Tunc solum dicimus aliquid theologice probari, quando ex dictis sacræ scripturæ concluditur."—Camaracens. In Sent. lib. i. dist. i. qu. 2. [Petrus de Alliaco, Cardinalis Camaracensis, In sent. fol. 49, 50.]

[2] "Videtur, (inquit Witcleff) inferri quod nulli fratres vel prælati quidquam debeant in materia fidei definire, nisi ad hoc habuerint scripturæ auctoritatem, vel revelationem a Spiritu Sancto specialem. . . . . (Auctor) Non vitupero viam datam sed latentem damno proterviam et astutiam versipellem."—Thomas Waldensis Doctrinal. Fid. Lib. II. art. ii. cap. 19. [Tom. I. p. 193. Ven. 1571.]

[3] "Quid autem mali, quid periculi, quid confusionis attulerit contemptus sacræ scripturæ, utique sufficientis pro regimine Ecclesiæ, alioquin Christus fuisset legislator imperfectus, interrogetur experientia."—

as much as the rest; his words are these: "What evils, what dangers, what confusions have followed the contempt of sacred scripture; which is sufficient for the government of the Church, or else Christ was an imperfect lawgiver, experience will teach us." The author of that most pious and worthy work called *Destructorium Vitiorum*[1], hath sundry things for confirmation of this point: "As," saith he, "corporal things here below may, in some sort, be known, without the benefit of corporal light; for one may know the length, breadth, and other dimensions of such a thing, and may, in the dark, discern whether it be long or short; but whether it be fair or foul, white or black, we cannot certainly know: so it is in things that are to be discerned intellectually; for though philosophers excelling in mundane wisdom, and lacking the light of faith, had some kind of knowledge of God, as that he is the beginning and cause of all things, yet could

Gerson. Sermon. in die Circumcisionis Domini. Consid. prima. [Tom. II. col. 61. c, ed. Du Pin. Antv. 1706.]

[1] "Sicut res corporalis hic inferius poterit cognosci sine lumine corporali quoad aliquid, puta quoad longitudinem, latitudinem, et ceteras dimensiones, quia in tenebris potest homo sentire utrum corpus sit breve vel longum, &c. sed utrum sit pulchre, turpe, album, vel nigrum non potest certitudinaliter experiri; sic spiritualiter, quamvis philosophi, mundana sapientia imbuti et lumine fidei carentes, aliqualem de Deo habuerunt cognitionem, ut puta quod Deus sit principium omnium rerum, veruntamen quam pulcher sit, quam bonus, et quam misericors, et quam gloriosus, non potuerunt scire: nec unquam scivit aliquis homo nisi vel divina revelatione vel sacræ scripturæ informatione. Unde sacra scriptura lux est per quam habere possumus in statu viæ sufficientem cognitionem de requisitis omnibus ad salutem. Unde Psalmus: Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum, et lumen semitis meis. Sed experientia docente qui lumine lucernæ illuminari voluerit, oportet quod habeat lucernam ante se, scilicet lucernam sequatur, quia si a tergo fecerit illam in noctis obscuritate portari ei lucem debite non ministrabit; sic ambulantes in tenebris hujus vitæ si voluerint verbi Dei illuminari lucerna, et suos gressus in via veritatis sine cespitatione dirigere, oportet quod ante mentis suæ oculos lucernam Dei verbi habeant, et ipsam bene operando sequantur. Sed experientia docente quando in noctis obscuritate portatur lucerna ubi sunt animalia, scilicet equi et aves, equi lucernam statissime fugiunt, aves vero ad lucernam accedunt, sic spiritualiter, homines bestialiter viventes, similes equis et mulis, lumen scripturæ veritatis fugiunt. Unde Johannis iii. 20: Omnis qui male agit odit lucem, et non venit ad lucem ne arguantur opera ejus."

they not know how fair, how good, how merciful, and how glorious he is: neither did ever any man know it, but either by divine revelation, or by the information of the holy scripture; for that the holy scripture is that light by which, in this state of wayfaring men, we may have sufficient knowledge of all things necessary to salvation: whence it is that the Psalmist saith: Thy word is a lantern to my feet, and a light to my steps. But as experience doth teach, that he that will be lighted by the light of a candle, must have the candle before him, and must follow it; but that if he shall cause it to be brought after him, in the darkness of the night, it will not give him light to any purpose; for they that walk in the darkness of this life, if they desire to be lighted by the candle of God's word, and to direct their goings in the way of truth without falling, they must have the light of God's word before their eyes, and must follow it by well-doing. But even as, if a candle be carried out in the darkness of the night, where brute beasts, as horses and the like, are, they will run from it; whereas birds will come towards it; so bestial men, that are like horses and mules, fly from the light of the scriptures, according to that of John iii.: Every one that doth evil hateth the light, neither doth he come to the light, lest his works should be reproved."

For confirmation of that he saith, he allegeth a most excellent discourse of bishop Grosthead[1]; who, intreating of

[1] "Unde et quæ scientia est a Deo, et quæ non, figuram habemus III. Regum, xix.; quam hystoriam pertractans Linco. super evangelia, parte IV. ca. xliii. inquit, In sacra scriptura quam ad nutum suis inspirat fidelibus est Dominus; et non in aliis scientiis Dominus invenitur. Tres enim scientiæ propositæ per tres puteos perfossos ab Ysaac, Gen. xxvi. 20, intelliguntur. Primum fodit ob quem jurgati sunt Philistei, et ideo vocavit puteum istum *Eston*, quod interpretantur jurgium sive calumnia, et dereliquit eum: dicebant enim Philistei quod sua erat aqua. Postea abiens fodit alium puteum, propter quem etiam objurgati sunt Philistei, quem ob hoc relictum vocavit Sathan, id est, contrarium, vel inimicitias. Tertio fodit puteum, et in pace eum habuit; et idcirco vocavit eum Robooth, id est, latitudinem, quia dilatatæ sunt aquæ illius. Per hos tres puteos designantur tres scientiæ, scilicet scientia phisica, scientia humana, et scientia divina. Per primum intelligitur scientia phisica; scilicet, septem artes liberales in quibus jurgia sunt et contentiones, ut in dyalectica. Per secundum puteum intelligitur scientia humana, scilicet quæ addiscitur causa lucri; ut

that history in the 1 Kings xix. where the angel of the Lord

leges humanæ, et hujusmodi. Quidam tamen dicunt hodie scientias lucrativas querentes versus,

Dat Galienus opes, et sanctio Justiniana,
Ex aliis paleas, ex istis collige grana.

Per tertium vero puteum qui vocatur Robooth, et latitudo interpretatur, eo quod dilatatæ sunt aquæ, id est, doctrina dilatata est in universum mundum per apostolos et fideles prædicatores; dicente Psalmista, In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, &c. Ad aquas enim istius putei potandas invitat Dominus suos electos, Is. lv. 1, dicens; Omnes sitientes venite ad aquas. Et ad hanc aquam avide sitiendum moverent fideles verba Christi dicentis, Math. v, Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt justi, &c. Sed hanc aquam impii vino mundanæ lætitiæ et divitiarum temporalium odiunt, abominantur, et abjiciunt. Et ideo merito de illis dicit Dominus per prophetam, Ysa. viii. 6, Pro eo quod abjecit populus iste aquas Siloe quæ vadunt in silentio, et assumpsit magis Jasui et filium Romeliæ, propter hoc adducet Dominus super eos aquas fluminis fortes et multas, super regem Assyriorum et omnem gloriam ejus. Spiritualiter Siloe Missus interpretatur, et signat doctrinam legis divinæ nobis per Christum, apostolos, et cæteros fideles missam, quam doctrinam scire et docere sub pœna damnationis tenentur pastores ecclesiæ. Unde Isido. in de Summo Bono Lib. III. ca. xlvi. [Isidor. Hispal. Tom. VI. p. 333. Rom. 1802.] Sacerdotes, inquit, pro populorum iniquitate damnantur, si eos ignorantes non erudiunt, aut peccantes non arguunt: docente Domino per prophetam Ezechiel: Speculatorem dedi te domui Israel, et si non fueris locutus ut se custodiat impius a via sua mala, ille in iniquitate sua morietur; sanguinem ejus de manu tua requiram. Sed non obstante isto hanc doctrinam multi sacerdotes moderni abjiciunt, doctrinam istam dicentes, Nolumus, quia non est de pane lucrando; et leges addiscunt humanas quæ non sunt ita necessariæ ad salutem animarum sicut lex Dei. Quia ut hic dicit Odo sup. Evangelia, Ser. XXXIX. Si Christus scivisset quod per leges Justinianas possent homines facilius salutem acquirere, illam suo proprio ore docuisset, et illam dimisisset quam nobis docuit et tradidit observandam et in qua continetur implicite vel explicite omnis scientia ad salutem necessario requisita: dicente Aug. II. de Doc. Christi. in fine. [cap. 42. Tom. III. col. 44.] Quicquid homo extra sacram scripturam didicerit, si noxium est, ibi damnatur, si utile est, ibi invenitur; hæc ille. Sed hanc doctrinam multi viri ecclesiastici dimittentes assumunt sibi Jasui et filium Romeliæ. Jasui pictura interpretatur: Romeliæ vero sublime tonitruum interpretatur. Hanc enim doctrinam picturæ scribentium, et curiose sublimitatis dictantium, et verbosum tonitruum humanarum linguarum, assumunt ut per illas ad magnas dignitates exaltentur et mundanos honores. Sed, ut subdit, propter hoc adducet Dominus super eos aquas fluminis fortes et multas, id est, pœnas infernales."

said to Elias, "Go forth and stand in the mountain before the Lord; and he stood and saw, and behold a wind passed by him, overthrowing the mountains, and tearing the rocks in sunder, but the Lord was not in the wind; and after the wind an earthquake, but the Lord was not in the earthquake: and after the earthquake fire, but the Lord was not in the fire; and after the fire a still small voice, and there was the Lord;" sheweth that "God is not found in any other science, but in the holy scripture only, which is given by divine inspiration: and, for farther illustration hereof, noteth, that there were three wells digged by Isaac, Genesis xxvi. For he digged the first, and the Philistines strove for it; likewise the second, and they claimed it also; wherefore he left them both, and digged a third, which he peaceably enjoyed, and called the name of it Robooth, that is, Latitude, because the waters of it were enlarged: and to the first of these wells, he compareth natural sciences, to wit, the seven liberal arts, as logic, in which there is much brawling and contending: to the second, such sciences as we learn for gain sake, and to get preferment, as is the knowledge of human laws, according to those verses:

Dat Galenus opes et sanctio Justiniana,
Ex aliis paleas, ex istis collige grana.

To the third he compareth divine knowledge, and saith, that that well was rightly named Robooth, that is, Latitude, because the waters of it were enlarged: so the heavenly doctrine was published to all parts of the world by the apostles, and other faithful preachers, according to that of the psalmist: Their sound is gone forth into all the earth: and the Lord inviteth his elect to come and drink the waters of this well, saying, All ye that are thirsty come to these waters: and the words of Christ move all earnestly to thirst after these waters, when he saith, Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness: but the ungodly having tasted of the wine of mundane joy and temporal riches, hate, dislike, and put from them this water; and therefore the Lord saith well of them, by the prophet Esay viii. Because this people have refused the waters of Siloe that run softly and without noise, and have taken rather Rasin and the son of Romelia, I will bring upon them the mighty waters of the flood. Siloe is interpreted, Sent; and it signi-

fieth the doctrine of the divine law, sent unto us by Christ, the apostles, and other faithful ones; which doctrine the pastors of the Church are bound, under the pain of damnation, to know and teach; whereupon Isidore saith, *de Summo Bono*, lib. iii. c. 46: The priests shall be damned for the iniquity of the people, if either they neglect to teach them, being ignorant; or to reprove them when they offend; the Lord having said by the prophet, I have set thee as a watchman over the house of Israel, and if thou shalt not tell the wicked of his wickedness, that he forsake his evil way, he shall die in his iniquity; but I will require his blood at thy hand. Notwithstanding all this, many of the modern priests cast from them this learning, and say, We will none of it, because it is not *de pane lucrando*, that is, it serveth not to bring in gain and profit; and give themselves to the study of human laws, which are not so necessary for the saving of souls as the law of God: because, as Odo saith here upon the Gospel, sermone 39: If Christ had known that we might more easily attain salvation by the laws of Justinian, he would surely have taught them us with his own mouth, and have let that alone which he taught us, and delivered unto us, *et in qua continetur implicite vel explicite omnis scientia ad salutem necessario requisita;* and in which is contained expressly or implicitly all knowledge necessarily required to salvation; according to that of St Augustine II. *de Doctrina Christiana, in fine:* Whatsoever a man learneth without and beside the holy scripture, if it be hurtful, it is there condemned; if it be profitable, it may there be found: but many churchmen leave this learning, and take unto them Rasin, and the son of Romelia; Rasin signifieth a picture; and Romèlia, high and mighty thunder; so that by Rasin and the son of Romelia, we may understand painted and glorious words, and that wordy thunder of human laws; which kinds of learning many ecclesiastical persons assume, that they may be, by such profession, exalted in the courts of great lords; and for this cause, as the prophet addeth, the Lord shall bring upon them the mighty and great waters of the flood, that is, infernal punishments: so saith Odo."

Hitherto he hath alleged the words of Grosthead and Odo. In another place, he saith[1], "Concerning them that so contemn

[1] "De verbum Dei contemnentibus conqueritur Dominus per pro-

the word of God, that the Lord complaineth of such, by the prophet Jerem. ii. saying, My people hath done two evils; they have forsaken me the fountain of living water, and have digged to themselves broken cisterns; to which, as Gulielmus Parisiensis saith, the decree or canon law may fitly be compared, which is a broken cistern that cannot hold water; which though it have water to-day, shall have none to-morrow, because it shall be abrogated: whereas, touching the law of God it is otherwise: and therefore the psalmist saith: Thy righteousness, O Lord, is an everlasting righteousness, and thy law is truth. Yet is the holy scripture much contemned by the profession of the canonists; so that the knowledge of holy scripture, and profession of divinity, may say to an ill advocate, or lawyer, as Sara said to Abraham, in the 16th of Genesis: Thou dealest ill with me: I gave thee my handmaid into thy bosom, who seeing that she had conceived, despised me: for, as Gulielmus Parisiensis saith, *de Vitiis*, part iv. cap. 6: The profession of canonists contemneth the profession of divines and science of holy scripture, because they are not so gainful as it is. When Ismael and Isaac played together, Ismael mocked Isaac, so

phetam Ihere. ii. dicens, Duo mala fecit populus meus; dereliquerunt me fontem aquæ vivæ, et foderunt sibi cisternas dissipatas. Spiritualiter ut dicit Paris, Cisterna non valens continere aquam est decretum quod hodie continet aquam et cras non continebit, quia abrogatum erit. Et aliter est de lege divina, unde Psalmus: Justitia tua, Domine, justitia in æternum, et lex tua lex veritatis. Sacra vero scriptura multum contemnitur propter scientiam decretorum quæ sacram scripturam habet despectui: unde scientia sacræ scripturæ dicere potest malo advocato sive jurisperito illud Gen. xvi. quod dixit Sara ad Abraham: Inique agis contra me: ego dedi ancillam meam in sinum tuum, quæ videns quod concepit despectui me habet. Spiritualiter ancilla sacræ scripturæ est scientia decretorum, ut dicit Paris, in de Vitiis parte iv. ca. 6, quæ scripturam sacram despectui habet, propter fructum lucri quem ex ea consequitur, per quem fructum multotiens opprimitur et contemnitur fructus sacræ scripturæ. Istud enim figuratum est Genes. xxi., per ludum quo opprimebat Ysmael Ysaac: unde sicut Sara rogavit ejicere ancillam et filium ejus, sic forte utile esset illam scientiam in magna ejus parte ab ecclesia excludi; quia non solum contemnitur sacra scriptura per illam scientiam sed etiam blasphematur, et in hoc ipso Deus qui legislator est contemnitur et blasphematur." Part iv. cap. 12.—[Destructorium Vitiorum. Colon. 1485.]

that Sara was forced to intreat Abraham to cast out the bondwoman and her son. So, haply, it were behooveful and profitable for the Church, that this science, in a great part, should be cast out; because it not only contemneth the divine science, and law of God, but blasphemeth it: and, in so doing, contemneth and blasphemeth God himself, who is the lawgiver."

Here we have the opinion of three worthy men touching the sufficiency of the scripture, and the dangers, confusions, and horrible evils, that followed upon the multiplying of human inventions. Many more might be alleged to the same purpose; but these may suffice to let us know what the doctrine of the Church was in the days of our fathers; for they deliver not their private conceits, but tell us what all good and judicious men conceived of these things in their times.

But some men will say, We find often mention of traditions, in the writers of former ages; so that it seemeth they did not think the scriptures to contain all things necessary to salvation. For the clearing of this doubt, we must observe, that by the name of tradition sometimes all the doctrine of Christ and his blessed apostles is meant, that was first delivered by lively voice, and afterwards written. Sometimes, the delivering of the divine and canonical books from hand to hand, as received from the apostles, is named a tradition. Sometimes, the sum of Christian religion contained in the Apostles' Creed, which the Church receiveth as a rule of her faith, is named a tradition; but every one of those articles is found in the scripture, as Waldensis rightly noteth, though not together, nor in the same form; so that this collection may rightly be named a tradition, as having been delivered from hand to hand in this form, for the direction of the Church's children; and yet the scriptures be sufficient. Sometimes, by the name of traditions the Fathers understand certain rites and ancient observations; and, that the apostles delivered some things in this kind, by word and lively voice, that they wrote not, we easily grant: but which they were, it can hardly now be known, as Waldensis rightly noteth. But this proveth not the insufficiency of the scripture; for none of those Fathers speak of points of doctrine, that are to be believed without and besides the scripture, or that cannot be proved from

thence; though sometimes, in a general sort, they name all those points of religion, traditions, that are not found expressly, and in precise terms, in scripture, and yet may necessarily be deduced from things there expressed. Lastly, by the name of tradition is understood the sense and meaning of the scripture, received from the apostles, and delivered from hand to hand, together with the books.

"There are," saith Cassander[1], "three sorts of traditions; for some concern the doctrine of faith; others, rites and ceremonies; and a third sort, things done. They that concern rites and ceremonies are variable, according to the different circumstances of times; they that are historical, are, for the most part, uncertain, and are not necessary to salvation; they that are dogmatical are certain and perpetual: but by dogmatical traditions we understand, not any divine verity not written, or any point of doctrine not contained in the scripture, but such points of doctrine, as though they are not found in precise terms in holy scripture, yet are deduced from the same rightly understood and interpreted; as the apostles did understand and expound them to their hearers, and they to such as came after them. So[2] that this tradition is nothing else but the explication and interpretation of the scripture: and therefore it may be said not unfitly, *Scripturam esse implicatam quandam et obsignatam traditionem; traditionem vero esse scripturam explicatam et resignatam*: 'that the scripture is

[1] "Admonendum est, cum sint tria traditionum genera, aliæ enim doctrinam fidei, aliæ ritus et cæremonias, aliæ rerum gestarum memorias, continent, nos hic de dogmaticis tantum loqui quæ certæ et perpetuæ sunt, non de ritualibus quæ pro temporum conditione variari possunt, non de historicis quæ incertæ plerumque sunt et ad salutem non conferunt. Cum autem veritatem et traditionem non scriptam dicimus, non intelligimus sententiam humano ingenio excogitatam et a scripturis extraneam et alienam, verum intelligimus sententiam in scripturis sacris ad verbum non expressam, sed ex ejus vera interpretatione, quam Apostoli viva voce prædicarunt et eorum auditores et successores nobis tradiderunt, exceptam et conservatam."—Cassander. Defens. lib. de Officio pii Viri, prope principium, [p. 822.]

[2] "Cum hæc traditio nihil aliud sit quam scripturæ ipsius explicatio et interpretatio, ita ut non inepte dici posset, scripturam esse implicatam quandam et obsignatam traditionem, traditionem vero esse scripturam explicatam et resignatam." Id. de Offic. Pii Viri, in principio.—[p. 782. Par. 1616.]

a kind of tradition involved and sealed up: and that tradition is scripture unfolded, explained, and opened.'" This is that which Vincentius Lyrinensis long since delivered[1], to wit, that "the scripture is sufficient, and containeth all things necessary to be known of a Christian man, for the attaining of salvation: but that, for the avoiding of the manifold turnings of heretics, perverting the same to their own perdition, we must carefully look to the tradition of the Church, delivering unto us the true sense and meaning of it." By this which hath been said, it appeareth, that the Church wherein our fathers lived and died, was, in this point touching the sufficiency of the scripture, an orthodox and true Protestant Church, as it was in the former, touching the canon of scripture.

CHAPTER III.

OF the original text of scripture, of the certainty and truth of the originals, and of the authority of the vulgar translation, I have discoursed at large in my fourth book, and the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth chapters of the same; and made it appear, that the principal and best learned divines, at, and since Luther's time, taught no otherwise, touching these points, then we now do: so that I need not insist upon the proof hereof.

[1] "Hic forsitan requirat aliquis; cum sit perfectus scripturarum canon sibique ad omnia satis superque sufficiat, quid opus est, ut ei ecclesiasticæ intelligentiæ jungatur auctoritas. Quia videlicet scripturam sacram pro ipsa sua altitudine non uno eodemque sensu universi accipiunt, sed ejusdem eloquia aliter alius atque alius interpretatur, ut pene quot homines sunt, tot illinc sententiæ erui posse videantur."—Vincentius Lirinensis, contr. Hæres. cap. 2. [Commonit. cap. II. Tom. VII. p. 250. D. Maxima Biblioth. Vet. Patr. De La Bigne. Lugd. 1677.]

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE TRANSLATING OF THE SCRIPTURE INTO VULGAR LANGUAGES; AND OF THE NECESSITY OF HAVING THE PUBLIC LITURGY, AND PRAYERS OF THE CHURCH, IN A TONGUE UNDERSTOOD.

TOUCHING the translating of the scriptures, it is evident, that both anciently, and of late time, they have been translated into the several languages of almost all the countries and kingdoms of the whole world, wherever Christianity prevailed. There is extant a translation of the Old and New Testament in the Armenian tongue[1], which the Armenians now use, put forth, as they suppose, by Chrysostom: of this, George the patriarch of Alexandria maketh mention, in the life of Chrysostom; reporting, that when, by the emperor's decree, he was sent in banishment into Armenia, and stayed at Cucusum, he brought the inhabitants of that region to the faith of Christ; and caused the Psalms of David, together with the holy Gospels, and other histories of the Old Testament, to be translated into the Armenian tongue; that so the people of that country might the sooner and more easily attain the knowledge of holy scripture. And Theodoret[2] testifieth, that the holy scriptures were translated into the Armenian tongue before his time, though he name not the author.

[1] "Extat translatio utriusque Testamenti in linguam Armenicam, qua nunc utuntur Armeni, Chrysostomi, ut ipsi credunt, industria et sollicitudine edita. Meminit hujus translationis Georgius patriarcha Alexandrinus, in Vita Chrysostomi, referens eum cum in Cucusum Armeniæ oppidum exularet, incolas ejus regionis ad Christum perduxisse, ac subinde curasse ut Psalmi Davidis una cum sanctis Evangeliis atque aliis Veteris Testamenti historiis Armenice verterentur, quo facilius divinæ scripturæ cognitionem gentes provinciæ illius obtinerent.—Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. Sanct. Lib. IV. [p. 264. Colon. 1586.]

[2] "Καὶ ἡ Ἑβραίων φωνὴ οὐ μόνον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλήνων μετεβλήθη ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ Αἰγύπτιων, καὶ Περσῶν, καὶ Ἰνδῶν, καὶ Ἀρμενίων, καὶ Σκυθῶν, καὶ Σαυροματῶν, καὶ συλλήβδην εἰπεῖν, εἰς πάσας τὰς γλώττας αἷς ἅπαντα τὰ ἔθνη κεχρημένα διατελεῖ."—Theodoret. Lib. v. de curandis Græcorum affectibus, post medium. [Tom. IV. p. 840. Ed. Schultze. Halæ. 1772.]

The Slavonians affirm[1], that they have the scriptures in their vulgar tongue, turned by Saint Hierome; and Hierome himself, in his epistle to Sophronius, seemeth to some learned men to intimate so much. But yet there is another translation of the scriptures into the Slavonian tongue, later than that of Hierome, as Scaliger[2] hath observed, written in the Servian character, and used in Rascia, Bosina, Bulgaria, Moldavia, Russia, Moscovia, and other nations of the Slavonian language, that celebrate their liturgies after the Greek ceremony; of which later Methodius, the companion of Cyril, is reported to have been the author. The former, imputed to Hierome, is written in the Dalmatian character, and is used amongst the Liburnians and Dalmatians, Istrians, Moravians, Silesians, Bohemians, Polonians, &c.

Vulphilas[3] the Goth, (of whom Socrates[4] maketh mention in his Ecclesiastical History), who lived in the year 370, first found out the Gothic alphabet, and first of all delivered to the Goths all the divine scriptures, translated by him out of

[1] [See Brerewood's "Enquiries touching the Diversity of Languages and Religions through the chief parts of the world," (quoted below) cap. 26. p. 190. Ed. Lond. 1635.]

"Nec hoc dico quo præcessores meos mordeam, aut quidquam de his arbitrer detrahendum, quorum translationem diligentissime emendatam olim meæ linguæ hominibus dederim," &c.—Hieron. Epist. ad Sophron. [Præfat in lib. Psalmor. Tom. IX. col. 1156.]

[2] "Duplex sacrorum librorum translatio, Rutenica recentior, et Hieronymiana vetustior."—Scaliger. de Linguis Europ. [Jos. Just. Scaliger. Opuscula. p. 120. Ed. 4. Par. 1610.]

[3] "Ulphilas Gothus, Gothorum episcopus, cujus Socrates in Hist. Eccles. meminit primus Gothorum literas adinvenit, primusque illis omnes divinas scripturas e Græco in Gothicam linguam a se conversas tradidit et catholice explicavit, diu multumque adversus Arianos decertans: scribit tamen Theodoretus*, eum minis et pollicitationibus Eudoxii Arriani permotum, denique ad partes Valentis Augusti Arriani peste laborantis declinasse. Claruit anno Domini 370."—Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. Lib. IV.

[4] "Οὐλφίλας ὁ τῶν Γότθων ἐπίσκοπος γράμματα ἐφεῦρε Γοτθικά· καὶ τὰς θείας γραφὰς εἰς τὴν Γότθων μεταβαλὼν τοὺς βαρβάρους μανθάνειν τὰ θεῖα λόγια παρεσκεύασεν."—Socrat. H. E. IV. [33. p. 256. Reading, Cantabr. 1720.]

---

* Οὐλφίλας αὐτῶν ἐπίσκοπος ἦν, ᾧ μάλα ἐπείθοντο, τοῦτον καὶ λόγοις καταπλήσας Εὐδόξιος καὶ χρήμασι δελεάσας, πεῖσαι παρεσκεύασε τοὺς βαρβάρους τὴν βασιλέως κοινωνίαν ἀσπάσασθαι.—[Theodoret. H. E. Lib. IV. cap. XXXVII. p. 190. ed. Reading. Cantab. 1720.]

Greek into the Gothic tongue; and catholicly expounded them, striving much against the Arians; yet in the end, as Theodoret reporteth, he declined to the part of Valens the Arian emperor, moved so to do by the threats and promises of Eudoxus the Arian.

Neither were the scriptures translated only into these languages, but into the languages of many other nations, as Chrysostom[1] and Hierome[2] affirm; and in particular, into the Egyptian, Persian, Indian, Scythian, and Sarmatian tongues; and into the languages of all other nations that received the Christian faith, as Theodoret[3] telleth us. As likewise, in the times following, we read of the like translations of the scripture into sundry languages of such nations as were afterwards converted to the faith, or whose languages after altered. So John[4], archbishop of Sivill, about the year 717, translated it into the Arabic, which then was the vulgar speech of that part of Spain. And Beda[5], about the same time, some part of it into the Saxon or English. Methodius[6], about the year

[1] "Καὶ Σύροι, καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ Ἰνδοὶ, καὶ Πέρσαι, καὶ Αἰθίοπες, καὶ μυρία ἕτερα ἔθνη εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν μεταβαλόντες γλῶτταν τὰ παρὰ τούτου δόγματα εἰσαχθέντα, ἔμαθον ἄνθρωποι βάρβαροι φιλοσοφεῖν."—Chrysost. Hom. I. in Joann. [Hom. I. al. 2. §. 2. Tom. VIII. p. 10. B.]

[2] "Prætermitto eos codices quos a Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos paucorum hominum asserit perversa contentio: quibus utique nec in veteri instrumento post septuaginta interpretes emendare quid licuit; nec in novo profuit emendasse; quum multarum gentium linguis scriptura ante translata doceat falsa esse quæ addita sunt."—Hieron. Præfat. in Evangelia. [Tom. X. p. 662.]

[3] Theodoret. ubi supr.

[4] "Claruit hoc tempore præter alios episcopos viros religiosos Hispali Joannes episcopus, sanctitate vitæ, sacrarum literarum peritia, miraculis celebratus, qui ad doctrinam posterorum sacram scripturam in linguam Arabicam transtulit. Vasæus in Chronic. Hispan. ad ann. 717. [Inter Hispaniæ illustratæ scriptores."—Tom. I. p. 698. fol. Francof. 1603.]

[5] "That worthy man Beda the preest ... tourned Saynt Johan Gospell into englysshe," ... &c.—Joannes Trev. lib. v. cap. 24.

[Ranulphus or Ralph Higden, of Chester, Polychronicon; translated by John of Trevisa, continued by William Caxton, and first printed 1482. fol.; reprinted 1495, and 1527.]

[6] "Eadem tempestate Methodius philosophus Venedas invenit literas, vertitque divina oracula in vernaculam Sclavorum linguam." —Aventin. Annal. Boiorum. Lib. IV. [cap. 16. §. 17. p. 401. Lips. 1710.]

860, into the Slavonique; Jacobus[1] de Voragine, archbishop of Geneva, about the year 1290, translated the whole divine scripture into the Italian tongue; and so did Bruciolus in our age. About 200 years since the whole Bible was translated into French, in the time of Charles the Fifth; and, as the Rhemists[2] tell us, in their preface before the New Testament by them translated into English, since Luther's time, divers learned catholics have published the bible in the several languages of almost all the principal provinces of the Latin Church; so that the papists themselves do not simply condemn the translating of the scripture into the vulgar tongues.

But there are some amongst them, as Stapleton[3] telleth us, "who out of zeal rather than knowledge, do think the lay people should be wholly restrained from reading the scriptures in vulgar tongues: others, more moderate and discreet than these, (as they would be thought), are of opinion that all are not to be restrained, nor all permitted to read them,

[1] "Jacobus archiepiscopus Genevensis ordinis prædicatorum ex oppido Varaginis... utriusque instrumenti divina volumina primus omnium in Italicam linguam summa fide ac diligentia transfudit. Floruit sub Adolpho Imperatore A.D. 1290."—Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. sanct. Lib. IV. [p. 255.]

[2] "Now since Luther's revolt also divers learned catholikes, for the more speedy abolishing of a number of false and impious translations, put forth by sundry sectes, and for the better preservation or reclaime of many good soules endangered thereby, have published the bible in the several languages of almost all the principal provinces of the Latin church."—[Preface to the New Testament by the English College at Rhemes. 4to. 1582.]

[3] "Quarta opinio rigidorum quorundam fuit, qui ex zelo magis quam scientia lectionem scripturarum in vulgari laicis prorsus et omnino interdicendam existimarunt, quia plerique ea magna cum sua et aliorum pernicie abusi sunt. Sed hæc sententia eorum est qui tempore et circumstantias rerum non observant, magisque sunt magistri rudes quam prudentes patresfamilias, qui sciant dare in tempore tritici mensuram, Luc. xii. Quinta opinio eorum est qui nec in universum prohibent nec in universum probant, sed aliquando, ut vel in pace ecclesiæ quoad certas partes morales et historicas, vel grassantibus hæresibus etiam quoad totam scripturam, sed propter corruptas hæreticorum translationes in vulgare non nisi quibusdam tantum, id est, certa regula præscripta, ut quibus ordinarii pastores id expedire judicabunt, non autem promiscue omnibus, vulgarem aliquam sacræ scripturæ editionem pie et utiliter concedi posse existimant."—Stapleton. Controv. v. qu. 3. art. 4. [Tom. I. p. 781. Par. 1620.]

but some certain only. And therefore, the Rhemists[1] tell us, that order was taken by the deputies of the Council of Trent[2], in this behalf, and confirmed by supreme authority, that the holy scriptures, though truly and catholickly translated into vulgar tongues, yet may not be indifferently read of all men, nor of any other than such as have express license thereunto by their lawful ordinaries, with good testimony from their curates or confessors, that they are humble, discreet, and devout persons, and like to take much good and no harm thereby. This was the decree of Pius IV.: but Clement the VIII., in a later edition of the same Index, with new additions, saith[3], that this power of permitting laymen to have the scriptures in the vulgar tongue, was taken away by the mandate and practice of the Roman Church, and of the

[1] Rhemists. (citat. supr.)

[2] "Cum experimento manifestum sit, si sacra biblia vulgari lingua passim sine discrimine permittantur, plus inde ob hominum temeritatem detrimenti quam utilitatis oriri; hac in parte judicio episcopi aut inquisitoris stetur, ut cum consilio parochi vel confessoris bibliorum a catholicis auctoribus versorum lectionem in vulgari lingua eis concedere possint, quos intellexerint ex hujusmodi lectione non damnum, sed fidei atque pietatis argumentum, capere posse; quam facultatem in scriptis habeant." [Index Librorum prohibitorum, cum regulis confectis per Patres a Tridentina Synodo delectos, auctoritate Sanctiss. D. N. Pii IV. Pont. Max. comprobatus. Antverp. 1570.]—Indice Lib. prohib. regula 4.

[3] "Animadvertendum est circa suprascriptam quartam regulam Indicis fel. rec. Pii IV. nullam per hanc impressionem et editionem de novo tribui facultatem episcopis, inquisitoribus, aut regularium superioribus concedendi licentiam emendi, legendi, aut retinendi, biblia vulgari lingua edita; cum hactenus, mandato et usu sanctæ Romanæ et universalis inquisitionis, sublata eis fuerit facultas concedendi hujusmodi licentias legendi vel retinendi biblia vulgaria, aut alias sacræ scripturæ, tam Novi quam Veteris Testamenti, partes, quavis vulgari lingua editas, ac insuper summaria et compendia etiam historica eorundem bibliorum, seu librorum sacræ Scripturæ, quocunque vulgari idiomate conscripta: quod quidem inviolate servandum est." [Novus Index Librorum Prohibitorum, juxta decretum sacræ congregationis illustriss. S. R. E. Cardinalium a S. D. N. Urbano Papa VIII. sanctaque sede apostolica publicatum, Romæ, 4 Febr. 1627. auctus,

Primum auctoritate Pii IV. P.M. editus,

Deinde a Sixto V. ampliatus;

Tertio, a Clemente VIII. recognitus.

Clement. VIII. Observat. in regulam 4. Colon. Agr. 1627.

general inquisition, so that they may not permit any to have the whole Bible in the vulgar tongue, or any parts of the Old or New Testament, or any summaries or epitomes, though historical, of the same Bibles;" and this he prescribeth to be inviolably kept. Thus doth he condemn the practice of all the Churches of God, which had the scriptures translated into vulgar languages; (for to what end should they be translated, if no man might use them?) and together with them his predecessor Pius the IV., and all the learned prelates that concurred with him; and falleth into the folly or indiscretion which Stapleton condemneth, as we heard before. Thus variable and uncertain are these Roman bishops, who yet would be taken not only to be built upon the rock, but to be that rock upon which the church is builded, against which the gates of hell cannot prevail.

But, as Stapleton[1] telleth us in the place above cited, "There were certain catholic and great men, (and in the margin he nameth Sir Thomas More[2]), who thought it fit, as

[1] "Tertia opinio eorum est, qui judicarunt saltem per se et communiter expedire tanquam divino honori et fidelium saluti simpliciter convenientius, ut in vulgari lingua scripturæ fidelibus tradantur, etsi secundum quid et in casu illorum lectio possit esse noxia. Neque enim propter seu paucos seu multos vel indoctos vel instabiles, qui "scripturas depravant ad suam et aliorum perditionem," ut dixit Petrus, Epist. 2. c. 3; tot bonos et pios fideles saluberrima illa lectione fraudandos esse, qui ex ea maximam et consolationem et ædificationem acciperent. Non magis sane quam Christus Dominus, propter tot impios quibus ejus adventus factus est petra scandali et lapis offensionis, debuit ab aliis salvandis abstinere; nec quia "dilexerunt homines tenebras magis quam lucem," Joan. I. propterea lux ipsa, "quæ illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum," venire non debuit. Alioqui si propter improbos qui scriptura abutuntur vulgaris illa lectio neganda est, nunquam certe debuit vel Hebræa vel Græca vel etiam Latina lingua scripturam habere: hæ enim omnes linguæ suis populis, Judæis, et Romanis, vulgares erant. Sed et hæc opinio, etsi pia ac probabilis videatur, fuitque catholicorum quorundam et magnorum virorum sententia, vera tamen non est." [Stapleton. ubi supr. Tom. I. p. 781.]

[2] "Now as touchynge the harme that may growe by suche blynde bayardys as wyll whan they rede the byble in englyshe be more besy than wyll become them. They that touche that poynt harpe upon the ryght strynge, and touch truely the greate harme that were lykely to grow to some folke, how be it not by the occasyon yet of the englyshe translacyon, but by the occasyon of theyr owne lewdnes and foly,

tending to the honour of God and salvation of the people, to deliver unto them the scriptures in the vulgar tongue, without any restraint, leaving it free to all to read them that will; for that so many good and godly Christians who would receive great comfort and be much edified thereby, are not to be deprived of that most excellent benefit which they may have by reading them, in respect of few or many unlearned or unstable men, who deprave the scripture to the perdition of themselves and others, as St Peter saith in his 2 Epistle cap. iii. 2. No more than it had been fit that Christ the Lord should have forborn to come and save others, in respect of such wicked ones to whom his coming is a rock of offence, and a stone to stumble at; or that he that is the true light that lighteneth every man that cometh into the world, should therefore have kept himself away, or not appeared to the world, because men loved darkness more than light." And surely if the vulgar, free, and ordinary reading of the scripture were to be denied and restrained, in respect of the

which yet were not in my mynde a suffycyent cause to exclude the translacyon, and to put other folke from the benefyte thereof, but rather to make provysyon agaynste suche abuse, and let a good thynge go forth. No wyse man were there that wolde put all wepens away bycause manquellers mysse use them. Nor this letted not, as I sayd, the scrypture to be fyrste wryten in a vulgare tongue. For the scrypture, as I sayd before, was not wryten but in a vulgare tongue, suche as the hole people understode, nor in no secrete cyphers, but suche comen letters as almost every man coulde rede: for neyther was the ebrewe nor the greke tongue nor the laten neyther nor any other speche than suche as all the people spake. And therefore yf we sholde saye that it were evyll done to translate the scrypture into our tongue, bycause it is vulgare and comen to every englyshe man, than had it ben as evyll done to translate it into greke or into laten, or to wryte the new testament in greke, or the olde testament in ebrewe, bycause both those tongys were as very vulgare as ours.

"Whereof I wolde not for my myndo withhold the profyte that one good devout unlerned leyman myght take by the reding, not for the harme that an hundred heretykes wolde fall in by theyr owne wylfull abusyon, no more than our savyour letted for the weale of suche as wolde be with his grace of his lytell chosen flocke, to come into thys worlde and be lapis offensionis, et petra scandali, the stone of stumblynge, and the stone of fallyng, and ruyne to all the wylfull wretches in the world besyde."—In Dialog. Anglicanis. [A dyaloge of Syr Thomas More, knyghte, &c. Lib. III. cap. xvi. fol. 117. Lond. 1530.]

wicked who abuse it, the scripture must never have been in the Hebrew, Greek, or Latin tongues; for all these tongues were vulgar to the Jews, Grecians, and Romans. This opinion Stapleton confesseth to be probable and godly, and yet he disliketh it.

And yet it is confirmed by the authority of the Fathers, who earnestly exhort the people to the reading of the scripture, as a thing necessary to salvation. So doth Chrysostom, in sundry places, second homily upon Matthew[1]; third homily upon Lazarus[2]; third homily upon the second to the Thessalonians[3]; twenty-eighth homily upon Genesis[4]; ninth homily upon the Epistle to the Colossians[5], where he saith, the Apostle commandeth secular men that are married to read the scripture; and whereas St Paul to the Colossians iii. hath these words, "Let the word of Christ dwell plentifully in you in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing yourselves in psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs." Chrysostom in his ninth Homily, and Hierome[6] in his commentaries upon the

[1] Lectionem divinarum scripturarum ad solos monachos putatis pertinere, cùm multo magis vobis quam illis sit necessaria. "'Εκείνοις μόνοις (τοῖς μοναχοῖς) νομίζετε προσήκειν τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τῶν θείων γραφῶν, πολλῷ πλέον ἐκείνων ὑμεῖς δεόμενοι."—Chrysostom. Hom. II. in Matth. [§. 5. Tom. VII. p. 30, A.]

[2] Semper hortor et hortari non desinam, ut non hic tantum attendatis iis quæ dicuntur, verum etiam quum domi fueritis, assidue divinarum scripturarum lectioni vacetis. "Καὶ τοῦτο ἀεὶ παρακαλῶ, καὶ παρακαλῶν οὐ παύσομαι, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐντᾶυθα τοῖς λεγομένοις προσέχητε, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἴκοι γινόμενοι τῇ τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἀναγνώσει συνεχῶς ἐνδιατρίβητε."—Hom. III. De Lazaro. [§. 1. Tom. I. p. 737, A.]

[3] At nescio, inquit, quæ scripta sunt in scripturis. Quare? Num in Hebraicâ? num Romanâ? num aliâ linguâ dicta sunt? an non Græcè dicuntur? "'Αλλ' οὐκ οἶδά, φησι, τὰ ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς κείμενα. διὰ τί οὐκ οἶδας; μὴ γὰρ 'Εβραϊστί; μὴ γὰρ 'Ρωμαϊστὶ; μὴ γὰρ ἑτερογλώσσως εἴρηται; οὐχὶ 'Ελληνιστί λέγεται;"—Hom. III. in 2 Thess. cap. 2. [Tom. XI. p. 528, C.]

[4] Non solum cum huc venitis, sed et domi, divinos libros in manus sumite. "Παρακαλῶ μὴ μόνον ἐπειδὰν ἐνταῦθα παραγίνησθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἴκαδε, μετὰ χεῖρας λαμβάνειν τὰ θεῖα βιβλία."—Hom. XXVIII. in Genes. [Hom. XXIX. §. 2. Tom. IV. p. 281, A.]

[5] "'Ακούσατε ὅσοι ἐστὲ κοσμικοὶ καὶ γύναικος καὶ παίδων προίστασθε, πῶς καὶ ὑμῖν ἐπιτρέπει μάλιστα τὰς γραφὰς ἀναγινώσκειν, καὶ οὐχ ἁπλῶς οὐδὲ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς σπουδῆς."—Hom. IX. in Coloss. [Tom. XI. p. 390, C.]

[6] "Hic ostenditur verbum Christi non sufficienter sed abundanter

same place, collect and infer, that the scriptures are to be read of laymen, and that by the precept of the Apostle. It is therefore untrue that Stapleton[1] hath, that Chrysostom doth not exhort the people to the reading of the scripture, as a thing necessary, but as fit and profitable for them that lived idly in a rich city, thus to occupy themselves; as if it had been only to keep them from doing nothing, that they were to read the book of God. Neither is it any better that he hath in answer hereunto, that Chrysostom spake not exactly, but as a preacher or orator; as if, in the pulpit, a preacher might exhort the people with all earnestness to that which is not fit to be done; or, as if there were not many now-a-days that live idly in rich cities.

From the translating of the scriptures into vulgar tongues, and the people's private reading of the same, let us come to speak of the public liturgy of the Church, and the common prayers in the vulgar tongue. Here, I will first shew what the practice of the Church hath been; and secondly, what the opinion of judicious men is, and hath been, touching this point. That in the primitive Church they had the Service in the vulgar tongue, it is evident by the testimonies of the ancient. For first, Origen[2] writing against Celsus, and an-

etiam laicos habere debere, et docere se invicem vel monere."—Hieron. in loc. [Pseudo-Hieron. sive Pelag. inter Opp. Hieron. Tom. XI. p. 1029.]

[1] "Nusquam Chrysostomus populum ad legendas scripturas hortatur tanquam ad rem plane necessariam, sed tanquam ad rem utilem et opportunam quibus hoc dicebat; quos videlicet in opulenta civitate otio se dare videns, ad scripturarum lectionem ut occupationem sanctam hortabatur. Sed et præterea quæ a patribus pro concione ad populum dicuntur non ita presse et proprie et juxta dogmaticam veritatem accurate dici solent, sicut alia quæ disputando et commentando scribunt, sed sæpe probabiliter et moraliter adeoque populariter oratorum more multa dicuntur, quæ ad regulam scholasticam exacta minus solida et firma invenientur. Quod in Sancto Chrysostomo, qui maximus orator et amplificator erat, sæpissime observare licet."—[Stapleton. ubi supr. Tom. I. p. 782.]

[2] "Εἶτ' ἐπιλαβόμενος ὅτι Χριστιανοῖς λαλεῖ τοῖς μόνῳ τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ εὐχομένοις, καὶ συμφύρων τὰ ἑτέρων, καὶ ἀλόγως Χριστιανοῖς συνάπτων ἀυτὰ, φησὶν, ἐὰν μὲν βαρβάρως ἀυτοὺς ὀνομάζῃ τις, δύναμιν ἕξουσιν· ἐὰν δὲ Ἑλληνικῶς ἡ Ῥωμαικῶς οὐκ ἔτι. δεικνύτω γὰρ τίνα ἡμεῖς βαρβάρως ὀνομάζομεν ὡς καλοῦντες ἀυτὸν ἐπὶ βοήθειαν, καὶ πειθέσθω, μάτην καθ' ἡμῶν ταῦτα εἰρηκέναι τὸν Κέλσον· ἐφιστὰς ὅτι οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν

swering that calumniation of them that said, Christians used certain barbarous words, and names of God, in their prayers, supposing virtue to be in them, more than in Greek or Latin words or names; telleth them, there is no such thing: but "that they that are true and right Christians, in their prayers use not the names of God found in the scripture, written in Hebrew; but the Grecians use Greek words; the Latins, Latin; and all pray and praise God in their own tongue;" and he that is the Lord of all tongues heareth them, in what tongue soever they pray; and understandeth them speaking in so different languages, no less than if they all used one language.

Bellarmine saith[1], in the time of the apostles "the whole people was wont to answer, Amen, in the celebration of divine service, and not, as now, by one appointed in their stead: for Justin Martyr[2] testifieth expressly, in his second Apology, that the whole people was wont to answer Amen, when the priest ended his prayer or thanksgiving; and it is evident that the same use was continued a long time after, both in

οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς κειμένοις ὀνόμασι, καὶ τεταγμένοις ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, χρῶνται ἐν ταῖς ἐυχαῖς· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Ἑλλήνες Ἑλληνικοῖς, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι Ῥωμαϊκοῖς, καὶ οὕτως ἕκαστος κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διάλεκτον ἔυχεται τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ὑμνεῖ ἀυτὸν ὡς δύναται· καὶ ὁ πάσης διαλέκτου Κύριος τῶν ἀπὸ πάσης διαλέκτου ἐυχομένων ἀκούει, ὡς μιᾶς, ἵν' οὕτως ὀνομάσω, φωνῆς, τῆς κατὰ τὰ σημαινόμενα, ἀκούων, δηλουμένης ἐκ τῶν ποικίλων διαλέκτων."—Origen. contr. Cels. Lib. VIII. p. 799. [Lib. VIII. cap. 37. Tom. I. p. 769. Par. 1733.]

[1] "Objici potest, tempore apostolorum totum populum respondere solitum in divinis officiis, nec fuisse ullum pro laicis constitutum. Nam Justinus, sub finem secundæ Apologiæ pro Christianis, disertis verbis dicit totum populum in ecclesia respondere consuevisse, Amen, cum sacerdos terminabat orationem vel gratiarum actionem. Idem etiam postea longo tempore servatum esse tam in Oriente quam in Occidente, patet ex liturgia Chrysostomi quæ habetur in fine operum ejus, ubi apertissime distinguuntur quæ sacerdos, quæ diaconus, et quæ populus, in divinis officiis canebant. Item ex Cypriano, Serm. de Orat. Dominica, ubi dicit, plebem respondere, Habemus ad Dominum; et ex Hieronymi præfat. Lib. II. in Epist. ad Galat. qui scribit, In ecclesiis urbis Romæ quasi cœleste tonitru audiri populum reboantem, Amen." —Bellarmin. de Verbo Dei. Lib. II. cap. 16. [Bellarm. Tom. I. p. 60.]

[2] "*οὗ συντελέσαντος τὰς ἐυχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων, Ἀμήν.*"—Justin Martyr. Apol. II. [cap. 65. p. 82. Hag. com. 1742.]

the East and West, as it appeareth by the Liturgy of Chrysostom[1], where the things that were to be said by the priest, deacon, and people, are distinctly set down;" and by Cyprian[2] in his sermon upon the Lord's Prayer, where he saith, "The people do answer, We lift them up unto the Lord, when the priest willeth them to lift up their hearts;" and by Hierome[3], *præfat. lib.* ii. *in Epist. ad Galatas,* who writeth "that in the churches of the city of Rome the people are heard with so loud a voice sounding out Amen, as if it were a thundering from heaven." Thus far Bellarmine in his second book *De Verbo Dei,* chap xvi: which argueth that they had their service in a known tongue; for otherwise, how could they thus have answered to the several parts of the divine service, as they were appointed to do? Surely the long answers of the people to the priest, in their prayers found in sundry liturgies[4], are a demonstration that it was so.

August.[5] *De Catechizandis Rudibus,* hath these words: "Let them know, that there is no other voice that entereth into the ears of God, but the affection of the mind: and then they will not deride the prelates and ministers of the Church, if haply they discern any of them to use barbarisms, or solecisms, in the invocation of God; or not to understand the words they pronounce; nor aptly and distinctly to utter them. Not as if these faults were not to be amended, that so the people might answer Amen, to that which plainly and distinctly they understand; but that they should learn lovingly to bear with these defects, having learned, *ut sono in foro, sic*

[1] Chrysost. Liturg. [Tom. XII. pp. 776. sqq.]

[2] "Sacerdos ante orationem præfatione præmissa parat fratrum mentes dicendo: Sursum corda; ut dum respondet plebs, Habemus ad Dominum, admoneatur nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare debere."—Cyprian. De Orat. Dom. [p. 152. Oxon. 1682.]

[3] "Romanæ plebis laudatur fides. Ubi enim sic ad similitudinem cœlestis tonitrui Amen reboat, et vacua idolorum templa quatiuntur." —Hieron. præfat. in Galat. Lib. II. [Tom. VII. col. 427.]

[4] Anaphora Syror. &c. [Divi Basilii Cæsareæ Cappadociæ episcopi Anaphora, ex vetussimo codice Syrica lingua et charactere scripto, traducta per Andream Masium, Tom. VI. coll. 27. sqq. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. De La Bigne. Par. 1610.]

[5] "Noverint non esse vocem ad aures Dei nisi animi affectum, ita enim non irridebunt si aliquos antistites et ministros ecclesiæ forte animadverterint vel cum barbarismis et solœcismis Deum invocare, vel

voto in ecclesia benedici: and that *forensis illa nonnunquam forte bona dictio, nunquam tamen benedictio dici potest.*"

The Ethiopians[1] or Habassines anciently had, and still have, the common prayers, and whole liturgy, in their own vulgar tongue, into which language Sabellicus[2] reporteth that both the Old and New Testament were translated out of the Chaldee. The Armenians have their divine service in the Armenian tongue, as Jacobus a Vitriaco[3], Brocardus[4], Michovius[5], Breitenbachius[6], and many others, partly out of their own knowledge and partly from certain relation, have recorded. The Moscovites[7] and Russians have their service in their

eadem verba quæ pronuntiant non intelligere perturbateque distinguere. Non quia ista minime corrigenda sunt, ut populus ad id quod plane intelligit dicat Amen, sed tamen pie toleranda sunt ab eis qui didicerint, ut sono in foro sic voto in ecclesia benedici. Itaque forensis illa nonnunquam forte bona dictio numquam tamen benedictio dici potest."—August. de Catechiz. Rud. Cap. ix. [Tom. VI. col. 272.]

[1] Alvarez. Histor. Æthiop. cap. 159. [Published in Portuguese, fol. A.D. 1540, under the title, "Verdadera informaçam das terras do Preste Joam;" the passage is: "Muitos livros nas igrejas escritos todos em pregaminho, porq̃nam ha hi papel, ed ha escritura lingoa tigia que he ha daprimeira terra em que se começon ha x̃pandade:" fol. 135, B. The work is translated and abridged in Purchas' Pilgrimage. Lib. VII. See p. 1118. ed. fol. Lond. 1625.]

[2] "Apud eos sunt veteris et novi instrumenti codices cum divi Pauli epistolis in Abyssinam ex Chaldaica translati linguam."—Sabellicus, Supplement. Hist. Lib. VIII. [Tom. III. col. 191. B. Bas. 1560.]

[3] "Armeni habent proprium idioma et proprias litteras, et in vulgari sermone divinas scripturas pronunciant, ita quod sacerdotes et clerici eorum a laicis in ecclesiis intelliguntur."—Jacob. à Vitriaco. Hist. Oriental. Cap. 78. [Cap. LXXIX. p. 154. Duac. 1597.]

[4] "Interfui etiam semel in die Annuntiationis sacris eorum, et adverti eos eisdem fere uti cæremoniis et precationibus quibus nos in Missa, nisi quod suo, et non Romano, utuntur idiomate."—Brocardus, Descript. Terræ Sanctæ. [Cap. XII. p. 190. Amst. 1707.]

[5] "Armeni suo ritu gaudent . . . . . In ecclesiis Rutenorum lingua quæ est Sclavonica divina celebrant, legunt, et cantant. In ecclesiis Armenorum sermone Armeno." Michovius "de Sarmatia." Lib. II. Cap. 1. [in "Novus orbis Regionum," p. 516. Basileæ. 1537.]

[6] "Habent quoque Armeni proprium ydioma et proprias litteras quibus tam laici quam clerici in communi sermone et in divinis etiam officiis utuntur."—Breitenbachius, Peregrinat. c. de Armen. [Mogunt. 1486.]

[7] "Sacrum sive Missa Sclavonica lingua apud eos peragitur, inter-

vulgar language, which is a kind of Slavonian, intermingling sometimes certain Greek hymns; the epistle and gospel, that the people may the better hear and understand, are read with a loud voice without the choir, in the middle of the church. Neither have those Russians only their service in the vulgar, that are subject to the great duke of Moscow, but they also that are subject to the king of Polonia. The Nestorians[1] have their service in a degenerate Chaldee or Syriac; and so have the Indians[2], from which their vulgar differeth very little. The Jacobites of Mesopotamia, Babylon, Palestine, Syria, and Cyprus, have their liturgy in the Syriac tongue; (and it is that which is called *anaphora Basilii*[3], as it is thought); which though it be not well understood by their common people, (their vulgar, as now it is, differing something from it,) yet that it was commonly understood, when that liturgy was first ordained, it appeareth by the long answers of the people to the priest, in their prayers which we

mixtis etiam aliquando cantionibus Græcis, epistola et evangelium, quo magis a populo percipiantur, extra chorum in medio ecclesiæ astanti populo clara voce recitantur."—Guagninus. Moscoviæ Descript. cap. 2. [Sarmatiæ Europeæ Descriptio, &c. fol. 88. Spir. 1581.]

"Quod attinet ad Sacrum, officia ac divina, hæc omnia Ruthenice, seu potius lingua Moscovitica, recitantur, quæ fere prorsus eadem est qua subditi Poloniæ regis Rutheni utuntur."—Possevinus, De rebus Moscoviticis. p. 4. [Colon. 1695.]

"Totum Sacrum seu Missa gentili ac vernacula lingua apud illos peragi solet. Epistola præterea, evangelium pro tempore, quo magis a populo percipiantur, extra chorum, populo astanti clara voce recitantur."—Sigismund. De rebus Moscoviticis. p. 34. [p. 46. Bas. 1571.]

[1] "Nestoriani Chaldæa littera utuntur in divinis scripturis."—Vitriac. Hist. Oriental. cap. 76. [cap. 77. p. 150. Duac. 1597.]

[2] "Sanctas litteras Syrio sermone quem Chaldæum nominant scriptas studiosissime colunt, earumque interpretes in locis publicis omnes qui conveniunt ad earum intelligentiam diligenter erudiunt."—Osorius, De rebus Emanuel. lib. III. [fol. 107. B. Colon. 1586.]

"Diamperiense Concilium provinciale habitum an. 1599, ab archiepiscopo Goensi in oppido Diamper. quod est in Asia, prope civitatem quæ dicitur S. Thomæ..... Archiepiscopus baptizandi, inunguendi infirmos, nuptias celebrandi, modum a patre Francisco Roz e Latina in Syriacam linguam conversum una cum doctrina Christiana lingua Malanarica conscripta singulis parochis tribuebat."—Possevinus, Apparat. sacr. in Diamperiense Concilium. [Tom. I. p. 462. Colon. 1608.]

[3] In Biblioth. Patrum [De La Bigne] Tom. VI. p. 27. [Par. 1610.]

find in it. The Maronites[1], likewise, have their service in the Syriac, their vulgar being the Arabic. As also the Egyptians[2] have their service in the same bastard Chaldee or Syriac, their vulgar being the Arabic: but these first read the gospel in Chaldee, and afterwards in Arabic.

Marianus Victorius Reatinus saith[3], that as the Chaldee tongue dependeth of the Hebrew, and groweth out of it, so the Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopian tongues[4] have dependence on the Chaldee, and are grown out of it, so that they also have the name of the Chaldee: and these five tongues have such agreement amongst themselves, and are so like, that he that perfectly understandeth one, may in a great part understand the other. And therefore it is not to be marvelled, if all these churches last mentioned have their service in the

[1 "Missæ a pontifice variæ cistæ librorum Chaldæa lingua cusorum in urbe quibus esse liturgiæ quas habent Sancti Jacobi, Sancti Petri, et Sancti Sixti pontificis maximi recitari possent, cum in eo tractu nulli essent libri nisi manuscripti, et hi vel laceri, vel erroribus forte aspersi: Missa item quæ dicuntur officia eadem lingua ad Deum ac beatissimam Virginem orandam. Nam Chaldæa tantum lingua sic in sacris utuntur quemadmodum nostri sacerdotes Latina." Possevin. Apparat. sacr. de Maronitis. Tom. II. p. 70.]

["Hac utuntur hodie in grammaticis et sacris (alioqui vulgaris sermo Arabicus hic est) quamplurimi Christiani qui in tota Syria habitant, sed præcipue circa montem Libanum." [Postellus, De Lingua Chaldaica. Par. 1538.]

[2 "I Cofti dicono la messa in lingua Caldea, ripettendo spesse volte Alleluia. Leggono l'Evangelio prima in Caldeo, et poi in Arabico." [Relationi universali di Giovanni Bottero. Part iii. Lib. III. Dei Christiani d'Egitto. p. 476. Ven. 1659. The Liturgy of Severus, Patriarch of Alexandria, translated from the Syriac into Latin, by Guido Fabricius, is contained in Tom. VI. p. 38. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. De La Bigne. Par. 1610.]

3 "Ut ipse Victorius affirmat, sicut Chaldæa lingua pendet ab Hebræa, ita a Chaldæa pendet Syriaca, Arabica, et Æthiopica, quamobrem Chaldææ ipsæ quoque sunt appellatæ: quæ quinque linguæ tanta invicem convenientia ac similitudine conjunctæ copulatæque sunt, ut qui unam optime calleat aliamque haud parva ex parte intelligere possit."—Thom. a Jesu. Lib. VII. cap. 11. [De procuranda Salute omnium Gentium. p. 573. Antverp. 1613.]

4 Guido Fabritius, in his preface before the new testament, saith; The Hebrew tongue is divided into three dialects, the Babylonical or Chaldaical, the Syrian or Hierosolymitan, the Arabic or tongue of Ismael, as the Jews call it. The first was the dialect of

Chaldee or Syriac; for it is, in a sort, their mother-tongue, and, no doubt, was perfectly understood by them, when their liturgies were first devised. The Georgians[1], Circassians, and Mengrellians, are said to have their service in Greek; and so are the Syrians[2], or Melchites: but if that liturgy which Andræas Masius translated out of the Syriac, and which is found in the sixth Tome of *Biblioth. Patrum*, and is named *Anaphora Basilii*[3], be theirs, then surely they celebrate not in Greek.

But, to leave these Eastern Churches, and to come to those that are nearer to us; we may divide all the Churches of this part of the world into three sorts: for some of them anciently understood and spake Latin, as they did, in Augustine's time, in those parts of Africa wherein he lived; and therefore it is not to be marvelled at if they had their Liturgy in the Latin tongue, for they understood it better than the Punic; so that he preached unto them in Latin. That generally they understood and spake Latin, it is evident by that which Augustine saith of himself[4]: *Latina didici sine*

such Jews as never returned after the captivity of Babylon, where they had learned a kind of mixed language; the second, of such as returned to Jerusalem and brought back a mixed language; and after their return, by new mixtures, made it further to degenerate from the original purity.—"Diffusa est Hebraica lingua in Babylonicam sive Chaldaicam, in Syram sive Ierosolymitanam, et in Arabicam quam Judæi vocant linguam Ismael." [Tom. v. Bibl. Sacr. Reg. per Ariam Montanum. fol. Antv. 1569—72.]

[1 "Georgiani utuntur Græco idiomate in scripturis sacris, et Græcorum consuetudines in sacramentis observant."—Jacob. à Vitriaco. Hist. Oriental. cap. lxxx. p. 156. Duac. 1597.]

["Georgiani, vel ut a Turchis vocantur Juriani, lingua Græca utuntur in sacris: vulgaris eorum lingua Tartaricæ et Armenicæ medium est."—Gesner. Mithridat. fol. 26, B. Tigur. 1610.]

["Hi Georgiani his characteribus linguam Græcam qua utuntur in sacris, et vulgarem quæ Tartaricæ et Armenicæ media est, scribunt."—Postell. de Lingua Georgiana. citat supr.]

[2 "Utuntur Suriani in sermone vulgari lingua Saracenica. Littera etiam et scriptura Saracenica utuntur in contractibus et negotiationibus, et in omnibus aliis, exceptis divinis scripturis et aliis spiritualibus in quibus littera Græca utuntur."—Jacob. à Vitriaco. Cap. lxxv. p. 139.]

[3 Anaphora Basilii. Tom. VI. p. 27. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. De La Bigne. Par. 1610.]

4 August. Confess. lib. I. cap. 14. [Tom. II. col. 190.]

ullo metu atque cruciatu; inter etiam blandimenta nutricum, et joca arridentium, et lætitias alludentium. That is, "I learned Latin without any fear or vexation, whiles the nurses sought to please me, while men sported and played with me." In another place, he hath these words[1]: *Proverbium notum est Punicum, quod quidem Latine vobis dicam, quia Punica non omnes nostis:* that is "The Punic proverb is known, which I will utter unto you in Latin, because you do not all understand the Punic tongue:" whereby it appeareth that the Latin tongue was better understood, in some parts of Africa, than the Punic. The Latin tongue was also vulgar in Italy, in France, and Spain: for when they received the Roman laws, they learned the tongue also; and began to speak Latin, though their own tongue were not presently extinct. So that it is not improbable but that they had their service in Latin; but whether they had, or not, it is evident they had it in a tongue they understood.

For, touching France, Severus Sulpitius writeth[2], in the life of Martin, that when there was no little difference about his election, the lector, whose course it was to read that day, inclosed in the multitudes, was kept out from the place, and could not perform that duty: whereupon the ministers being troubled, while he came not that was looked for, one of them that stood by, took the Psalter, and read that verse that he first found; and the Psalm was this: "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained praise, that thou mayest destroy the enemy (*et defensorem*) and the defender;" which, when the people heard, they made a great shout; and that part that was opposite to Martin was confounded, for the principal man that opposed him was named Defensor, and the people thought that it was by God's special direction

[1] Id. de verbis Apost. serm. 26. [CLXVII. Tom. v. col. 804. c.]

[2] "Inter episcopos qui affuerant præcipue Defensor quidam nomine dicitur restitisse: unde animadversum est graviter illum lectione prophetica tunc notatum. Nam cum fortuito lector, cui legendi eo die officium erat, interclusus a populo defuisset, turbatis ministris, dum exspectatur qui non aderat, unus e circumstantibus sumpto psalterio quem primum versum invenit arripuit. Psalmus autem erat: 'Ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecisti laudem, propter inimicos tuos, ut destruas inimicum et defensorem.' Quo lecto clamor populi tollitur, pars diversa confunditur."—Sulpit. Sever. In Vit. Mart. lib. I. [cap. 7, p. 225. Amst. 1656.]

that this Psalm was read, to put down the faction that opposed against Martin. By this it appeareth that the Scripture was read in Latin, and yet, in a tongue understood by the people; for otherwise how could they have been thus affected?

And that it was so read, in ancient times, as to be understood, it is clear by the form of blessing used in the constituting of lectors, which was this, as it appeareth by an old manuscript cited by Cassander[1]: *Benedicere dignare hos famulos tuos, in officium lectorum, ut assiduitate lectionis sint apti pronunciare verba vitæ, et mentis ac vocis distinctione, populo monstrare intelligibilia:* that is, "Vouchsafe to bless these thy servants designed and appointed to the office of Lectors, that by the daily and ordinary use of reading, they may be fitted to pronounce to the people the words of life, and with distinction, both of understanding and voice, to shew unto the people the things they read, so as that they may be understood of them that hear them." And, in the Pontifical[2], we find these words directed to the lectors: *Studete verba Dei, videlicet lectiones sacras, distincte et aperte, ad intelligentiam et ædificationem fidelium, absque omni mendacio falsitatis, proferre:* that is: "Be ye careful to utter, publish, and rehearse the words of God, to wit, the sacred lessons, distinctly and clearly, to the understanding and edification of the faithful, without all lying, falsehood, and untruth.

How generally they understood and spake Latin in Spain, heretofore, it may appear by their present language, a barbarism of Latin; as also by the laws the Goths gave unto them, called the Gothic Code, written in good Latin; and by Lucan, Seneca, and sundry other principal lights of the Latin tongue. So that Marineus Siculus[3] feareth not to say, that if

[1] Cassandr. Liturg. cap. 36. [p. 87. Par. 1616.]

[2] Pontificale Romanum in Ordin. Lector. [Admonitio Pontificis ad lectores. p. 16. Urbin. 1818.]

[3] "Sermo quo nunc utuntur Hispani Latinus est, quem a Romanis acceperunt, ideoque Romancium vocant, qui propter adventum barbarorum aliquantulum degeneravit a lingua Latina. Quod si neque Gothi neque Mauri, barbaræ gentes, in Hispaniam venissent tam Latinus esset nunc Hispanus sermo quam fuit Romanorum tempore Marci Tullii."—Marineus Siculus. Hist. Hispan. lib. v. cap. 4. [Inter Hispaniæ illustratæ scriptores, Tom. I. p. 331. Francof. 1603.]

the Goths, and Moors, and other barbarous nations, had not come into Spain, the Spaniards would still have spoken as good Latin as the Romans did in the time of Tully; so that it is not unlikely but that the Spaniards anciently had their service in Latin; but whether they had or not, it is evident they had it in a tongue understood, by that we read in Isidore[1]: *Oportet ut quando psallitur, psallatur ab omnibus; cum lectio legitur, facto silentio æque audiatur a cunctis:* that is, "It is fit that when the singing beginneth, all should sing; when the lesson is read, there being a general silence kept, all should equally, and in one and the same sort, hearken to that which is read." And again: *Ideo et diaconus clara voce silentium admonet, ut sive dum psallitur, sive dum lectio pronunciatur, ab omnibus unitas conservetur, ut quod omnibus prædicatur, æqualiter ab omnibus audiatur:* that is, "And therefore doth the deacon also with a clear and loud voice call upon all to keep silence; that as well when the singing is, as when the lesson is read, all may do one and the same thing, that all may hear that which is pronounced equally to all."

Some other parts there were that had not such use of the Latin tongue as these had; who having alphabets and characters of their own, so that they could write and express things in their own tongues, had the whole liturgy and divine service in their vulgar tongue: of this sort were all those nations, kingdoms, and people, that speak the Slavonian tongue[2], which was the language of more than the third part of Europe; besides the Mengrellians, Circassians, and Gazarites, in Asia. The characters[3] of this language are of two sorts: for there is the Servian character, and the Dalmatian. All the Chris-

[1] Isidor. Hispalensis, De Officiis Eccles. lib. I. cap. 10. [Tom. VI. p. 371. Rom. 1802.]

[2] "Vix est ulla lingua sub solo quæ latius quam nostra pateat, cum plus etiam quam quartam Europæ partem complecti videatur. Hac enim utuntur et Boemi, et Moravi, et Cassubi, et Russi, et Moschi, et unde nos originem duxisse putamus, Sclavii, Servii, Dalmatæ, et Boznenses, Croatæ, Bulgari, Rasciani, Serbi, et aliæ gentes nonnullæ."—Hosius de Sacro Vernacule Legendo. [Tom. I. p. 664. Colon. 1584.]

[3] Brerewood's Enquiries [touching the Diversity of Languages and Religions through the chiefe parts of the world, cap. 8. p. 58. Lond. 1635.]

tians of Rascia, Bosina, Servia, Bulgaria, Moldavia, Russia, Moscovia, and all other nations of the Slavonian language, in the Eastern parts, that celebrate their liturgies after the Greek ceremony, and profess obedience to the Patriarch of Constantinople, have the scriptures in their own tongue, translated, as it is said, by Methodius, the companion of Cyril in preaching the gospel to Gentile nations, and written in the Servian character, as also their liturgies are. The Dalmatian characters are in use in Dalmatia, Liburnia, Istria, Moravia, Silesia, Bohemia, Polonia, &c.

It is a received opinion, that Hierome[1] first devised the Dalmatian characters, and translated the Scriptures into the Dalmatian tongue; but it seemeth that, in process of time, his translation was neglected, the Latin service brought in, and those characters out of use; for Aventinus reporteth[2], that Methodius having found out letters, and translated the scripture into the Slavonian tongue, persuaded the Dalmatians to explode the Latin tongue, to hiss out the Roman rite or ceremony, and make use of their own tongue in the holy service of God.

Eckius[3] confesseth that heretofore, the divine service was in the Dalmatian tongue, throughout all Illyricum. "The priests of Liburnia," saith Aventinus[4], "which, in this our age, is subject to the archduke of Noricum, are yet still ignorant of the Roman tongue, and do say their divine service in their own, that is, in the Slavonian, tongue." And Ioannes Baptista

[1] "Hos reperit characteres Hieronymus quibus etiam ipsis totam legem vetus et novum instrumentum cum sacrificio et precationibus traductam illorum idiomate scriptam reliquit."—Postell. ["Linguarum duodecim characteribus differentium." Tit. "De Lingua Hieronymiana." 4°. Paris. 1538.]

[2] "Methodius philosophus Venedas invenit literas vertitque divina oracula in vernaculum Sclavorum sermonem: persuasitque popularibus Dalmatiam incolentibus ut explosa lingua Latina, exibilato ritu Romano, suum consecrarent eloquium."—Aventinus, lib. IV. p. 434. [Annal. Boiorum. Lib. IV. cap. 16. § 17. p. 401. Lips. 1710.]

[3] "Aliqui de lingua Sclavonica latissima testantur, a Hieronymo impetratum, in memoria hominum, Sclavonica missas celebratas."—Eckius de missa Latine facienda, in locis communibus. [p. 340. Colon. Agripp. 1600.]

[4] "Sacerdotes Liburniæ, quæ archiduci Noricorum nostro vero paret, adhuc ignari sunt Romanæ linguæ, sacrificia patrio sermone, nempe Sclavorum, procurant."—Aventin. ubi supra. [p. 402.]

Palatinus[1] saith, "The Slavonians and those of Illyricum have ther service and common prayers in their vulgar tongue, and all the people understand it as we do our native language." Aventinus[2] saith, that Methodius went into the kingdom of Boiaria, and sought to persuade the inhabitants of Liburnia, Noricum, Pannonia, and Veneda, to abandon the Latin, and to have their service in the vulgar; but Richovalda the bishop, and Adelvinus the archbishop of Salsburg, and the priests of Juvania, which successively had governed the Churches in those parts for the space of eighty-five years, according to the decree of Charles the Great, resisted him, and forced him to fly into Moravia. But afterwards, that which he attempted took effect, as it appeareth by Aventinus, in the words before cited; for they of Liburnia had their service in the vulgar in his time.

Hosius[3] confesseth, that the service in the vulgar tongue was in Bohemia and Polonia, and that there were some living when he wrote, that might remember, when in Clepardia, in the temple of Saint Cross, the priests said service in the vulgar or Slavon tongue. Cromerus[4] saith that the two bishops, Methodius and Cyrillus, did good service in bringing the people of those parts to the knowledge of God in Christ;

[1] "Sciendum est quod vulgaris ipsorum sermo idem ille est quo continuo utuntur in officiis divinis, et universus populus intelligit haud secus atque nos intelligimus vulgarem sermonem nostrum."—Cassandr. liturg. cap. 36. [p. 88. Par. 1616.]

[2] "Posthac in regnum Boiariæ perrexit, in Liburnia, Norico, Bannonis, Venedis, habitantibus idem persuasurus, Richonalda sacrificulus pontifex, Adeluinus archimystes Salisburgensis, item Juvanenses sacerdotes qui hactenus in superioribus regionibus ex decreto Caroli Magni per quinque et octaginta annos rebus divinis præfuerant, sacrificia privata publica procurarant, religionem interpretati fuerant, reges adeunt, concionibus epistolis populum concitant adversus Methodium, qui regno Boiariæ factione Juvanensium mystarum pulsus in Moraviam aufugit."—Aventin. ubi supr.

[3] "Ne nunc quidem fortasse desunt qui meminisse queant etiam in templo Sanctæ Crucis, quod in Clepardia est, Sclavorum lingua sacerdotes sacris operantes usos fuisse."—Hosius, De Sacro vernacule legendo. [Tom. I. p. 664.]

[4] "Præclaram his populis nova religione imbuendis operam navarunt Methodius et Cyrillus episcopi; a quibus et illud perfectum est, assentiente pontifice maximo, ut Slavis sua lingua in sacris uti liceret." —Cromerus, De rebus Polonorum. Lib. III. p. 32. [p. 31. Colon. Agripp. 1589.]

and that they caused the Slavonians to have their service in their own tongue, the pope giving assent, and approving that they did. And the same Cromerus[1] saith, the service was in the Slavon tongue in Crocovia.

That the Moravians had the service in their own tongue we have proof sufficient, for John the Eighth took precise order, and commanded it should be so. His Epistle[2], written to the prince of Moravia, is extant, in which epistle he hath these words: "Whereas one Constantine, a philosopher, found out letters and characters of the Slavon tongue, that so, in it they might sound forth the praises that are due to God; we exceedingly commend the same, and do command that the praises of Christ our God, and his works, be uttered

[1] "In suburbano Cracoviensi septentrionali et in ora Cleparieæ oppidi monasterium titulo Sanctæ Crucis inchoarunt, et in eo Slavos Benedictinæ sectæ Praga accitos qui Slavica lingua sacris operarentur collocarunt."—Id. Lib. xv. [p. 253.]

[2] "Litteras denique Sclavonicas a Constantino quodam philosopho repertas, quibus Deo laudes debitas resonent, jure laudamus, et ut in eadem lingua Christi Dei nostri præconia et opera enarrentur jubemus: neque enim tribus tantum sed omnibus linguis Dominum laudare auctoritate sacra monemur, quæ præcipit dicens: 'Laudate Dominum omnes gentes, et collaudate eum omnes populi:' et apostoli repleti Spiritu Sancto locuti sunt omnibus linguis magnalia Dei. Hinc et Paulus cœlestis quoque tuba insonat, monens: 'Omnis lingua confiteatur quia Dominus noster Jesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris.' De quibus etiam in prima ad Corinthios epistola satis et manifeste nos admonet, quatenus linguis loquentes ecclesiam Dei ædificemus. Nec sanæ fidei vel doctrinæ aliquid obstat, sive Missas in eadem Sclavonica linguæ canere, sive sacrum Evangelium, vel lectiones divinas Veteris et Novi Testamenti bene translatas et interpretatas legere, aut alia horarum officia omnia psallere: quoniam qui fecit tres linguas principales, Hebræam scilicet, Græcam, et Latinam, ipse creavit et alias omnes ad laudem et gloriam suam. Jubemus tamen ut in omnibus ecclesiis terræ vestræ propter majorem honorificentiam Evangelium Latine legatur, et postmodum Sclavonica lingua translatum, in auribus populi Latina verba non intelligentis, annuntietur, sicut in quibusdam ecclesiis fieri videtur. Et si tibi et judicibus tuis placet, Missas Latina lingua magis audire præcipimus, ut Latine Missarum tibi solemnia celebrentur. Data mense Junii. Indictione decima tertia."—Baron. Tom. x. anno 882. numer. 19. p. 662. [Annal. Eccles. Colon. Agripp. 1609.]

Et inter epist. Joannis VIII. apud Binium, Epist. 247. [Severinus Binius, Concilia, &c. Tom. III. p. 991. Colon. Agripp. 1606.]

and set forth in the same; for we are admonished to praise God, not in three tongues only, but in all, by the sacred authority that commanded, saying: 'Praise the Lord, all ye Gentiles, and praise him together, all people,' Psal. cxvii.; 'And the apostles, being filled with the Holy Ghost, spake in all tongues, and uttered the great and wonderful works of God,' Acts ii. Hence also Paul, that heavenly trumpet, soundeth forth, and exhorteth every tongue to confess, that our Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father: concerning which things he admonisheth us sufficiently, and manifestly, in his first epistle to the Corinthians, requiring us no otherwise to speak with tongues, but so that we may edify the Church. Neither is it contrary to the right faith and sound doctrine, to sing mass in the same Slavon tongue, or to read the holy Gospel, or the divine lessons of the Old or New Testament, rightly translated and interpreted, or to sing all other parts of divine service, appointed for certain hours and times; because that he that made three principal tongues, to wit, the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, created also all other, for to set forth his praise and glory. Notwithstanding, we command, that in all the Churches of your country, the Gospel be first read for the greater honour in Latin, and afterwards, the translation into the Slavonian tongue, in the hearing of the people that understandeth not Latin, as it seemeth the custom is in some Churches; and if it seem good to thee, and thy judges, and great men, to hear mass rather in Latin, we command that the mass be celebrated for thyself and them in Latin."

Æneas Sylvius[1], afterwards Pius the Second, reporteth that Cyril, having "brought Suarocopius to become a Christian, and to be baptized, won the Moravians, and sundry other nations of the Slavonians, to Christianity: and afterwards, being at Rome, besought the pope that, with his good liking,

[1] "Cyrillus baptizato quondam Suatocopio Moravis Christiana sacra crediderat, multasque alias Sclavorum gentes ad fidem Christi converterat. Referunt Cyrillum cum Romæ ageret, Romano pontifici supplicasse, ut Sclavorum lingua, ejus gentis hominibus quam baptizaverat rem divinam faciens, uti posset. De qua re dum in sacro senatu disceptaretur, essentque non pauci contradictores, auditam vocem tanquam de cœlo in hæc verba missam: 'Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum et omnis lingua confiteatur ei.' Indeque datum Cyrillo indultum."—Æneas Sylvius. [p. 91. Bas. 1551.]

he might say service in the Slavonian tongue to the people of that nation whom he had baptized; concerning which thing, when there was no little dispute in the sacred senate, and many disliked this motion, there was suddenly heard a voice, as it had been from heaven, saying, 'Let every spirit praise the Lord, and let every tongue confess unto him:' whereupon the pope yielded to his motion, and gave consent that he should do as he desired."

There is no doubt but that there were many crossings in this kind; and that sometimes they had the service in one tongue, and sometimes in another, not only in divers countries, but even in the same, accordingly as the different factions prevailed. Vuratizlaus, duke of the Bohemians, desired of pope Hildebrand[1], that he would give consent that they might say divine service in the Slavon tongue; and it seemeth, by the pope's answer, it had been so before, as in other places, so here; for he saith: *Neque ad excusationem juvat, quod quidam religiosi viri, hoc quod simpliciter populus quærit, patienter tulerunt, seu incorrectum dimiserunt, cum primitiva Ecclesia multa dissimulaverit, quæ a sanctis patribus postmodum, firmata Christianitate, et religione crescente, subtili examinatione correcta sunt.* That is, "Neither doth it serve to excuse and make good this petition, that some religious men patiently endured and suffered that to be done that the people simply desired, or that they let it alone uncorrected, or altered it not, seeing the primitive Church was content to wink at divers things, which the holy Fathers afterwards, when Christianity was firmly settled, and religion increased, upon diligent and exact examination, thought good to correct and alter." Walafridus Strabo[2] testifieth, that in his time the divine service was still celebrated in the vulgar German tongue amongst certain Scythian nations, especially those that are called Tomitani, and that certain Germans do inhabit in those parts.

There was a third sort of people to whom the Gospel

[1] Hildebrand. Gregorius Papa VII. Epist. II. Lib. VII. [Apud Binium, Concil. Tom. III. p. 1248.]

[2] "Didicimus apud quasdam Scythicas gentes, maxime Tomitanos, eadem locutione divina hactenus celebrari officia."—De rebus Eccles. cap. 7. [Tom. IX. part 1. p. 953. Magn. Bibl. Vet. Patr. De La Bigne. Colon. Agripp. 1618.]

was preached, that were so[1] rude and unlettered at the time of their conversion, that they knew not how to write any thing in their own tongue, having no characters or letters of their own, nor any monuments of antiquity, or report of things past, but in the Latin tongue: these could have no form of divine service delivered unto them at the first in their own tongue. So that haply to some in this case, the book of God was at first delivered in Latin, to be expounded by such as understood it, to them that understood it not: not as thinking it best so to have it in a tongue not understood, but because they could not do otherwise. And therefore John the Eighth, understanding that they of Moravia had an alphabet and characters, so that they could express things in writing, commandeth them to have their service in the Slavonian tongue. And so, in those places where they could not have the book of God in the vulgar tongue at the first, yet so soon as they had means, they caused the same to be put into the vulgar.

And therefore[2], it is reported that Ludovicus the emperor, having a great care of religion, and seeking the salvation of his subjects' souls, (whereas till that time the people of Germany that understood nothing but the Theudiscal tongue, could not read the scriptures, but the learned only,) having now met with one Otfridus, a learned and holy monk, commanded him to translate the Old and New Testament into the German tongue, *quatenus non solum literatis, verumetiam illiteratis, sacra divinorum præceptorum lectio panderetur;* "that so the sacred reading of the divine precepts might be made commom to the learned and unlearned:" which work he took in hand and perfected at the emperor's command very willingly, having been moved and admonished from above so to do; and it was approved by Luidbertus, Archbishop of Mentz. If the index of prohibited books had

[1] "Theotisca lingua velut agrestis habetur, dum a propriis nec scriptura, nec arte aliqua, ullis est temporibus expolita: quippe qui nec historias suorum antecessorum ut multæ gentes cæteræ commendant memoriæ. Quod si raro contigit, aliarum gentium linguam, id est Latinorum, vel potius Græcorum, explanant."—Otfridus inter epistolas Hincmari Rhemensis in epistola ad Luitbertum excus. Par. 1615. p. 633.

[2] "Inter epistolas Hincmari præfatio in librum antiquum lingua Saxonica scriptum, p. 634."

been out, which Pius IV. first, and Clement the Eighth since, published to the world, the emperor, archbishop, translator, and people using the translation, had incurred grievous censures, and had been branded as heretics. But this point of the new religion of Rome was not then known, and therefore as they could, in all parts of the world, they translated the scriptures into the vulgar tongue.

Whether the Saxons, at the coming of Augustine into England, could write any thing in their own tongue, it is much doubted; and many think they could not; so that, haply, the Bible was not delivered to them in the vulgar at the first; but afterwards, when they knew how to write in that tongue, it was. For, as we read, Beda[1] translated a part of it into the Saxon tongue. And the same Beda[2] reporteth, that before his time there was a certain brother, in the monastery of the abbess Hilda, who having received excellent grace of God, was wont to make poems, fit to set forward religion and piety; so that whatsoever he learned by interpreters out of the holy books, the same things presently

[1] Joann. Trevisan. ubi. supr.

[2] "In hujus monasterio abbatissæ fuit frater quidam divina gratia specialiter insignis, qui carmina religioni et pietati apta facere solebat, ita ut quicquid ex divinis literis per interpretes disceret, hoc ipse post pusillum verbis poeticis maxima suavitate et compunctione compositis in sua, id est, Anglorum lingua, proferret; cujus carminibus multorum sæpe animi ad contemptum sæculi, et ad appetitum sunt vitæ cœlestis accensi. Unde mox abbatissa amplexata gratiam Dei in viro, secularem illum habitum relinquere et monachicum suscipere propositum docuit; susceptumque in monasterium cum omnibus suis fratrum cohorti associavit, jussitque illum seriem sacræ historiæ doceri. At ipse, cuncta quæ audiendo discere poterat rememorando secum, et quasi mundum animal ruminando, in carmen dulcissimum convertebat, suaviusque resonando doctores suos vicissim auditores faciebat suos. Canebat autem de creatione mundi, et origine humani generis, et tota Genesis historia, de egressu Israel ex Ægypto, et ingressu in terram repromissionis, de aliis plurimis sacræ scripturæ historiis; de incarnatione Domini et passione, et resurrectione et ascensione in cœlum, de adventu Spiritus Sancti, et apostolorum doctrina; item de terrore futuri judicii, et horrore pœnæ gehennalis, ac dulcedine regni cœlestis, multa carmina faciebat. Sed et alia perplura de beneficiis et judiciis divinis in quibus cunctis homines ab amore scelerum abstrahere, ad dilectionem vero et solertiam bonæ actionis excitare, curabat."—Beda. Hist. Gent. Angl. Lib. IV. cap. 24.

after he would express in verse in his own tongue, that is, in English, most sweetly, and so as that he would pierce the hearts of such as heard him; and, therefore, the abbess commanded that he should be taught the whole series and course of the holy history, that he might express the same in his own tongue: and so he did; for whatsoever by hearing he could possibly learn, he turned into most sweet poems, so that his teachers became his hearers: for he composed poems and songs concerning the creation of the world, and the beginning of mankind, the whole history of Genesis, Israel's going out of Egypt and entering the land of promise, and sundry other histories of holy scripture: of the incarnation, passion, resurrection, and ascension of Christ into heaven, of the coming of the Holy Ghost, the doctrine of the apostles, the terror of the future judgment, the fear of hell-punishment, and the happiness of the kingdom of heaven, and sundry other benefits and judgments of God. In all which he sought to draw men from delighting in things that are evil, to the love and practice of that which is good. Which poems no doubt were written, if they knew how to write at that time. Thus were they willing in those days to take all occasion to make the scripture known to the people, as far forth as possibly they might.

And therefore it is not to be doubted, but that when they had the scripture only in Latin, yet it was interpreted to the people that they might understand it, according to that of John Billet[1], *in Summa de Divinis Officiis*: "In the primitive Church no man was permitted to speak in a tongue not understood, unless there were one to interpret: for to what purpose were it for a man to speak, and not to be understood? truly to none at all. Hence grew that laudable custom in some parts of the Church, that so soon as the Gospel should be read in the Latin, it should presently be expounded to the people in the vulgar." And this which he saith is confirmed by the authority and testimony of Epi-

[1] "In primitiva ecclesia prohibitum erat ne quis loqueretur linguis, nisi esset qui interpretaretur. Quid enim prodesset loqui, nisi intelligeretur? Inde etiam inolevit usus vel laudabilis consuetudo in ecclesia in quibusdam partibus, ut pronunciato literaliter evangelio statim in vulgari populo exponeretur."—Cassandr. Liturg. art. 36. [p. 86. Par. 1616.]

phanius[1], who, describing all the several orders in the Church, amongst others he reckoneth them that were ἑρμηνευταὶ γλώσσης εἰς γλῶσσαν, ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγνώσεσιν, ἢ ἐν ταῖς προσομιλίαις: that is, "Interpreters that expressed in one tongue that which was uttered in another, as well when the lessons were read, as when the preacher spake to the people."

By all that which hath been said, it appeareth that the desire of God's Church was ever to communicate the scriptures and books of God to all people, in the tongue they understood; that the most part of the Christian Churches had the book of God in their own tongue; and that if any had not, it was either because they could not tell how to write any thing in their barbarous tongues, or because the tongue, wherein they first received them, altering, they were not understood then, as formerly they had been of their ancestors, to whom they were first delivered in the same. So in Italy, France, and Spain, anciently they generally understood and spake Latin, and therefore had the scriptures delivered unto them in that tongue; but in time the Latin which they spake was so corrupted and so degenerated into barbarism, that the people of those parts understood very little of that which was written in the purer Latin formerly understood; and therefore in process of time they were forced to have the scriptures newly translated into this new dialect, or rather, corruption of the Latin. So had they the Bible translated into Italian, French, and Spanish, as before I shewed.

Their prayers and liturgies indeed were not altered; yet was there never any judicious man, that thought it fittest to have the service of God performed without understanding; but all the best and most pious in every age, thought it necessary by all good and possible means to provide, that the people might have their service of God in a tongue they understood. We have heard already John Billet[2] peremptorily

[1] De Hæres. in fin. Lib. III. [Tom. I. p. 1104. Colon. 1682.]

[2] "Quid autem in nostris temporibus est agendum ubi nullus vel rarus invenitur legens vel audiens qui intelligat? videns vel agens qui animadvertat? Jam videtur esse completum quod a propheta dicitur, Et erit sacerdos quasi de populo unus. Videtur ergo potius esse tacendum quam psallendum, potius silendum quam tripudiandum."—Ubi supr.

affirming, that in the primitive Church no man was permitted to speak in a tongue not understood, unless there were one to interpret; and that it was the custom of some Churches, so soon as the Gospel was read in the Latin, to expound the same in the vulgar tongue: but, saith he, "What shall we say of our times, wherein scarce, or not at all, either he that readeth, or heareth, understandeth what he heareth or readeth? So that we may say truly, as the prophet sometime complained, 'The priest shall be as one of the people':" *videtur ergo tacendum potius esse quam psallendum*, "it seemeth, therefore, it were better to keep silence than to sing."

Haymo[1], a worthy and learned bishop, writing upon the first epistle to the Corinthians hath these words: "If he that understandeth only that tongue, wherein he was born and bred, stand by thee, when thou solemnly celebratest the mystery of the mass, or makest a sermon, or pourest forth the words of blessing, how shall he answer Amen to thy blessing, not knowing what thou sayest? that is, how shall he answer that confirmatory word, Amen, when he, understanding only his own tongue, knoweth not what thou sayest in that barbarous tongue?" And lest any man should take advantage and urge, as the Papists are wont to do, that because he speaketh of a barbarous tongue, his words are not to be understood of him that speaketh in one of the three learned tongues, he sheweth that he that speaketh in the Hebrew tongue, to him that understandeth nothing but Greek; or in the Greek, to him that understandeth nothing but Latin; or

[1] "Dicitur idiota propriam linguam tantummodo sciens in qua natus et nutritus est. Si igitur talis astiterit tibi, dum aut mysterium Missæ solenniter celebras, aut sermonem facis, aut etiam benedictionem tribuis, quomodo dicet Amen super tuam benedictionem, cum nescit quod dicas? Id est, Quomodo respondebit verbum confirmatorium quod dicitur Amen, cum ille, tantum linguæ propriæ peritus, ignoret quod tu barbara illa loquaris?

"Ego sum Græcus, tu Hebræus: si tibi loqui cœpero Græce, videbor barbarus; similiter et te loquente mihi Hebraice videberis barbarus. Aliter; profero symbolum Græce quia sic reperi illud scriptum et sum Latinus non Græcus, barbarus tibi sum."—Haymo in 1 Cor. cap. xiv. [Bas. 1528.]

"Qui nullam præter propriam intelligit linguam, quod proprium est auditoribus, quomodo dicet Amen? hoc est, Quomodo tuæ benedictioni perhibebit testimonium vel consensum, cum ignoret ipsius linguæ qualitatem?"—Sedulius in 1 Cor. xiv.

in Latin, to him that understandeth nothing but Greek, is a barbarian. Yea, if a Roman, and such a one as is not a Grecian, pronounce the symbol or creed in Greek, he is a barbarian to him that understandeth nothing but Latin, though he be of the same nation and people.

Thomas Aquinas[1] mentioneth this, but giveth another interpretation of the word, but not so fit; making them to be barbarians that excel in strength of body, but are defective in strength of reason, which, how far wide it is from the scope of the Apostle, a blind man may see. But in the same place, proposing the question, how he that understandeth no other tongue but that of the country wherein he was born, can conform himself and say Amen to the prayers he understandeth not; his answer is, that he may conform himself in a generality, but not in particular, seeing he knoweth not in particular what it is that the minister saith, though in general he know that he prayeth or blesseth. And farther, asking why the prayers and blessings are not in the vulgar, that more fully and particularly the ignorant might conform themselves unto the same; his answer is, that haply it was so in the primitive Church, but now that the faithful are instructed, and know what it is they hear in the service of the Church, the blessings are in Latin. How weak an answer this is to proceed from such a man, who seeth not? for when he saith they know what they hear, either he meaneth in particular, and then he contrarieth his former words, or only in general; and then they can give no consent, but in general: and so the question is not answered, why the prayers and blessings are not in the vulgar, that so being distinctly understood, there might be a distinct conforming to the same.

Lyra[2], writing upon the same place, hath these words:

[1] "Barbari proprie dicuntur illi qui in virtute corporis vigent, in virtute rationis deficiunt, et sunt quasi extra leges et sine regimine juris. "Si non intelligit quæ dicis, quomodo conformabit se dictis tuis? Potest quidem se conformare etiam si non intelligit, sed in generali tantum, non in speciali, quia non potest intelligere quid boni dicas nisi quod benedicas tantum. Sed quare non dantur benedictiones in vulgari ut intelligantur a populo et conforment se magis eis? Dicendum est quod hoc forte fuit in ecclesia primitiva, sed postquam fideles instructi sunt et sciunt quæ audiunt in communi officio, fiunt benedictiones in Latino."—Aquin. in 1 Cor. xiv. p. 245. [Par. 1636.]

[2] "Cum laicus dicit orationem Dominicam vel aliquid hujusmodi devote, et tunc affectus elevatur in Deum, et sic reficitur ejus affectus;

"When a layman saith the Lord's prayer, or any other, devoutly, his affection is lifted up to God; *reficitur affectus, non intellectus: sed quando intelligit, reficitur affectus, et intellectus:* and this the Apostle sheweth to be true in respect of the public prayers, because if the people understand the prayer or blessing of the priest, *melius reducitur in Deum, et devotius respondet Amen.*" And then proceeding to those words, "If thou bless," &c. hath these words: "What shall he do that supplieth the place of the unlearned? Which words import as much as, What doth it profit the simple people that understand not? as if he should say little or nothing, because they know not how to conform themselves to him that is the minister of the Church, by answering Amen; and that for this cause in the primitive Church, the blessings and all other things pertaining to the public service of God, were in the vulgar tongue; but after that people were multiplied and increased, and they had now learned to conform themselves to the priest, by standing when the Gospel is read, and by adoring the eucharist, the service was in Latin, and that it sufficeth now that the clerk doth answer for the whole people."

Here is confession that the people profiteth little or nothing, when the prayers and blessings are in a tongue they understand not; that therefore the primitive Church had the service in the vulgar; that while it is in Latin they cannot themselves, but another must answer Amen for them; and that yet, now they have learned by standing or kneeling, differently to conform themselves to the priest, according to the

non tamen intellectus, quia non intelligit quæ dicit. Sed quando intelligit, reficitur ejus affectus et intellectus.

"Hic consequenter idem ostendit in oratione publica: quia si populus intelligat orationem seu benedictionem sacerdotis, melius reducitur in Deum, et devotius respondet Amen.

"Quis supplebit locum idiotæ? quod denotat, Quid proficit populus simplex et non intelligens; quod denotat nihil aut modicum, quia nescit se conformare tibi qui es minister ecclesiæ, respondendo Amen. Propter quod in primitiva ecclesia benedictiones et cætera communia fiebant in vulgari: sed postquam populus multiplicatus fuit, et consuevit se conformare ministris ecclesiæ, utpote stando quando dicitur evangelium, deposito caputio, adorando eucharistiam, et consimilibus, fiunt in Latino in ecclesia Latina. Et sufficit quia clericus respondeat pro toto populo."—Lyra in 1 Cor. xiv. [Biblia vulgata cum Glossa ordinaria, et Expositione Lyræ, &c. part. vi. fol. 55, H. Bas. 1508.]

different things he doth; (which a deaf man that never heard word may do by observation of the eye) it is well enough.

But cardinal Cajetan[1] upon the same place hath these words: "Out of this doctrine of the apostle Paul, it may be gathered, that it were better and more for the edification of the Church, to have the public prayers that are read in the hearing of the people, pronounced in a tongue common to the clergy and people, and understood of them both, than in Latin." And when he was challenged by the Parisians for saying, it were better to have the prayers said in the Church in the vulgar, rather than in the Latin tongue, his answer was[2], that they recited not his words fully; for he had not said, "it were better," but "it were better for edification," nor that "the prayers should be said," but that the "public prayers should be said in the vulgar tongue;" and this his assertion, he said, was grounded upon the authority of the apostle.

Cardinal Contarenus[3], proposing the question, What is to be thought of such prayers as ignorant men make without understanding? answereth, that it is to be conceived that they are of force, in respect of the affection of the mind, and intention they have to pray unto God, though they know not what they desire or pray for; but that they want the fruit which they should have, if they understood those prayers

[1] "Ex hac Pauli doctrina habetur, quod melius ad ædificationem ecclesiæ est orationes publicas, quæ audiente populo dicuntur, dici lingua communi clericis et populo, quam dici Latine."—[Thom. de Vio. Caietanus in 1 Cor. xiv. Comment. Tom. v. p. 137. Lugd. 1639.]

[2] "Octavus articulus est, Melius est quod orationes dicantur in lingua vulgari in ecclesia quam in lingua Latina. Iste articulus non integre recitatur; quoniam non scripsi quod est melius, sed quod est melius ad ædificationem ecclesiæ: neque scripsi orationes, sed orationes publicas quæ audiente populo dicuntur; hoc autem super doctrinam Pauli fundavi, 1 ad Cor. xiv."—[Id. Opusc. Tom. III. Tract. 15. p. 299. Lugd. 1562.]

[3] "Quid sentiendum de orationibus quæ fiunt a viris idiotis qui eas non intelligunt? Resp. Sentiendum valere ex affectu animi et intentione qua intendunt Deum orare et sanctos, licet non intelligant quid petant; carent tamen eo fructu quem perciperent si orationes eas quas ore proferunt etiam intelligerent, nam et speciatim intenderent animum et mentem in Deum ut ab eo impetrarent etiam speciatim ea quæ ore petunt, et magis ædificarentur ex sensu pio earum orationum quas ore proferunt: carent igitur hoc fructu; non tamen frustra orant. —Contarenus, Instruct. Christian. [p. 544. Par. 1571.]

that they utter with their mouths; for then they would direct the intention of their minds and their desires to God, for the obtaining in particular of such things as with the mouth they pray for, and they would be more edified by the pious sense and understanding of their prayers. And he concludeth, that they pray not in vain, but that they would pray better if they understood the meaning of their prayers. And to the same purpose Harding against bishop Jewel saith, it were better the people should say their prayers in their own tongue, that they might the better understand them.

Innocentius the Third[1], seemeth to have had due consideration hereof, and therefore he prescribeth that, "because in sundry parts there are mixed within the same city or diocese, people of different languages, having, in the unity of the same faith, different rites and manners, the bishops of such cities or dioceses, shall provide fit men to celebrate divine service, according to the diversities of their rites and languages, and to minister the sacraments of the Church unto them, instructing them both by word and example." Some restrain the words of Innocentius to the Greek and Latin tongues only, as if he had only allowed the having of the service in different tongues, in those cities and places where Greeks and Latins met[2]. But I see not why these words

[1] "Quoniam in plerisque partibus intra eandem civitatem atque diœcesim permixti sunt populi diversarum linguarum, habentes sub una fide varios ritus et mores, districte præcipimus ut pontifices hujusmodi civitatum sive diœcesium sibi provideant viros idoneos qui secundum diversitatem linguarum et rituum divina illis officia celebrent, et ecclesiastica sacramenta ministrent instruendo eos verbo pariter et exemplo."—Innocent III. [Apud. Hosium. ut seq.]

[2] Hosius de Sacro Vernacule Legendo, p. 665, sayth the Pope meant not to make any innovation, but his meaning was that the Græcians and Sclavonians that already three hundred yeare had the service in their own tongue, should have priests to say service unto them in the same.

"Prohibemus autem omnino ne una eademque civitas seu diœcesis diversos pontifices habeat. Quæso te, nunquid sancitum hic aliquid est de ritibus novandis et non de conservandis potius qui recepti sunt? Non est dubium quin Græca lingua multo ante quam Latina divina officia in Orientali præsertim ecclesia peragi cœpta fuerint,..... ..... Quin et illud jam docuimus trecentis annis ante decretum hoc latum Sclavis permissum fuisse, vernacula sua lingua rem divinam facere."—Hosius de Sacro Vernacule Legendo, p. 665. [Tom. I. Colon. 1584.]

should be thus restrained, seeing there is no question but this pope would allow that which John the Eighth his predecessor and others had done, in permitting, nay, in commanding the service to be in the Slavonian tongue. And besides, how he could say that the Greeks in some parts of the world agreed with the Latins in the faith, whom he so bitterly reproveth for very main differences in religion, and who, as Thomas à Jesu[1] testifieth, most stiffly hold their own religion, though they live under princes of the Roman profession, I know not.

Wherefore, to grow to a conclusion, it appeareth that anciently all Churches, and that ever most of the Christian Churches, had their service in a tongue vulgarly understood; that if any had not, it was either because they knew not how to write any thing in their own tongue; or because that which was their natural tongue ceased to be so, after they first had the service in it; that many had so in the West Church when Luther first shewed his dislike of Romish errors and abuses; that there never wanted worthy divines, bishops and prelates of great esteem, who urged the unfitness of having it in a tongue not understood, and the necessity of the vulgar; that all in whom there was any spark of grace, sought to have it understood; and therefore, as I noted before out of John Billet, sundry Churches, though they had their service in Latin, yet caused the same things that they read in Latin to be expounded in the vulgar; others, as the bishops in the third council of Tours[2], that such things should be read to the people in the vulgar, as might inform and instruct them in all points of Christian faith and religion: their words are these: "We all with unanimous consent have thought fit to ordain, that every bishop shall provide and have homilies containing

[1] Thomas à Jesu. [De Procuranda Salute omnium Gentium, Lib. VI. passim. Antv. 1613.]

[2] "Visum est unanimitati nostræ ut quilibet episcopus habeat homilias continentes necessarias admonitiones quibus subjecti erudiantur, id est, de fide catholica prout capere possint, de perpetua retributione bonorum et æterna damnatione malorum, de resurrectione quoque futura et ultimo judicio, et quibus operibus possit promereri beata vita, quibusve excludi. Et ut easdem homilias quisque aperte transferre studeat in rusticam Romanam linguam, aut Theotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intelligere quæ dicuntur."—Concil. Turon. iii. [can. 17. A.D. 813. Tom. IX. col. 351. Labbe. Ven. 1729.]

necessary admonitions, that so they that are under him m
be taught: our meaning is, that these homilies shall cont
instructions touching the catholic faith, according to th
capacities, concerning the everlasting rewards of the go
and eternal damnation of the wicked, the resurrection and l
judgment, and such works and course of life, whereby n
may attain, or whereby they are sure to be excluded fr
eternal life. And we ordain, that every bishop take c
to translate the same homilies, plainly and perspicuously, i
the vulgar Roman or German tongue, that all may the m
easily understand the things that are uttered unto them.

Among other articles proposed in the council of Trent
the ambassadors of Ferdinand the emperor, concerning t
necessary reformation of the Church, one was, that "Ha
it were to be permitted, that in some places prayers, faithfu
translated into the vulgar tongue, might be intermingled w
those things that are sung in Latin[1]." Likewise in t
articles of reformation exhibited to the council of Trent,
Charles the Ninth[2]: *In sacrificio parœcialibus evangeli
aperte et dilucide et pro populi captu copiose ex sugge
exponatur, quo in loco quæ plebano præeunte fient pre
lingua fiant vernacula, peracta autem re divina Latine
mysticis precibus, lingua etiam vernacula publicæ ad De
preces fiant. Et ibidem plura.* Which thing, if it had b
granted by the council, no new nor strange thing had b
brought in; for as Hosius testifieth[3], "the Church never f
bad to sing in the churches in the vulgar tongue, in time
place."

"It were to be wished," saith Erasmus[4], "that the wh

[1] "Fortasse permittendum ut liceat alicubi Latinis canticis pr
lingua vernacula fideliter versas intermittere."—Art. XIII. Cæsa
majestatis de Reformatione Ecclesiæ, anno 1562, apud Goldast. Con
Imperial. Tom. II. p. 376. [Francf. 1621.]

[2] Goldast. Constit. Imper. Tom. III. p. 570. [Art. 17.]

[3] "Neque tamen suis locis et temporibus etiam in templis verna
lingua cantari prohibuit ecclesia."—Hosius de Sacro Vernacule
gendo. [Tom. I. p. 134. Colon. 1534.]

[4] "Optandum esset ut totus cultus divinus qui tribus potissim
constat, hymnis doctrina et precatione, lingua toti populo nota p
geretur quemadmodum olim fieri consuevit, omniaque sic explan
distincteque sonarentur, ut ab attentis possent intelligi."—Eras
de Modo Orandi. [p. 76. Bas. 1533.]

service of God might be celebrated and performed in a tongue understood of the whole people, as in ancient times it was wont to be, and that all things should be so plainly and distinctly sounded out, that they might be understood of all that list to attend." And Cassander[1], fully agreeing with Erasmus, and alleging to this purpose the pope's permitting of it to the Slavonians upon the hearing of a voice from heaven, and the authority of Cajetan, saith: "It were to be desired that according to the mandate of the apostle, and the ancient custom of the Church, consideration might be had of the people in the public prayers of the Church, and in the hymns and lessons, which are there read and sung for the people's sake; and that the ordinary and vulgar sort of believers, might not for ever be wholly excluded from all communion of prayers and divine readings:" and he addeth, "that unless there be a reformation in this and other things, there is no hope of any durable peace or consent of the Church:" and professeth, "he cannot see but that they to whom the government of the Church is committed, shall one day give an account, why they suffered the Church to be thus miserably disquieted and rent in sunder, and neglected to take away the causes, whence heresies and schisms do spring, as in duty they should have done." So that in this point, as in the former, we see the Church wherein our fathers lived and died was a true Protestant Church.

[1] "Optandum videtur ut juxta apostolicum mandatum et priscum ecclesiæ morem, in publicis ecclesiæ precibus, cantionibus, et lectionibus, quæ populi causa suscipiuntur, populi quoque ratio aliqua habeatur; neque in totum et perpetuo ab omni communione precum et lectionum divinarum fidelium vulgus arceatur. Et oraculum illud, cujus monitu pontifex Romanus cum senatu cardinalium Sclavorum genti concessisse dicitur ut patria lingua in sacris operandis uterentur, ad omnes gentes Christiani nominis pertinere videtur. 'Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum et omnis lingua confiteatur ei:' et Thomas Cajetanus, vir haud dubie doctissimus et acutissimus, alicubi scripsit, melius esse ad ædificationem ecclesiæ orationes publicas, quæ audiente populo dicuntur, lingua vulgari in ecclesia dici quam lingua Latina. Quod nisi fiat spem nullam video firmam in ecclesia consensionem et concordiam futuram, aut schismatum et dissidiorum seminaria defutura. Neque illud quoque videre possum, quomodo non ipsi quoque, quibus ecclesiæ cura demandata est, perturbatæ et dilaceratæ ecclesiæ rationem reddituri sint, quam pro officio suo curare, et causas unde hæreses et schismata nascuntur præscindere neglexerunt."—Cassander. Defensio Lib. de Officio Pii Viri. [p. 865. Par. 1616.]

CHAPTER V.

OF THE THREE SUPPOSED DIFFERENT ESTATES OF MERE NATURE, GRACE, AND SIN: THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MAN IN THE STATE OF PURE AND MERE NATURE, AND IN THE STATE OF SIN: AND OF ORIGINAL SIN.

THEY of the Church of Rome at this day imagine, that God might have created a man in the state of pure nature, or nature only, as well without grace as sin[1]; and that in this state of pure or mere nature, without any addition of grace, he might have loved God above all, and have kept all the commandments of God collectively, so as to break none of them, at the least for a short time, though haply he could not have holden on constantly so to keep them all, as never to break any of them: seeing there would have been a contrariety between reason, and that appetite that followeth the apprehension of sense, in that state of pure or mere nature. So that, according to this conceit, grace was added not to enable man to love God above all, to keep the several commandments, which he hath given, and to do the works of moral virtue, (for all these he might have been able to perform, out of the power of nature, without any such addition,) but to make him able constantly to keep all the commandments of God collectively, so as never to break any one of them, and to keep them so as to merit eternal happiness in heaven.

Hence they infer divers things: first, that the loss of grace or original righteousness, that was given to Adam, doth not deprive those of his posterity of the power of loving God their Creator above all, of keeping his commandments divisively, and doing the several works of moral virtue, though haply not with that facility, that in the state of grace he

[1] "Sicut quis posset diligere Deum super omnia sic naturaliter posset conformare se divinis præceptis per omnia, sed sic faciendo vitaret et omne peccatum."—Petrus de Alliaco, Cameracensis: in 1 Sent. Dist. I. Qu. 2. [fol. 60, B.]

"Propter istas duas rationes de conformitate voluntatis et rationis rectæ, et de forti politico, concedo conclusionem, quod ex puris naturalibus potest quæcunque voluntas, saltem in statu naturæ institutæ, diligere Deum super omnia."—[Scotus, Lib. III. Dist. 27. Quæst. unica. Tom. VII. part i. p. 652. Lugd. 1639.]

might have done them. Secondly, that infidels and such as have no fellowship with the saints and people of God, nor any part in his grace, may decline sin, and do the works of moral virtue. Thirdly, that all the contrariety that is found in the powers of the soul, the rebellion of the inferior faculties against the superior, the proneness to evil, and difficulty to do good, would have been the conditions of mere nature without addition of grace or sin, and consequently, that they are not sin in the state wherein we are; that these evils are not newly brought into the nature of man by the fall; that as man would have been mortal in the state of mere nature, because compounded of contraries, so out of the contrariety of sensitive and rational desire, he would have found a rebellion in himself, of the inferior faculties against the superior; that as a heavy thing falleth not downward while it is stayed, but falleth so soon as the stay is taken away, by reason of the same nature it had while it was stayed; and as a ship that lay quietly while it was stayed with an anchor, upon the removing of the same is driven with the winds, yet in no other sort than it would have been before, if it had not been stayed; so all these contrarieties, differences, and proneness to desire things contrary to the prescript of right reason, would have been in mere nature as the conditions of it, and would have shewed themselves if grace had not hindered them; and that there is no other difference between a man in the state of pure or mere nature, and in the state of original sin, than there is between a man that never had any clothing, and him that had, but by his own fault and folly is stript out of all; between whom there is no difference in the nature of nakedness, but all the difference standeth in this, that the one is in fault for not having clothes, the other not so. For they suppose man would have been carried as strongly to the desire of sinful things, in the state of pure nature, as now, that freewill is not made more weak, than in that state it would have been, nor the flesh become more rebellious than it would have been without grace, before the entrance of sin.

This opinion Bellarmin[1] followeth, and professeth, that

[1] "Quæ sententia communis est doctorum scholasticorum veterum et recentiorum. Neque enim quod nos docemus ex uno Dominico a Soto accepimus, neque contrarium scripsit S. Thomas cum ceteris probatioribus auctoribus, ut quidam viri alioqui insigniter eruditi censent,

though some of excellent learning think, that both Thomas, and the best and most approved of the schoolmen, were of a contrary judgment, yet they are deceived in so thinking, and that this is the opinion of them all.

Against these erroneous conceits, that are indeed the ground of all the points of difference between them and us, touching original sin, freewill, the power of nature, the works of infidels, and the like, we oppose this proposition: That no state of pure or mere nature can be conceived, but that either a man must be lifted above himself by grace, or fall below himself by sin. And this proposition is proved by unanswerable reasons: for if the principal powers of the soul cannot perform their own proper actions, by any natural faculty, nor without the addition of grace, and a kind of divine force and help, then can there be no conceit of a state of pure or mere nature, seeing the nature of a thing implieth the powers pertaining to it, and a possibility to bring forth the actions of such powers: but it is evident that the principal powers of man's soul cannot by any natural faculty perform their proper actions, because the first truth and chiefest good, are the objects of the reason, and the will, and these are infinite, and the natural capacity of reason and the will is finite, so that whatsoever we understand and conceive concerning God, is so much less, and cometh so much short of his infinite perfection, as the capacity of our understanding is less than the infinite being of God.

But how then, will some man say, can man attain his good being so high, excellent, and far removed from him, and so infinitely beyond, and without the compass of his natural faculty. The answer hereunto is, that though nothing can be lifted up, to be any thing above the nature of it, yet by foreign help a thing may be carried or lifted above itself, or above the nature of it, that is, above that to which the natural faculty of it extendeth itself, as a stone may by the hand of man be cast up on high, whither it hath no faculty to move itself: so the soul may be raised and lifted by grace in the acts of her powers, above that to which by any natural faculty they can extend themselves: for though by nature

sed, ut dixi, est hæc sententia communior, ut testimonia quæ subjungimus indicabunt."—Bellarm. De Gratia Primi Hominis, Lib. unic. cap. 5. [Tom. IV. col. 16. Par. 1608.]

men cannot know God as he is in himself, but only so far forth as by his effects and glorious works he may be known, yet God may present himself unto them in the light of grace, as he is in himself, and make his infinite greatness to appear unto them[1]: and so he must, or else man can never attain that which is his proper good. *Actus rationalis creaturæ*, (saith Alensis[2], p. 3. Q. 61. Memb. 1.), *oportet quod ordinetur ad bonum quod est supra naturam, quod est summum bonum et infinitum; quia ergo non est possibilis extensio rationalis creaturæ supra seipsam, ideo non est ei possibile per naturam ut ordinet suum actum sive perveniat in suum finem, et ideo necesse est quod juvetur a gratia:* "The act of a reasonable creature must be directed to a good above nature which is the chief good, and infinite; because therefore a reasonable creature cannot raise itself above itself, therefore it is not possible that by the power of nature it should order its act, or attain its end: and therefore it must be holpen by grace."

So then there is no immediate knowledge of God, as he is in himself, no knowledge that in time for his own sake he made all things of nothing, no knowledge how and in what sort we depend on him, how his providence reacheth to us, how he guideth us in all our ways, and consequently how we should love him, fear him, and trust in him, and depend upon him; and if within the compass of nature there be no such

[1] All the knowledge that, naturally, we have of God, is by considering those perfections that are found in the creatures, that imply in them no imperfection, and which whatsoever hath, is better than those things are that have them not: for, persuading ourselves that they are somewhere found, in the highest degree, and without that mixture of imperfection that cleaveth to them in this or that particular, we name that thing God, wherein they are so found, in so excellent sort: now all these perfections that we conceive and apprehend are finite, for they are perfections found and discerned in the creatures; and the degrees of them are the degrees of things finite; so that unless we have another illumination by grace, whereby we may come to some apprehension of God as he is in himself, we know not God as God, neither do we worship and honour him as God, because not as infinite; and all our worship is idolatry, giving that unto the resemblance, that pertaineth to the truth: as Cusanus sheweth at large, De Docta Ignorantia, l. 1. c. xxvi.—Cusanus De Docta Ignorantia, Lib. 1. cap. 26. [p. 21. Bas. 1565.]

[2] Alexandr. ab Ales. Summa Theolog. Part. III. [Quæst. 69. Membr. 1. Art. 1. fol. 238. b. Lugd. 1516.]

knowledge of God, then is there no right love of God; for no man can rightly love God, unless he rightly know him; and if we do not rightly love God, we can do nothing well, nay, we cannot but continually do evil[1]; for every thing that a man willeth and affecteth, is either God, or some other thing besides God; if a man love God and not for himself but for some other thing, this act is sinful and culpable, and not morally good. If a man love any other thing besides God, and love it not finally for God, the act of his love resteth finally in some other thing that is not God, and he loveth it for itself without any further reference, and so enjoyeth some other thing besides God, as if it were the uttermost and most principal good, which act is culpable. Now if a man remaining within the compass of nature without addition of grace, cannot but do evil, then can there be no state of nature that is not sinful, without grace, and consequently there can be no state of pure or mere nature, seeing every thing that is culpable and faulty in any kind, is contrary to the nature of the thing wherein it is found, and a corruption of nature. But that all the principal actions of men without grace are culpable and faulty it is evident; because they love God for some other thing and not for himself, never coming to any knowledge of him as he is in himself, and they love other things for themselves, and finally, without any reference to God. So that grace is necessarily required in man, for the performance of his actions, so as not to sin. And it is true that Gregorius Ariminensis[2] hath, that Adam in the state of his creation was not sufficiently enabled to perform any act morally good, or so to do any good thing as not to sin in

[1] "Quicunque vult aliquid vel vult Deum, vel aliud a Deo. Si Deum, et non propter se sed propter aliud, utitur fruendis, qui actus culpabilis est, et per consequens, non moraliter bonus. Si vult aliud a Deo et non propter Deum ultimate, ille actus est ultimate propter aliud a Deo; et per consequens, ejus actus est culpabilis, nec moraliter bonus. Ex quo sequitur, quod omnis volitio, quæ non est de Deo propter se vel de alio a Deo propter Deum ultimate, est culpabilis et vitiosa."—Greg. Ariminens. In sent. Lib. II. dist. 29. Qu. 1. [fol. 109, B.]

[2] "Adam non poterat sine gratia quam acceperat etiam cum libero arbitrio esse bonus: igitur non poterat per suas vires naturales, sine speciali Dei adjutorio, esse virtuosus: igitur nec agere actum virtuosum vel moraliter bonum."—Gregor. Ariminens. ubi supra.

doing it by any thing in nature, if he had not had special grace added. Whence it will follow that there is no power to do good, or not to sin, in the nature of a man, but from grace; that when grace is lost, there is an impossibility of doing good, and a necessity of doing evil.

The Papists and we agree that original sin is the privation of original righteousness; but they suppose there was in nature, without that addition of grace, a power to do good, and that it was not given simply to make man able to do good, but constantly, and so as to merit heaven; so that it being taken away, a man may decline each particular sin, and do the several works of virtue, though neither so as never to sin, nor so as to merit heaven thereby; but we say there neither was nor could be any power in nature as of itself, to do any act morally good, or not sinful; that grace was given to enable men to perform the actions of their principal powers, about their principal objects, and to do good; and that it being taken away, there is found in them an impotency to do any act of virtue, and a necessity of sinning in all their moral actions, till they be restored again to the state of grace; that the difficulty to do good, proneness to evil, contrariety between the powers and faculties of the soul, and the rebellion of the meaner against the superior and better, are not the conditions of nature, as it was or might have been in itself before the entrance of sin, but that all these proceed from the putting of the powers of the soul, by the loss of grace, out of that course, which by the law of God and nature they were to hold. For doth not the condition of man's nature require, that amongst things inquired after, thought of, and known, God should be the first? and amongst things desired and loved, nothing should be desired and loved more or before him, nor otherwise than for him? and is it not clear and evident, that if God be the first thing that is thought of, sought after, and loved, and that nothing be sought after or respected, but after and for God, that there will be no proneness to evil, difficulty to do good, contrariety between the powers of the soul, and rebellion of the meaner and inferior against the better and superior? surely there is none that can or will make question of it. Now it is confessed by the best learned amongst the schoolmen, that how-

soever it be not so in the course of our understanding, in this state wherein we are, yet according to the course of the nature of our understanding simply considered, it should be so, that God[1] should be the first thing sought after and known by us.

Secundum naturam (saith Scotus[2]) *Deus est primum cognitum, quia naturalis cognitio procedit ab indeterminato ad determinatum, indeterminatum negative est magis indeterminatum, quam privative indeterminatum: ergo præconcipitur illi; et illud indeterminatum privative secundum nostram cognitionem præconcipitur determinato, quia ens et res prima impressione imprimuntur in anima nostra secundum Avicennam,* 1. *Metaphys. c.* 5; *ergo indeterminatum negative omnino primo est objectum nostro intellectui. At rationaliter posterius creatura cognoscitur: quia primo concipitur hoc bonum, deinde bonum universale abstractum secunda abstractione, puta quod est indeterminatum privative, deinde bonum prima abstractione abstractum, quod scilicet est indeterminatum negative.* And therefore it is noted by the learned, that there is a double knowledge and apprehension of things; the one distinct, the other confused; in the confused knowledge of things that is first apprehended by us, that first affecteth the sense, but in distinct knowledge *cognitorum primum est communissimum, et quæ propinquiora sibi sunt priora, et quæ remotiora, posteriora; quia nihil concipitur distincte, nisi quando concipiuntur omnia quæ includuntur in ratione ejus essentiali.*

And to the same purpose it is that Bonaventura[3] hath: *Cum non esse privatio sit essendi, non cadit in intellectum*

[1] "Sensitivus appetitus rationis quasi particeps fuerat effectus; sed cum a Deo voluntas ad seipsam defecit, appetitus spreto rationis imperio sui juris esse cœpit: atque hinc innumeræ cupiditates, innumeri timores atque morbi, ex quo etiam factum est, ut cum in primo actionum suarum principio occæcatus sit intellectus, et in particulari bono ultimum finem collocarit, et suæ dignitatis ignarus in corpus sese et sensum demerserit, et in corporis naturam degenerarit, in corporis voluptatibus assequendis et doloribus fugiendis, finem suum constituerit." —Contarenus de Libero Arbitrio. [p. 602. Par. 1571.]

[2] 1. Sent. D. 3. Q. 2. [Tom. v. p. 390. Lugd. 1639.]

[3] Bonaventura, Itinerarium Mentis in Deum, c. 5. [Tom. VII. p. 132. Mogunt. 1609.]

nisi per esse; esse autem non cadit per aliud; quia omne quod intelligitur, aut intelligitur ut non ens, aut ut ens in potentia, aut ut ens in actu; si igitur non ens non potest intelligi nisi per ens, et ens in potentia non nisi per ens in actu, et esse nominat ipsum purum actum entis, esse igitur est quod primo cadit in intellectum, et illud esse est, quod est purus actus: sed hoc non est esse particulare, quod est esse arctatum, quia permixtum est cum potentia, nec esse analogum, quia minime habet de actu, eo quod minime est: restat igitur quod illud esse, est esse divinum: mira igitur est cæcitas intellectus, qui non considerat illud quod prius videt, et sine quo nihil potest cognoscere: sed sicuti oculus intentus in varias colorum differentias, lucem per quam videt cætera, non videt, et si videt non tamen advertit: sic oculus mentis nostræ intentus in ista entia particularia, et universalia, ipsum esse extra omne genus, licet primo occurrat menti, et per ipsum alia, tamen non advertit; unde verissime apparet, quod sicut oculus vespertilionis se habet ad lucem: ita se habet oculus mentis nostræ ad manifestissima naturæ. Quia assuefactus ad tenebras entium, et phantasmata sensibilium, cum ipsam lucem summi[1] *entis intuetur, videtur sibi nihil videre: non intelligens, quod ipsa caligo summa est mentis nostræ illuminatio, sicut quando videt oculus puram lucem, videtur sibi nihil videre.*

By this which hath been said it is evident, that according to the course of nature not disordered, nor put out of course, the first thing that is inquired after, thought of and known, is God; and that he is the first good that is desired and loved, and that no other thing is desired or loved but after him, and for him. So that none of the things formerly mentioned can be found in the nature of man, unless it be put out of course. Whence groweth the contrariety between the meaner and better, superior and inferior faculties of the soul but from hence, that the soul in this state of her aversion from God, taketh the beginning of all her knowledge from the senses, apprehendeth particular things as good upon the first view, and to be desired, which afterwards, upon better consideration, in respects not considered at the first, she findeth are not good nor desirable? And whence is the rebellion

[1] Esse.

of the inferior against the superior but from hence, that the superior having cast off the dependance it formerly had upon God and respect unto him, the inferior also casteth off the respect it had to it? *Quid justius esse poterat, quam talionem recipere? Vita Deus animæ est, ipsa corporis; peccando voluntarie velens perdidit vivere, nolens perdat et vivificare; sponte repulit vitam cum vivere noluit, non valeat eam dare cui, vel quatenus voluerit; noluit anima regi a Deo, non queat regere corpus: si non non paret superiori, inferiori cur imperet? Invenit conditor suam sibi rebellem creaturam, inveniat anima suam sibi rebellem pedissequam; transgressor inventus est homo divinæ legis, inveniat ipse aliam legem in membris suis repugnantem legi mentis suæ, et captivantem se in legem peccati: porro peccatum separat inter nos et Deum, separet proinde mors inter corpus nostrum et nos*[1].

From hence likewise is that danger of erring whereutno man is subject; for apprehending particular things first, his knowledge is imperfect and confused, and not without much labour, and danger of erring, doth he come to the distinct knowledge of any thing. And hence also floweth that ignorance that is found in men; for taking the beginning of all the knowledge they have from the senses, they know no more touching any thing than may be discerned by the accidents and outward effects of it, and so never come to know any thing in the essence of it, or immediately as it is in itself. So that according to that which before I noted, out of the book called *Destructorium Vitiorum*, as a man may know in the dark, the length, breadth, and other dimensions of a thing, but not whether it be fair or foul, white or black; so men in this obscurity of discerning, may find out that there is a God, and that he is the beginning and cause of all things: but they cannot know how fair, how good, how merciful, and how glorious he is, that so they may love him, fear him, honour him, and trust in him as God, unless they have an illumination of grace.

The difference therefore between those of the Church of Rome and us, touching original sin, consisteth in two points.

[1] Bernard. Serm. ad Milit. Templi, c. 11. de Sepulchro. [Tom I. col. 552. Par. 1690.]

First, in that they make the former defects of ignorance, difficulty to do good, proneness to evil, contrariety between the powers of the soul, and the rebellion of the meaner and inferior against the better and superior, consequents of nature, as it might and would be in itself simply considered, without all defection and falling from God: that original righteousness was given, to prevent and stay the effects that these naturally would have brought forth, and that these are not the consequents of Adam's sin, but that only the leaving of them free to themselves to disorder all, is a consequent of the loss of that righteousness which was given to Adam, and by him forfeited and lost: that they proceed from the guilt of sin, but that they make not them guilty in whom they are. But we say that these are no conditions of nature simply considered; that they cannot be found but where there is a falling from God, that they are the consequents of Adam's sinful aversion from God his Creator, that they are a part of original sin, and that they make men guilty of grievous punishment, so long as they remain in them.

The second thing is, that original sin is indeed according to their opinion the privation of original righteousness: but as original righteousness was not given simply to enable men to decline evil and do good, but collectively, constantly, and meritoriously, to decline evil and do good; so the privation of it doth not deprive men of all power of declining evil and doing good, but only of the power of declining all evil, and doing all good collectively and meritoriously. But we say, that original righteousness was given simply to enable men to decline evil and to do good, and that without it the nature of man could not perform her proper and principal actions, about her principal objects: so that the privation of it depriveth a man of all power of knowing, loving, fearing, honouring, or glorifying God as God, and of all power of doing any thing morally good or not sinful; and putteth him into an estate, wherein he cannot but love and desire things that God would not, or so as he would not have him; yea, of loving other things more than God; and so as to dishonour God in any kind, rather than not to enjoy the things he desires.

So that if we speak of original sin formally, it is the privation of those excellent gifts of divine grace, enabling us

to know, love, fear, serve, honour, and trust in God, and to do the things he delighteth in, which Adam had and lost. If materially, it is that habitual inclination that is found in men averse from God, carrying them to the love and desire of finite things more than of God; and this also is properly sin, making guilty of condemnation the nature and person in which it is found. This habitual inclination to desire finite things inordinately, is named concupiscence; and this concupiscence is twofold, as Alensis[1] noteth out of Hugo, for there is *concupiscentia spiritus*, and *concupiscentia carnis;* there is a concupiscence of the spirit, or superior faculties, and of the flesh or inferior; the former is sin, the latter sin and punishment. For what is more just than that the will refusing to be ordered by God, and desiring what he would not have it, should find the inferior faculties rebellious, and inclined to desire things the will would have to be declined?

It remaineth therefore that we proceed to prove that this doctrine was received, taught, and continued in the Churches wherein our fathers lived and died, till and after Luther's time. I have shewed already that Gregorius Ariminensis professeth, that Adam, in the state of his creation, was not enabled to perform any act morally good, or so to do any good thing, as not to sin in doing it, by any thing in nature, without the addition of grace; which thing he proveth out of the Master of the Sentences[2], whose words are these, speaking of the first man before his fall: *Egebat itaque homo gratia, non ut liberaret voluntatem suam quæ peccati serva non fuerat, sed ut præpararet ad volendum efficaciter bonum, quod per se non poterat:* that is: "The first man needed grace, not to free his will, for it never had been in bondage, but to prepare and fit it effectually to will that which is good, which of itself it could not do."

And he confirmeth the same out of St Augustine[3]; his words are these: *Istam gratiam non habuit homo primus, qua nunquam vellet esse malus; sed habuit in qua si permanere vellet, nunquam malus esset; et sine qua etiam cum libero arbitrio bonus esse non posset; sed eam tamen per*

[1] p. 2. Q. 105. Memb. 2. Art. 1.

[2] 2 Sent. D. 29.

[3] De Correption. et Grat. c. 11. [Tom. x. col. 767. c.]

liberum arbitrium deserere posset; nec ipsum ergo Deus esse voluit sine sua gratia, quem reliquit in ejus libero arbitrio, quoniam liberum arbitrium ad malum sufficit, ad bonum autem parum[1] *est, nisi adjuvetur ab omnipotenti bono: quod adjutorium si homo ille per liberum non deservisset arbitrium, semper esset bonus, sed deservit, et desertus est:* that is: "The first man had not that grace, that might make him so will good as never to become evil; but truly he had that wherein, if he would have continued, he should never have been evil, and without which, notwithstanding all the freedom of his will, he could not be good; yet by the freedom of his will he might lose it: wherefore God would not have him to be without his grace, whom he left in the freedom of his will, because free will is sufficient of itself to do evil;" but it is of little force (or rather, as the true reading is, of no force, and nothing) "to do good, unless it be holpen of the omnipotent good; which help if man had not forsaken by his free will, he had ever been good; but he forsook it, and was forsaken."

Thirdly, he proveth the same in this sort: *Si Adam ante peccatum potuisset per suas vires naturales præcise agere actum moraliter bonum, ipse potuisset facere se de non bono bonum, posito quod aliquando fuisset sine omni actu voluntatis, cum suis tantum naturalibus; aut de bono meliorem, Deo illum non specialiter adjuvante:* that is: "If Adam had power before the entrance of sin precisely by the strength of his natural faculties to do an act morally good, then he might have made himself good of not good, supposing that sometimes in the state of mere nature he had no act of will; or at the least he might have made himself of good better, without the special help of God;" but this consequent must not be admitted: for if Adam might thus have done, the good angels might have done so; but that is contrary to St Augustine[2], his words are these: *Si boni angeli fuerunt prius sine bona voluntate, eamque in seipsis Deo non operante fecerunt: ergo meliores a seipsis, quam ab illo facti sunt; absit. At si non potuerunt seipsos facere meliores, quam eos ille fecerat, quo nemo melius quicquam facit: profecto et bonam voluntatem qua meliores essent, nisi ope-*

[1] Nihil.

[2] De Civitate Dei, Lib. XII. c. 9. [Tom. VII. col. 307. E.]

rante adjutorio Creatoris, habere non possent: that is: "If the good angels were first without any good motion of will, or the goodness of the will, and afterwards, God not working, wrought it in themselves, then they made themselves better than they were made of him, which God forbid we should ever think. But if they could not make themselves better than he made them, than whom no man can do any thing better, truly unless the help of their Creator wrought them to it, they could not have that goodness of will whereby they might become better then they were before."

That which he thus proveth touching the state of man before the fall, is undoubtedly true in the state of the fall; and therefore all the most pious and judicious men in every age have taught as we now do, that since the fall of Adam, there is no power left in any of his posterity before they be renewed by grace, to decline sin, or to do any work morally good, and that may be truly named a work of virtue. And these cannot but farther agree with Ariminensis and us touching the impotency of nature before the entrance of sin, to do any good act, or act of virtue, of itself, without the addition of grace. For if grace had not been given in the state of the creation simply to enable to do good, but that there had been a power of doing good in nature, without and before the addition of grace, then, upon the loss of it, there had followed no such impotency in the present state, as these men affirm there did, and they that hold the other opinion deny. All these affirm that all the posterity of Adam are plunged into such an estate of ignorance by this fall, that without special illumination of grace, they know not sufficiently concerning any thing that is to be done or committed, that it is to be done or committed, and wherefore, and in what sort: and into such an estate of infirmity and impotency in respect of the will, that they cannot will any thing that is to be willed, for such cause and in such sort as it is to be willed, and with such circumstances as are required, to make an act to be morally good and truly virtuous.

St Austin[1] saith, that "Adam and Eve, so soon as they had sinned, were cast headlong into error, misery, and death, and that it was most just they should so be;" for what, saith he, is more just than *ut amittat quisque quo bene uti noluit,*

[1] De Libero Arbit. Lib. III. cap. 18. [Tom. I. col. 631. D.]

cum sine ulla posset difficultate si vellet; id est, ut qui sciens recte non facit, amittat scire quid rectum sit; et qui recte facere, cum posset, noluit, amittat posse cum velit? "that every one should lose that which when with ease he might he would not use well; that is, that he that having knowledge doth not right, should lose the knowledge of that which is right; and that he that would not do well when he might, should lose the power of doing well when he would." And elsewhere[1], speaking of the first sin of the angels and men, he saith, that when they fell, *subintravit ignorantia rerum agendarum, et concupiscentia noxiarum;* that is, "there entered in ignorance of things to be done, and desire of things hurtful that are to be declined." Prosper[2], in his book in defence of the preachers of grace against Cassian, reprehendeth him because he had said, in his collation *De Protectione Dei*, that Adam gained the knowledge of evil after his fall, but lost not the knowledge of good which he had received; and telleth him that both these propositions are untrue: so that he thinketh that Adam lost the knowledge of good.

Hugo de Sancto Victore[3] saith, the first man was endued

[1] Enchirid. c. 24. [Tom. VI. col. 265. F.]

[2] "His itaque definitionibus hoc docetur, hoc scribitur, hoc editis disputationibus prædicatur; quod, Adam peccante, anima ejus læsa non fuerit, sanumque in eo manserit unde peccavit, siquidem scientiam boni quam acceperat non amiserit."—Prosper. cap. 39. [al. 20. col. 361. Par. 1711.]

[3] "Rerum enim omnium visibilium, quæ cum homine et propter hominem factæ erant, perfectam cognitionem hominem accepisse, nulli dubium esse debet; quantum videlicet sive ad animæ eruditionem, sive ad corporalis usus necessitudinem pertinere videbatur.

"Hanc autem scientiam, quemadmodum et illam qua carnis suæ commoda et necessaria providere debuerat, quia homo peccando non perdidit, idcirco Deus postmodum illum per scripturas suas de ejusmodi erudire non curavit. De scientia vero animæ sola idcirco homo cum reparabatur erudiendus fuit, quoniam solam illam prius peccando amisit.

"Cognovit ergo homo Creatorem suum, non ea cognitione quæ foris ex auditu solo percipitur, sed ea quæ potius intus per inspirationem ministratur: non ea quidem qua Deus modo a credentibus absens fide quæritur, sed ea qua tunc per præsentiam contemplationis scienti manifestius cernebatur. Modum vero cognitionis divinæ, quam ille primus homo habuisse creditur, explicare difficile est, excepto eo quod

with a threefold knowledge, *cognitione scilicet Creatoris sui, ut cognosceret a quo factus erat; et cognitione sui, ut cognosceret quid factus erat, et quid sibi faciendum erat; deinde cognitione quoque illius quod secum factum erat, et quid sibi de illo, et in illo faciendum erat:* that is, "he was endued with knowledge of his Creator, that he might know of whom he was made; with knowledge of himself, that he might know what he was made, and what he was to do; lastly, with knowledge of that which was made together with him, and what he was to do with and in it. For no man is to doubt but that man had perfect knowledge of all those visible things that were made for him and with him, as much as pertained either to the instruction of his soul or the necessity of bodily use. This knowledge man hath not lost by the fall, neither that whereby he was to provide things necessary for the flesh; and therefore God was not careful afterwards to instruct him touching these things by the scriptures, but he was to be taught that knowledge that concerneth the soul only, when he was to be restored, because he had lost that only by sinning." And in the same place, he excellently describeth the knowledge of God that Adam had, to have been not by hearing only from without, as now, but by inspiration within; not that whereby now believers by faith seek after God as absent, but that whereby, by presence of contemplation, he was more manifestly seen of him as knowing him; and concludeth, it is hard to express the manner of the divine knowledge the first man had, but that only this is certain, that, being taught visibly by inward inspiration, he could no way doubt of his Creator.

In like sort the same Hugo[1] sheweth most excellently,

diximus, quod per internam inspirationem visibiliter edoctus nullatenus de ipso Creatore suo dubitare potuit."—De Sacram. Fid. Lib. I. Part. 6. cap. 12, 13, 14. Hugo de S. Vict. [Tom. III. p. 386. Mogunt. 1617.]

[1] "Duo quædam posuerat Deus in homine a principio, quibus natura illius tota regeretur et conduceretur ad consummationem finis sui. Duo hæc erant appetitus justi et appetitus commodi. Unum, id est, appetitum justi dederat, ut inesset ad voluntatem. Alterum, id est appetitum commodi dederat, ut inesset secundum necessitatem. Unum voluntarium: alterum necessarium. Appetitum justi propterea voluntarium esse voluit, ut in eo promeretur homo sive bonum, si videlicet eum retineret cum posset deserere, sive malum si eum desereret cum posset retinere. Appetitum autem commodi propterea necessarium

that man hath lost all rectitude of will; "for whereas there was given to man a double desire, *justi et commodi*, of that which is just, and that which is pleasing; the one voluntary, the other necessary; that by the one he might merit or demerit, by the other he might be punished or rewarded (for if he had no desire of that is pleasing, he could neither be rewarded by having, nor punished by being deprived); he hath lost the one, and is punished in the other which remaineth, when either he is kept from enjoying the things he orderly desireth, or left free to desire such things as orderly are not to be desired." If man have lost all desire of that which is just, as just, as here he saith he hath, then surely he sinneth in all his actions, and is deprived of all moral rectitude; for what moral rectitude is in him that loveth nothing because it is just, farther than it may be commodious, and in that respect pleasing?

The schoolmen are wont to urge, that a man may naturally love God above all; for seeing he naturally loveth that which appeareth unto him to be good, why should he not love God above all, who is the chief good? To this Luther's answer is this, that there is a twofold love; for there is *amor amicitiæ*, and *amor Concupiscentiæ;* a love whereby a man willeth the good of him that he loveth, and a love whereby he desireth to make use of the good of that he loveth, and to make it serve his turn. In the first sort, a man loveth his friend; by the latter, his horse: now, saith Luther, it is true that every sinful man loveth God with the latter kind of love, desiring to make use of God to serve his own turn; but it is not possible for a natural man to love God as a man loveth his friend, that is, to desire that God may rule and reign, and be glorified as God; to rejoice when his will is done, though it be contrary to that we desire; to be grieved when he is offended. And this, surely, is con-

voluit esse Deus, quatenus in eo remuneraretur homo, sive ad pœnam, si alterum, id est, appetitum justi desereret; sive ad gloriam, si eundem appetitum, scilicet justi, retineret.

"Quia ergo homo appetitum justi deserens peccavit, in retento appetitu commodi punitus est. In quo quidem dupliciter punitur, sive cum ab iis quæ ordinate appetit restringitur, sive cum ad alia commoda, quæ ordinate appeti non possunt appetenda, relaxatur."—Ibid. Part. VII. cap. 11. 17. [pp. 394. 396.]

firmed by Bernard[1]; for he saith that "there are four degrees of love: for first, a man loveth nothing but himself: secondly, he loveth other things, and amongst other things God for himself, finding that he cannot be without him: thirdly, he loveth God, for God: fourthly, he loveth himself for God." The two former are natural, and, as I think, sinful: the two latter, I am well assured, in the judgment of St Bernard, proceed from grace and not from nature; for he saith: "that is first that is natural, and then that which is spiritual; and that scarce any of the elect of God go beyond the first of these two latter degrees in this life." So that according to that which before I alleged out of Gregorius Ariminensis, every one that willleth any thing, either willeth God, or some other thing that is not God: if God, and not for God, but for some other thing expected to be had from him or by him, this is *uti fruendis*, to make use of that for the having of some thing as more loved, that should be enjoyed as the best and most loved of all other things; and this is most perverse, as St Augustine telleth us. If we love any thing else besides God, and not for God, it is likewise an iniquity. So that, seeing naturally it is impossible to love for God, it is impossible to love any thing rightly; and, consequently, all the actions of natural and unregenerate men are sin. And that they are so indeed, it is proved by such authorities as may not be excepted against. Cyprian[2], *de bono patientiæ in principio*, saith, the true virtue of patience cannot be in infidels; now there is the same reason of one virtue and of all. His words are these: *Hanc se sectari philosophi quoque profitentur, sed tam illis patientia est falsa, quam et falsa sapientia; unde enim vel sapiens esse vel patiens*

[1] "In primis diligit seipsum homo propter se. Caro quippe est, et nil sapere valet præter se. Cumque se videt per se non posse subsistere, Deum, sibi quasi necessarium, incipit per fidem inquirere et diligere. Diligit itaque, in secundo gradu, Deum; sed propter se, non propter ipsum. At vero cum ipsum cœperit occasione propriæ necessitatis colere et frequentare, cogitando, legendo, orando, obediendo, sic transit ad tertium gradum, ut diligat Deum, non jam propter se, sed propter ipsum. Sane in hoc gradu statur: et nescio si a quoquam hominum quartus in hac vita perfecte apprehenditur, ut se scilicet homo diligat tantum propter Deum."—Bernard. Epist. xi. [Tom. I. col. 31. Par. 1719.]

[2] Cyprian. De Bono Patient. [p. 210. Oxon. 1682.]

posset, qui nec sapientiam nec patientiam Dei novit, quando ipse de iis, qui sibi sapere in mundo videntur, moneat et dicat, perdam sapientiam sapientum, et prudentiam prudentum reprobabo? Augustine saith[1]: "Thou wilt say, If

[1] "Si gentilis, inquis, nudum operuerit, numquid quia non est ex fide peccatum est? Prorsus in quantum non est ex fide peccatum est; non quia per se ipsum factum quod est nudum operire peccatum est, sed de tali opere non in Domino gloriari solus impius negat esse peccatum. Quod ut intelligas quamvis jam satis inde fuerit disputatum, tamen quia magna res est, adhuc paulisper ausculta. Ecce eadem commemorabo quæ ipse posuisti: Si gentilis, qui non vivit ex fide, malum operuerit, periclitantem liberavit, ægri vulnera foverit, divitias honestæ amicitiæ impenderit, ad testimonium falsum nec tormentis potuerit impelli, quæro abs te utrum hæc opera bona bene faciat an male. Si enim quamvis bona male tamen facit, negare non potes eum peccare qui male quodlibet facit. Sed quia eum nonvis cum facit ita peccare, profecto dicturus es, Et bona facit et bene. Fructus ergo bonos facit arbor mala, quod fieri non posse Veritas dicit. An dicis hominem infidelem arborem bonam? Placet ergo Deo, neque enim bono potest non placere quod bonum est. Sed forte dicturus es, Misericors voluntas bona est. Recte istud diceretur, si quemadmodum fides Christi, id est, fides quæ per dilectionem operatur, semper est bona, ita misericordia semper esset bona; si autem reperitur et misericordia mala, qua persona pauperis accipitur in judicio, propter quam postremo rex Saul meruit a Domino utique misericorde damnari, quia contra ejus præceptum captivo regi per humanum pepercit affectum, attentius cogita ne forte misericordia bona non sit, nisi quæ hujus bonæ fidei fuerit. Imo responde, ut hoc sine dubitatione perspicias, utrum bonam misericordiam existimes infidelem. Porro si vitium est male misereri, proculdubio vitium est infideliter misereri. Quod si et ipsa per scipsam naturali compassione opus est bonum, etiam isto bono male utitur qui infideliter utitur, et hoc bonum male facit, qui infideliter facit, qui autem male facit aliquid, profecto peccat. Ex quo colligitur etiam ipsa bona opera quæ faciunt infideles, non ipsorum esse, sed illius qui bene utitur malis. Ipsorum autem esse peccata, quibus et bona male faciunt, quia ea non fideli, sed infideli, hoc est, stulta et noxia voluntate faciunt. Qualis voluntas, nullo Christiano dubitante, est arbor mala, quæ facere non potest nisi fructus malos, id est, sola peccata. Omne enim, velis nolis, quod non est ex fide, peccatum est. Sed responsurus es, Quid nisi vana? Ego, inquis, steriliter bonos dixi homines qui non propter Deum faciendo bona quæ faciunt, non ab eo vitam consequuntur æternam.... Aut ergo intellige quod ait Dominus, 'Si oculus tuus nequam est, totum corpus tuum tenebrosum erit; si autem oculus tuus simplex est, totum corpus lucidum erit:' et hunc oculum agnosce intentionem qua facit quisque quod facit, et per hoc

a Gentile shall clothe the naked, is it sin, because it is not of faith? Truly, in that it is not of faith, it is sin; not because the action of clothing the naked in itself is sin, but to glory in such a work, and not in the Lord, none but an impious man will deny to be sin. If a Gentile that liveth not by faith, shall clothe the naked, deliver him that is in danger, bind up the wounds of him that is wounded, bestow his goods to honest and friendly purposes, and shall not suffer himself to be brought, by any torments, to bear false witness; I ask of thee, whether he do these good works well or ill. For if he do these things ill that are good, thou canst not deny but that he sinneth that doth any thing ill: if thou say, He does these good things, and doth them well; then an evil tree bringeth forth good fruit, which He, that is truth itself, said cannot be. If thou shalt say that a man that is an infidel a good tree, then he pleaseth God; for that which is good cannot but please God who is good."

But Julian the Pelagian answereth, as the papists do at this day: "I acknowledge," saith he, "that they are *steriliter boni*, that is, their good is barren and bringeth forth no

disce eum qui non facit opera bona intentione fidei bonæ, i. e. ejus quæ per dilectionem operatur, totum quasi corpus quod illis velut membris operibus constat tenebrosum esse, i. e. plenum nigredine peccatorum. Aut certe quoniam saltem concedis opera infidelium, quæ tibi eorum videntur bona, non tamen eos ad salutem sempiternam regnumque perducere, scito nos illud bonum hominum dicere, illam voluntatem bonam, illud opus bonum, sine Dei gratia quæ datur per unum Mediatorem Dei et hominum, nemini posse conferri, per quod solum homo potest ad æternum Dei donum regnumque perduci. Omnia proinde cetera quæ videntur inter homines habere aliquid laudis, videantur tibi virtutes veræ, videantur opera bona, et sine ullo facta peccato. Quod ad me pertinet, hoc scio, quia non ea facit voluntas bona; voluntas quippe infidelis atque impia non est bona. Dicantur secundum te hujusmodi voluntates arbores bonæ, sufficit quod apud Deum steriles sunt, ac per hoc non bonæ; sint inter homines fructuosæ, inter quos sunt et bonæ, te auctore, te laudatore, te etiam, si vis, plantatore; dum tamen illud velis nobis obtineam, quod amor mundi quo quisque amicus est hujus mundi, non est a Deo, amorque fruendi quibuscumque creaturis sine amore Creatoris non est a Deo: amor autem Dei quo pervenitur ad Deum, non est nisi a Deo Patre per Jesum Christum cum Spiritu Sancto. Per hunc amorem Creatoris bene quisque utitur etiam creaturis."—August. contra Julianum Pelagianum, Lib. IV. cap. 3. [Tom. X. col. 600.]

fruit, who, not doing the good things they do for God, receive not from him the reward of eternal life." The answer of St Augustine is out of the sixth of Matthew: "If thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness, &c. Know that this eye is the intention with which every one doth that he doth: and learn by this, that he that doth not his good works out of a good intention of a good faith, that is, of that faith that worketh by love; all the whole body, that consisteth of such works as members, is full of darkness, that is, the blackness of sins. Or, truly, because thou grantest that such works of infidels as seem to thee to be good, bring them not to eternal salvation and the kingdom of heaven; know thou that we say that that good will, that good work by which only a man may be brought to the everlasting gift and kingdom of God, can be given to none without that grace that is given by Him that is the only Mediator between God and man. All other things that seem to be commendable amongst men, let them seem to thee to be true virtues, let them seem to thee to be good works, and done without all sin; for my part this I know, that the will is not good that doth them; for an unbelieving will and ungodly is not good. Let these wills be, according to thy judgment, good trees; it sufficeth that with God, or in God's judgment, they are barren, and so not good. Let them be fruitful amongst men, amongst whom also they are good, upon thy credit and authority, thy commendation, thy planting, if thou wilt have it so: so that I obtain this, whether thou wilt or not, that the love of this world, whereby every one is a friend of this world, is not of God; and that the love that maketh a man enjoy the creatures whatsoever they be, without the love of the Creator as the chiefest and uttermost good, is not of God. Now the love of God, whereby we come to God, is not but from God the Father by Jesus, together with the Holy Ghost. By this love of the Creator, each one useth the creatures rightly; and without this love of the Creator, no man useth the creatures well.

And again[1]: *Noveris non officiis, sed finibus a vitiis discernendas esse virtutes. Officium est autem quod faciendum est; finis vero propter quod faciendum est. Cum itaque facit homo aliquid ubi peccare non videtur, si non*

[1] "Noveris," &c —[Ibid. col. 596.]

propter hoc facit propter quod facere debet, peccare convincitur. Quæ tu non attendens fines ab officiis separasti, et virtutes veras officia sine finibus appellandas esse dixisti. Ex quo te tanta absurditas sequitur, ut veram cogaris appellare justitiam, etiam cujus dominam repereris avaritiam. Siquidem manus abstinere ab alieno, si officium cogites, potest videri esse justitiæ. Sed cum quæritur, Quare fiat? et respondetur, Ne plus pecuniæ litibus pereat: quomodo jam hoc factum veræ poterit esse justitiæ, cum serviat avaritiæ?

And again[1]: *Absit ut virtutes veræ cuiquam serviant, nisi illi vel propter illum cui dicimus,* Psal. lxxix. *Deus virtutum, converte nos. Proinde virtutes, quæ carnalibus delectationibus, vel quibuscunque commodis et emolumentis temporalibus serviunt, veræ prorsus esse non possunt. Quæ autem nulli rei servire volunt, nec ipsæ veræ sunt. Veræ quippe virtutes Deo serviunt in hominibus, a quo donantur hominibus. Quicquid autem boni sit ab homine, et non propter hoc sit propter quod fieri debere vera sapientia præcipit, etsi officio videatur bonum, ipso non recto fine peccatum est; et ideo, Virtutes*[2]*, non relatæ ad Deum, vitia potius sunt quam virtutes: nam licet a quibusdam tunc veræ et honestæ putentur esse virtutes, cum ad seipsas referuntur, nec propter aliud expetuntur, etiam tunc inflatæ ac superbæ sunt: et ideo non virtutes virtutes, sed vitia judicandæ sunt. Bona opera*[3] *extra fidem simillima sunt celerrimo cursui extra viam.*

And again[4]: *Quamlibet videatur animus corpori, et ratio vitiis, laudabiliter imperare, si tamen Deo animus et ratio ipsa non servit, sicut sibi serviendum esse ipse Deus præcepit, nullo modo corpori vitiisque recte imperat. Nam qualis corporis atque vitiorum potest esse mens domina, veri Dei nescia, nec ejus imperio subjugata, sed vitiosissimis dæmonibus corrumpentibus prostituta? Proinde virtutes quas sibi habere videtur, per quas imperat corpori et vitiis ad quodlibet adipiscendum vel tenendum, nisi ad Deum retulerit, etiam ipsæ vitia sunt potius quam virtutes.*

[1] Ibid.

[2] "Virtutes," &c.—Id. de Civ. Dei, Lib. XIX. cap. 25. [Tom. VII. col. 571. A.]

[3] "Bona opera," &c.—In Ps. xxxi. Enarr. 1. [Tom. IV. col. 172. D.]

[4] De Civ. Dei, ubi supr.

Prosper[1] agrees with St Austin; his words are these: *Sine cultu veri Dei etiam quod virtus videtur esse, peccatum est; nec placere ullus Deo sine Deo potest: qui vero Deo non placet, cui nisi sibi et diabolo placet?* that is, "Without the worship of the true God, even that which seemeth to be virtue is sin; neither can any man please God without God: and whom doth he please, that pleaseth not God, but himself and the devil?" And the same Prosper, in his third book, *De Vita Contemplativa*[2]: *Apostolus non dixit, Omne quod non est ex fide, nihil est; sed dicendo, Omne quod non est ex fide, peccatum est; declaravit quod omnia gesta, si non fuerint ex fide, non sint aliqua bona credenda, sed vitia, quæ non juvant suos operarios, sed condemnant, inflatosque præcipitant, atque a finibus æternæ salutis eliminant;* that is, "The apostle did not say, Whatsoever is not of faith is nothing; but by saying it is sin, he declareth that whatsoever things have not been done out of faith, are not to be thought good, but faults and vices, which do not help the workers of them, but condemn them, and cast them headlong down being puffed up, and banish them out of the confines of eternal salvation." And the same Prosper in another place[3]: *Omnis infidelium vita peccatum est, et nihil bonum sine summo bono; ubi enim deest agnitio æternæ et incommutabilis Veritatis, falsa virtus est etiam in optimis moribus:* that is, "The whole life of infidels is sin, and there is nothing good without the chief good; and wheresoever the knowledge of the eternal and incommutable Verity is wanting, let a man's manners be never so good, it is no true virtue he seemeth to have."

"There is nothing good without faith," saith Chrysostome, "and that I may use a similitude, and make a comparison, they that flourish in good works and know not God, seem to me to be like the relics of the dead wrapped up fairly." Basil[4] in his second book, *De Baptismate*, proposing the ques-

[1] [Pseudo] Prosper. de Vocat. Gentium, cap. vii. [col. 853. Par. 1711.]

[2] Cap. 1. [Sive Julian. Pomer. inter Opp. Prosperi, Append. col. 49. A.]

[3] Lib. Sent. ex Augustino, Sent. 106. [col. 557.]

[4] "Διόπερ παρακαλῶ, ὡς διδάσκει ὁ Κύριος, ποιήσωμεν τὸ δένδρον καλὸν, καὶ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ καλὸν, καὶ καθαρίσωμεν πρῶτον τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ

tion, whether it be possible, or whether it be acceptable to God, that he that serveth sin should do the works of righteousness, bringeth the explication of this question out of the Old Testament, where God saith, "the sinner that offereth to me a calf, is as he that killeth a dog;" and in the New Testament the Lord saith, "He that doth sin, is the servant of sin," and "No man can serve two masters:" wherefore, we are to be exhorted to make the tree good and her fruit good; and first to purge and make clean that which is in the inside of the cup and of the platter, and then all that is without will be clean.

Gregory[1] in his Morals, writing upon those words of Job, "If my mouth have kissed my hand," hath these words: *Sancti viri sciunt se non virtute propria sed præveniente superna gratia ad meliora vota vel opera commutatos; et quicquid sibi mali inesse cognoscunt, de mortali propagine sentiunt meritum: quicquid vero boni in se inspiciunt, immortalis gratiæ cognoscunt donum, eique de accepto munere debitores fiunt, qui et præveniendo, dedit eis bonum velle quod voluerunt, et subsequendo, concessit bonum posse quod volunt.* Let them that are otherwise minded tell us, whether the moral actions of infidels be good or evil: if good, then they are from grace, whereof they are not partakers; if evil, then have they the thing proved about which we contend.

Beda[2], writing upon the fourteenth to the Romans upon those words, "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin," saith, as Prosper, "that all the whole life of infidels is sin; that nothing is good without the chief good; that where the knowledge of the eternal and incommutable Verity is not, if the manners and conversation of them that have it not be never so good, they have no true virtue."

Bernard[3], in his book *De Gratia et libero Arbitrio: Liberi arbitrii conatus ad bonum et cassi sunt, si non*

ποτηρίου καὶ τῆς παροψίδος, καὶ τότε τὸ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ ἔσται καθαρὸν ὅλον." —Quæst. vii. [Tom. II. p. 660. Par. 1722.]

[1] Lib. XXII. cap. 10. super 31 cap. Job. [Tom. I. col. 708. Par. 1705.]

[2] "Omnis infidelium vita peccatum est, et nihil bonum sine summo bono. Ubi enim deest agnitio æternæ et incommutabilis Veritatis, falsa virtus est etiam in optimis moribus."—Beda in Rom. xiv. [Tom. VI. col. 245. Col. Agr. 1612.]

[3] Bernard. cap. 40. [al. 13. Tom. I. col. 625. Par. 1719.]

gratia adjuventur; et nulli, si non excitentur: cæterum in malum, dicit Scriptura, proni sunt sensus et cogitationes hominis: that is, "The endeavouring of free will to do good is in vain, if it be not holpen by grace, and none at all, if it be not stirred up by grace; but the Scripture saith the senses and thoughts of men are prone to evil." Neither can they say that he speaketh only of meritorious good, and such as is rewardable in heaven; for he speaketh generally, of good; as it appeareth, in that he opposeth it, not to some other kind of good, but to evil.

Anselm[1], archbishop of Canterbury, fully agreeth with the rest, affirming, in the same words that Prosper and Beda did before, "that the whole life of infidels is sin, that there is nothing good without the chief good, and that where the knowledge of the eternal and incommutable Verity is wanting, if the manners and conversation of them that have it not, be never so good and commendable, they have no true virtue." Peter Lombard[2], the master of the sentences, sometime bishop of Paris, writing upon the same place, hath the same words; and so hath the ordinary Gloss.

Grosthead[3], the renowned bishop of Lincoln, in his sermon upon the Advent, the beginning whereof is this: "'There shall be signs in the sun and in the moon,' hath these words:

[1] Comment. in Rom. xiv. [p. 89. Col. Agr. 1612.]

[2] Petrus Lombardus in Rom. xiv. [fol. 62. D. Par. 1535.]

[3] Item Lincolniensis in suo sermone de Adventu, cui initium est: Erunt signa in sole et luna, ait sic: 'In doctrina quoque morali philosophorum, et in conversatione multorum Gentilium, ut Scipionum et Africanorum, videbantur lucere splendidæ stellæ virtutum: sed nunc vere manifestum est, quia sine Christi fide nulla esse vera virtus in alicujus doctrina seu conversatione.' Hoc ipse asserit et dicit fuisse de intentione beati Augustini, in suo Enchiridio, ubi tractans de quatuor virtutibus cardinalibus, et quærens an Cato et Scipiones ejusmodi virtutes habuerint, ait sic: Concedimus cum Augustino quia sine fide Jesu Christi nullus unquam virtutes habuit aut habere potuit, et probat immediate sic: Non enim, &c.... Ex his patet propositum: quoniam si sine auxilio Dei speciali non potest haberi vera virtus moralis, ut evidenter apparet ipse sensisse, igitur nec fieri actus moraliter bonus. Item, si sine auxilio Dei non potest esse amor ordinatus, ut ipse vult, igitur nec actus moraliter bonus; quoniam omnis actus virtuosus est amor ordinatus vel ipsum negotio præsupponens."—Citatus ab Ariminensi. [Gregorio.] In ii. Sent. Dist. xxvi, xxvii, xxviii. Qu. 1. Art. 1. [fol. 87. Ven. 1503.]

'Bright and glittering stars of virtue seemed to shine and appear in the moral doctrine of natural men, and in the conversation of many Gentiles, as of the Scipios and others; but now it is truly manifest and clear, that without the faith of Christ, there is no true virtue in the doctrine or conversation of any man.' And, in his Enchiridion[1], he saith, that this was the opinion of St Augustine; where, treating of the four cardinal virtues, and proposing the question, whether Cato and the Scipios had such virtues, he saith thus: 'We grant, with Augustine, that no man ever had, or could have, true virtue, without the faith of Jesus Christ;' and proveth it immediately after in this sort: *Non enim potest esse amor ordinatus, ubi contemnitur et non amatur quod maxime amandum est, cum non ametur nisi quod scitur aut creditur: unde patet, quod qui nescit aut non credit Dominum Jesum Christum, non amat aut contemnit quod maxime amandum est; quapropter in tali virtus non est: quod etiam probat Augustinus talibus argumentis, dicens, Absit ut in aliquo sit vera virtus nisi sit justus, &c.*, that is: 'There can be no orderly love of things where that is contemned and not loved, that is to be loved most of all; whence it is clear and evident, that, seeing nothing can be loved but that which is known or believed, he who knoweth not or believeth not the Lord Jesus Christ, contemneth, or at least loveth not, that which is most of all to be beloved, and therefore in such a one there can be no true virtue; which also Augustine proveth by arguments of this sort, saying: God forbid that true virtue should be conceived to be in any man unless he be just, &c.'" By these passages of the bishop of Lincoln, it appeareth, saith Ariminensis, that he thought, as we do, that no act, morally good, can be done without the special grace of God; for if there be no virtue without such grace, then can there be no act morally good: which is yet more fully cleared; for every virtuous and moral good act either is orderly love, or presupposeth it: so that if there can be no orderly love without God's grace, there can be no act of virtue, or act morally good. With this famous bishop of Lincoln we may join Thomas Bradwardine, the no less famous and renowned archbishop of Canterbury, who in his *Summe de causa Dei contra Pelagium*, at large confirmeth and

[1] Cap. 37.

proveth the same. So that it seemeth by Beda, Anselm, Grosthead, and this Bradwardine, that this was ever the doctrine of the Church of England, as now it is.

Pupperus Gocchianus[1], that lived a little before Luther's time, saith: "The whole life of infidels is sin, there is nothing good without the chief good: where there wanteth the knowledge of the eternal Truth, if men's manners be never so commendable, they have no true virtue: he that offendeth in one, that is, in charity, is guilty of all; he, therefore, that hath not faith and charity, every action of his is sin." And he addeth[2], that when Augustine saith, that they that have not charity may do good things, but not well, his words are not to be understood, as if the things which they do without charity were good when they do them without charity; but that they would be good, if they were done in charity; or that they are of such nature and kind, which being done in charity, may be good: otherwise he should be contrary to himself, where he saith, that every action of him that hath not charity is sin.

Andradius[3] saith, that there was much difference touching this point, not only amongst the latter, but the more ancient, divines also: and that some did so deject all the actions and endeavours of infidels, as to affirm that none of them are or can be without sin. It is true, indeed, that there were ever some, in the latter ages of the Church, that contradicted this verity which we have hitherto proved; but they were such as had a touch of semi-Pelagianism.

Prosper[4] speaketh of a rule found in the collations of Cassian: *Cavendum nobis est, ne ita ad Deum omnia sanctorum referamus, ut nihil, nisi id quod malum est, humanæ ascribamus naturæ.* That is: "We must take heed lest we so attribute all the merits of the saints to God, as to ascribe

[1] De libertate Christiana. Lib. II. cap. 34.

[2] Cap. 35.

[3] "Res hæc controversa est et dissensionis plena inter doctissimos, non recentiores modo sed antiquissimos, theologos. Quidam enim omnes eorum hominum qui a vera Dei cognitione valde sunt alieni, cogitatas actiones et consulto susceptas ita dejiciunt ut peccato nullam vacare arbitrentur."—Andradius, Explicat. Orthodox. Fid. p. 273. [Colon. 1564.]

[4] Lib. de Gratia et libero Arbitrio contra Cassianum. cap. 39. Definit. 8. [359. Par. 1711.]

nothing to nature but that which is evil and perverse." This rule sundry carefully followed, in the midst of the Church, in all the latter ages, who so acknowledged that no man can merit heaven without God's grace, that yet they thought they might do many things morally good, by nature without grace. But Prosper bitterly reprehendeth this; his words are these: *Quasi natura ante gratiam non sit in damnatione, non sit in cæcitate, non sit in vulnere: aut non gratis justificati sint, quorum inde sunt merita unde justitia:* that is: "As if nature before grace were not in a state of condemnation, were not in blindness, and grievously hurt: or as if we were not freely justified, all whose merits are from thence whence is our righteousness." And all they that rightly understood the doctrine of the Church, cleared by Saint Augustine against the Pelagians, concurred with Prosper, and taught as we do now, that all the works of infidels, and men not renewed and justified by God's special grace, were sins.

Yea, so great is the force of this truth, that since the council of Trent, some of great esteem and place, in a sort, give way unto it. For Didacus Alvarez, an archbishop within the dominions of the king of Spain, hath written a learned work, *De Auxiliis Gratiæ*, and dedicated it, with good allowance, to the king that now is; wherein he saith[1], that though every moral act that is good *ex genere et objecto*, as, to give alms to a poor man out of natural compassion, be of that nature, that it may be done in reference to God, as loved above all, as the Author of nature, or as the cause and object of supernatural happiness, yet no such can be so done *de facto*, but by the act of charity. So that, by a man unregenerate, no such act can be done in reference to God, formally, or virtually. Now, I suppose, there is no moral act that can be done by man, but it must be referred, form-

[1] "Licet omnis actus moralis bonus sit secundum se ordinabilis in Deum, tanquam in ultimum finem, super omnia dilectum, amore naturali vel supernaturali; de facto tamen et in exercitio non ordinatur nisi per actum charitatis. Sed in natura lapsus homo non potest absque auxilio gratiæ elicere actum charitatis; ergo nullus actus bonus moraliter potest, absque auxilio gratiæ formaliter aut virtualiter, ab sperante referri in Deum tanquam in ultimum finem."—Lib. VI. Disput. 50. p. 430, &c. [Lugd. 1611.]

ally or virtually, to some last end; and if not to God, as he saith the works of infidels cannot, then to some other end, and then, of necessity, they must be sin; for whatsoever is done in reference to any thing besides God as the last end, is done perversely and sinfully. The good man, no doubt, saw the truth touching this point; and therefore saith, that there is no true virtue without charity, that the works of infidels are not only not meritorious, but not truly good, nor the works of virtue; and proveth the same at large out of Augustine: whence it will follow, that they are sin; for every moral act is either a work of virtue and truly good, though in an inferior sort, or sin; but this he durst not say[1]; and so putteth himself into a necessity of contradicting himself: for if an infidel, when he giveth an alms, cannot do this act in reference to God as the last end, either formally or virtually, then he must do it formally or virtually, in reference to some other thing most loved by him; and if he do so, then he putteth an ill circumstance to this his action, and so it cannot but be sin.

Thus, then, we have strongly proved, out of the testimonies of such as best understood the doctrine of the Church, that grace was given to Adam, in the day of his creation, not only to make him constantly and collectively to do all the moral duties that were required of him, and to merit supernatural happiness, as if he might have done the several duties, and performed the several acts of moral virtue, without it; but simply to enable him to do good, and decline evil, so that it being taken away, man knoweth not his true good, nor is any way inclined to seek it as he should do. For, whereas there was a threefold eye in Adam, as Hugo de Sancto Victore[2] noteth: *Carnis, quo mundum et quæ in*

[1] He therefore saith: "Dupliciter potest dici vera virtus. Primo, in ordine ad bonum particulare, et ad finem proximum ejusdem virtutis sive ad objectum illius particulare non apparens sed vere bonum, velut ordinabile quantum est in se ad principale bonum quod est ultimus finis, ut dare eleemosynam ex naturali pietate non apponendo malam circumstantiam, est actus veræ virtutis comparatione objecti seu boni particularis. Secundo, comparatione ultimi finis seu boni universalis ut non tantum in se ille actus sit ordinabilis ad bonum principale quod est finis ultimus, sed etiam ex parte operantis referatur actu vel virtute."—[Ibid. p. 425.]

[2] Prosper. Institutionis Monasticæ. Serm. 35. [Tom. II. col. 345.]

mundo cernebat: rationis, quo se et quæ in se; contemplationis, quo Deum: primum perfecte habet, secundum ex parte, tertium omnino non habet, nam postquam tenebræ peccati intraverunt, oculus contemplationis extinctus est ut nihil videret; oculus rationis lippus factus est, ut dubia videret: solus oculus carnis in sua claritate permansit: that is: "Of the flesh, by which he saw the world and the things that are in it; of reason, whereby he saw and understood himself and all the things that were in himself; and of contemplation, by which he was to see God: the first he hath still in perfection, the second in part, the third he hath wholly lost; for after the darkness of sin entered, the eye of contemplation was put out, so as to see nothing at all; the eye of reason was dimmed, so as to see doubtfully; only the eye of the flesh remained in perfection." And two kinds of evil are brought into the nature of man: *Privativa, amissio notitiæ in intellectu, et rectitudinis in voluntate, et conversionis ad Deum tanquam ad proprium objectum: positiva, perpetuæ et tristes dubitationes de Deo, de providentia Dei, judicio, promissionibus, comminationibus, in voluntate conversio ad objecta contraria legi:* that is: "There are[1] newly brought into the nature of man evils of two sorts: privative, as the loss of the true and right knowledge of God in the understanding, of rectitude in the will, and of due conversion to God as her proper object: positive, as perpetual doubtings of God, of the providence of God, his judgment, promises, threats; in his will a conversion to the desiring of things the law forbiddeth.

This corruption of man's nature is excellently described by Prosper[2]: *Humana natura, in primi hominis prævaricatione vitiata, etiam inter beneficia, inter præcepta et auxilia Dei, semper in deteriorem est proclivior voluntatem,*

[1] "Dicimus sensualitatem esse pronam ad concupiscentiam etiam contra ordinem rationis, non ex aliqua insita qualitate eam inclinante, sed ex carentia justitiæ originalis quæ eam perfecte rationi subjiciebat. Quemadmodum si equus incitetur ad currendum, non quia admoventur ei calcaria, sed quia sublatum est frænum: et veluti si aliquid propendeat ad casum, non quia premitur aliquo corpore gravi superaddito, sed quia sublatum est aliquid quod prohibebat ne caderet."—Bellarm. de Amissione Gratiæ et Statu Peccati. Lib. v. cap. 15. [Tom. iv. col. 172. Ven. 1721.]

[2] De Vocatione Gentium. Lib. i. cap. 6. [col. 852. Par. 1711.]

cui committi, non est aliud quam dimitti. Hæc voluntas vaga, incerta, instabilis, imperita, infirma ad efficiendum, facilis ad audendum, in cupiditatibus cæca, in honoribus tumida, curis anxia, suspicionibus inquieta, gloriæ quam virtutum avidior, famæ quam conscientiæ diligentior, et per omnem sui experientiam miserior fruendo his quæ concupiverit, quam carendo: nihil in suis habet viribus nisi periculi facilitatem. And again[1]: *Omnes homines in primo homine sine vitio conditi sumus, et omnes naturæ nostræ incolumitatem, ejusdem hominis prævaricatione perdidimus, inde tracta mortalitas, inde multiplex corporis animique corruptio, inde ignorantia, et difficultas, curæ inutiles, illicitæ cupiditates, sacrilegi errores, timor vanus, amor noxius, injusta gaudia, pœnitenda consilia, et non minor miseriarum multitudo quam criminum.*

By this which hath been said it appeareth, that the Church, wherein our fathers lived and died, ever taught as we do, touching the state of man's creation, fall, and original corruption; and ever rejected the fancies of those more than semi-Pelagians, that brought in the errors the Romanists now maintain; and so was, in this, as in the former points, a true, orthodox, and protestant Church.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN'S CONCEPTION.

HAVING spoken of original sin, and shewed the nature of it; the next thing that is questioned, is the generality of it; for we say, that amongst all them that have been born of women, there never was any found that was not conceived in sin, besides Christ the Lord, who had God for his Father, and a virgin for his mother; of whose spotless conception, his Father's divinity, and mother's virginity, were proof sufficient. But they of the Church of Rome at this day, for the most part say, that the blessed virgin, the mother of our Lord, was conceived, likewise, without spot of original sin.

Leo the Tenth was moved to determine this question

[1] Cap. 7. [col. 853.]

touching the conception of the virgin, in the council of Lateran; but cardinal Cajetan[1] writeth a learned discourse touch-

[1] "Sanctus Augustinus super Psalmum xxxiv. (Tom. IV. col. 240.) dicit; 'Adam est mortuus propter peccatum, Maria ex Adam mortua est propter peccatum, caro autem Domini ex Maria mortua est propter delenda peccata.' Et in libro secundo, de Baptismo Parvulorum (cap. 24. Tom. X. col. 61.) dicit; 'Solus ille, homo factus manens Deus, peccatum nullum unquam habuit, nec sumpsit carnem peccati quamvis de materna carne peccati.' Et in libro X. super Genesim ad literam (cap. 18. Tom. III. col. 269.) dicit, 'Corpus Christi quamvis ex carne fœminæ assumptum sit, quæ de illa carnis peccati propagatione concepta fuerat; tamen quia non sic in ea conceptum fuit, quomodo fuerat illa concepta, ideo ipsum non fuit caro peccati sed similitudo carnis peccati." Sanctus Ambrosius super 'Beati immaculati,' (vid. in Ps. 118. Tom. I. col. 1039) dicit, 'Venit Dominus Jesus, et in carne quæ peccato in matre fuerat obnoxia, militiam virtutis exercuit.' Sanctus Joannes Chrysostomus super Matthæum dicit, 'Quamvis Christus non esset peccator, naturam tamen humanam de peccatrice suscepit.' Sanctus Eusebius, Emissenus episcopus, in secundo sermone Nativitatis Domini qui incipit, 'Nostis, charissimi,' (in Max. Bibl. Vett. Patr. Tom. VI. p. 621) ait; 'A peccati originalis nexu nullus immunis extitit, nec etiam ipsa genitrix Redemptoris.' Sanctus Remigius super Psalmum, 'Deus, Deus meus, respice;' dicit: 'Beata virgo Maria fuit ab omnia macula peccati mundata, ita ut ex ea conciperetur sine peccato homo Christus Jesus.' Sanctus Maximus in sermone de Assumptione beatæ Virginis dicit, 'Beata virgo gloriosa fuit in utero matris sanctificata ab omni contagione originalis culpæ antequam nasceretur et per Spiritum Sanctum mundata.' Sanctus Beda in Homilia super 'Missus est' (In Annunciat. Beatæ Virg. Tom. VII. col. 337. Col. Agr. 1612), dicit: 'Spiritus Sanctus superveniens in virginem mentem ejus ab omni vitiorum sorde castificavit: et ab omni æstu concupiscentiæ carnalis cor ejus temperavit atque mundavit.' Sanctus Bernardus in Epistola ad Lugd. (Ep. 174. Tom. I. col. 171), dicit, 'Beata virgo post conceptum in utero jam existens sanctificationem accepisse creditur, quæ excluso peccato sanctam fecerit nativitatem, non conceptionem.' Sanctus Erardus, episcopus et martyr, in sermone Nativitatis beatæ Virginis, dicit, 'O felix puella, quæ concepta in peccato purificatur ab omni peccato, et Filium concepit sine peccato.' Sanctus Antonius de Padua, ordinis minorum, in sermone de Nativitate beatæ Virginis, dicit: 'Beata virgo fuit in utero matris a peccato per gratiam sanctificata et sine peccato nata.' Sanctus Thomas de Aquino, in tertia parte, Quæst. 27. art. 2, dicit, 'Beata virgo Maria, quia fuit concepta ex commixtione parentum, originale peccatum contraxit.' Sanctus Bonaventura, ordinis minorum, in 3 Sent. Dist. 3. Quæst. 1. Arg. 2, dicit, 'Dicendum est quod beata virgo fuit concepta in peccato originali, et quod ejus sanctificatio subsecuta est

ing the same matter, and offereth it to Leo, praying him to be well advised: and in this Tract, for proof of her conception in sin, he produceth the testimonies of fifteen canonized saints; for first, St Augustine writing upon the thirty-fourth Psalm, saith, that "Adam died for sin; that Mary who came out of the loins of Adam died for sin; but that the flesh of the Lord, which he took of the virgin Mary, died for to take away sin." And in his second book, *De Baptismo Parvulorum:* "He only, who ceasing not to be God became man, never had sin, neither did he take the flesh of sin, or sinful flesh, though he took of the flesh of his mother that was sinful." And, in his tenth book, *De Genesi ad Litteram*, he saith: "Though the body of Christ were taken of the flesh of a woman that was conceived out of the propagation of sinful flesh, yet because he was not so conceived of her as she was conceived, therefore it was not sinful flesh, but the similitude of sinful flesh." And Saint Ambrose, upon those words, "Blessed are the undefiled," hath these words: "The Lord Jesus came; and that flesh, that was subject to sin in his mother, performed the warfare of virtue." And Chrysostome, upon Matthew, saith: "Though Christ was no sinner, yet he took the nature of man, of a woman that was a sinner." And Eusebius Emissenus, in his second sermon upon

peccati originalis contractionem. Hic modus dicendi est communior et rationabilior et securior. Communior, quia fere omnes id tenent: rationabilior, quia esse naturæ præcedit esse gratiæ, &c. Securior, quia magis consonat fidei, pietati, et sanctorum autoritati.' Sanctus Bernardinus, ordinis minorum, in sermonum suorum opere tertio incipiente, 'Ignis a facie ejus exarsit,' in Tractatu de beata Virgine, sermone quarto, incipiente, 'Sicut sol oriens mundo' (Tom. IV. p. 106. Par. 1635), dicit, 'Tertia fuit sanctificatio maternalis, et ista removet culpam originalem, confert gratiam, et removet pronitatem ad peccandum tam mortaliter quam venialiter, et hæc fuit in virgine matre.' Sanctus Vincentius confessor, in sermone de Conceptione Virginis, dicit,' 'Beata virgo Maria fuit in originali peccato concepta, sed eadem die et hora statim post animationem fuit per sanctificationem a peccato contracto mundata.' Præter dictos autem sanctos multitudo magna antiquorum doctorum convenit dicens in individuo beatam virginem conceptam in peccato originali, quorum dicta aut in fonte, aut in libris domini Joannis de Turre Cremata, et magistri de Castro novo, de conceptione beatæ virginis compilatis, unde sumpta sunt, invenire quilibet potest." —Cajetan. Opusc. Tom. II. Tract. 1. de Concept. B. Virginis cap. 4. [p. 139. Lugd. 1512.]

the Nativity, which beginneth, "Ye know, beloved, &c." hath these words: "There is none free from the tie and bond of original sin, no, not the mother of the Redeemer." Saint Remigius, upon those words of the Psalm, "O God, my God, look upon me," saith: "The blessed virgin Mary was made clean from all stain of sin, that the man Christ Jesus might be conceived of her without sin." Saint Maximus, in his sermon of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin, saith: "The blessed and glorious virgin was sanctified, in her mother's womb, from all contagion of original sin, before she came to the birth, and was made pure and undefiled, by the Holy Ghost." Saint Beda, in his sermon upon *Missus est*, (and the same is in the ordinary Gloss), saith, that "the Holy Spirit coming upon the virgin freed her mind from all defiling of sinful vice, and made it chaste, and purified her from the heat of carnal concupiscence, tempering and cleansing her heart." Saint Bernard, in his epistle to them of Lyons, saith: "It is believed that the blessed virgin after her conception received sanctification while she was yet in the womb; which, excluding sin, made her birth holy, but not her conception." Saint Erardus, a bishop and a martyr, in his sermon upon the Nativity of the Virgin, crieth out: "O happy damsel, which, being conceived in sin, is purged from all sin, and conceiveth a Son without sin." Saint Anthony of Padua, in his sermon of the Nativity of the blessed Virgin, saith: "The blessed virgin was sanctified from sin, by grace, in her mother's womb, and born without sin." Saint Thomas Aquinas (for he also was a canonized saint), in the third part of his *Summe*, Quæst. 27. Art. 2., saith, that "The blessed virgin, because she was conceived out of the commixtion of her parents, contracted original sin." Saint Bonaventure, upon the third of the Sentences, Distinct. 3. p. 1. Artic. 1. Quæst. 1. saith: "We must say, the blessed virgin was conceived in original sin, and that her sanctification followed her contracting of original sin: this opinion is the more common, the more reasonable, and more secure. More common, for almost all hold it: the more reasonable, because the being of nature precedeth the being of grace: the more secure, because it better agreeth with the piety of faith and the authority of the saints than the other." Saint Bernardine, *in Sermonum suorum opere tertio*, in his Tract of the blessed Virgin, ser-

mon the fourth, saith: "There was a third sanctification, which was that of the mother of God; and this taketh away original sin, conferreth grace, and removeth the proneness to sin mortally or venially. Saint Vincentius the Confessor, *in Sermone de Conceptione Virginis*, saith: "The blessed virgin was conceived in original sin; but that, the same day and hour, she was purged by sanctification from sin contracted, so soon as ever she had received the spirit of life." And besides all these, holden to be saints in the Church of Rome, he saith, there were a great multitude of ancient doctors, who speaking, particularly and distinctly, of the virgin, say, she was conceived in original sin: whose sayings who pleaseth may find in the originals; or may find them in the books of Johannes de Turrecremata, and Vincentius de Castro Novo, writing upon the conception of the virgin; whence they are taken. Thus far Cajetan.

Bonaventura[1] professeth, that the opinion of the blessed virgin's spotless conception was so new in his time, that he had never read it in any author, neither did he find it to be holden by any one that he had ever seen, or heard speak. And Adam Angelicus saith[2]: "If the sayings of the saints be to be believed, we must hold that the blessed virgin was conceived in original sin; and none of the saints is found to have said the contrary." Yet, in time, some began to bring in this opinion, and to make it public; as Scotus, and Franciscus de Maironis; but very doubtfully, and fearfully: for Scotus[3], having spoken of both opinions touching the concep-

[1] "Sanctus Bonaventura in 3 Sent. dist. 3. qu. 1, loquens de autoritate sanctorum dicit, 'Nullus autem invenitur dixisse de iis quos vidimus et audivimus auribus nostris, beatam virginem fuisse ab originali peccato immunem in sui concessione.' Ed. Adam Angelicus in 3 Sent. dist. 3, dicit, 'Si credendum est dictis sanctorum, tenendum est, beatam virginem fuisse conceptam in peccato originali; et nullus sanctorum invenitur dixisse contrarium.' Hæc ille. Et ipse Franciscus de Maironis dicit, quod non obstante quod B. Virgo fuerit præservata a peccato originali, propter dicta tamen sanctorum, possumus dicere quod aliquo modo peccatum originale contraxit."—Cajetan. ubi supra.

[2] In 3 Sent. dist. 3, citatus a Cajetano ubi supra.

[3] "Quod autem horum trium quæ ostensa sunt esse possibilia factum sit, Deus novit: si auctoritati ecclesiæ vel auctoritati scripturæ non repugnet, videtur probabile quod excellentius est attribuere

tion of the virgin, saith, in the conclusion, "that God only knoweth which of them is the truer: but, if it be not contrary to the authority of the Church or of holy Scripture, it seemeth probable to attribute that to the virgin, that is more excellent." And that, indeed, he had reason to fear lest he should contrary the Fathers and holy men that went before, it will easily appear by that of the Master of Sentences[1]: "It may truly be said, and we must believe, according to the consenting testimonies of the saints, that the flesh which Christ took was formerly subject to sin, as the rest of the flesh of the virgin; but that it was so sanctified, and made pure and undefiled, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, that free from all contagion of sin it was united to the Word."

But see how strangely things were carried: this opinion, which was unknown to the Church for more than a thousand years, and, at the first broaching of it, had few patrons, yet in time grew to be so generally approved, that almost all they of the Latin Church thought they did God good service in following this opinion: many visions, revelations, and miracles were pretended in favour of it, and the council of Basil[2] decreed for it. Bridget[3], canonized for a saint, pro-

Mariæ."—Scotus in 3 Sent. Dist. 3. Qu. 1. [Tom. VII. part 1. p. 95. Lugd. 1639.]

[1] "Sane dici potest et credi oportet juxta sanctorum attestationis convenientiam, ipsam prius peccato fuisse obnoxiam, sicut reliqua virginis caro: sed Spiritûs Sancti operatione ita mundatam ut ab omni peccati contagione immunis uniretur Verbo."—Sent. Lib. III. Dist. 3. [cap. 1. fol. 116. Bas. 1513.]

[2] "Nos diligenter inspectis autoritatibus et rationibus, &c.... doctrinam illam disserentem, gloriosam virginem, prævenientе et operante divini Numinis gratia singulari, nunquam actualiter subjacuisse originali peccato, tanquam piam et consonam cultui ecclesiastico, fidei catholicæ, rectæ rationi, et sacræ scripturæ, ab omnibus catholicis approbandam fore, tenendam, et amplexandam diffinimus et declaramus; nullique de cætero licitum esse in contrarium prædicare seu docere." —Concil. Basil. Session. 36. [Labbe, Tom. XII. col. 622. Lut. Par. 1672.]

[3] "Beatæ Brigidæ revelatum dicitur, beatam virginem præservatam esse ab originali peccato. Sed hæc probabilitas valde ambigua est, tum quia est contra tot sanctos, et nullus est inter istos sanctus. Sanctæ autem Brigidæ e regione ponitur S. Catharina de Senis, quæ dixit sibi revelatum esse oppositum; ut refert archiepiscopus Florentinus in Summa."—[Cajetan. ubi supra.]

fessed it had been particularly revealed to her: but Catharina Senensis, a prophetess also, and more authentically canonized than the former, professed that the contrary was revealed to her, as the archbishop of Florence reporteth[1], in his *Summa*. And Cajetan saith[2]: "If miracles be pretended for proof, great caution is to be used, both in respect of the strange works, and in respect of the illusions that may fall out in things of this kind. In respect of the strange works that are done, because the angel of Satan transformeth himself into an angel of light, and can do many great and strange things, which we would think to be true miracles and such things as God only can do; as the works of healing, strange mutations in the elements, and the like: whence it is, that it is said, Antichrist shall do so many miracles in the sight of men, that, if it were possible, the very elect should be deceived. Moreover, as the apostle testifieth, 1 Cor. xiv., and blessed Gregory, in his tenth Homily, Miracles were given to infidels, not to believers; but to the Church, as faithful, and not faithless, the prophetical and apostolical

[1] Antoninus, Sum. p. I. Tit. 8. cap. 2. prope finem.

[2] "Sed hic esset opus cautela magna, tum ex parte operum mirorum, quoniam angelus Satanæ transfert se in angelum lucis, et signa et prodigia facere multa potest, quæ nos vere miracula a solo Deo factibilia putaremus, ut opera sanitatis et elementorum et similium. Unde et antichristus facturus dicitur tot miracula in oculis hominum, ut si fieri posset, etiam electi fallerentur. Tum ex parte illusionum, ut contingit in præstigiis, tum quia signa, teste apostolo 1 ad Cor. xiv. et beato Gregorio in Homilia x., data sunt infidelibus non fidelibus, ecclesiæ vero tanquam fideli non infideli data est revelatio prophetica et apostolica. Unde via signorum etsi est a Domino data, Marci ult. propter infideles, et ab ecclesia approbata quo ad fidem personalem, scilicet dicentis se missum a Deo, ut in ca. ex injuncto extra. de hære., tamen nisi coram Romana ecclesia evidentissime fieret, verum et indubitatum, non mirum sed miraculum, expresse ad testificandum hoc esse verum, non deberet Romanus pontifex determinare aliquam fidei ambiguitatem ex hac via. Et ratio est, quia habemus a Deo ordinariam viam decretorum fidei, in tantum ut si angelus de cœlo oppositum hujus ordinariæ viæ diceret, non esset ei credendum, ut apostolus dicit ad Gal. 1. Accedit ad hæc, quod miracula quæ ab ecclesia suscipiuntur in canonizationibus sanctorum, quæ tamen maxime autentica sunt, quum humano testimonio innitantur (eorum scilicet qui testantur) non omnino certa sunt; quoniam scriptum est: Omnis homo mendax."—Cajetan. Tract. citat. supr. [p. 138.]

revelation was given, for her direction. So that though that course of proof that is by miracles, was appointed by Christ, Mark the last, in respect of infidels: and though it be allowed by the Church[1] to make good the personal condition of some man, as when one pretendeth to be sent, extraordinarily, of God; yet unless most clearly a true and undoubted, not wonder, but miracle, were done in the sight of the governors of the Roman Church, expressly to testify that this particular is true, the Roman bishops ought not to determine any doubtful thing in matter of faith, upon the doing of a miracle. And the reason is, because God hath appointed an ordinary course for the resolving of points of faith, so that if an angel from heaven should say unto us any thing contrary to this way, we were not to believe him, as the apostle saith in the first to the Galatians. Add hereunto, that the miracles which the Church admitteth in the canonization of saints, which yet are most authentical, are not altogether certain, seeing the credit of them dependeth upon the testimony of men, and every man is a liar." And he concludeth, that these things being so[2], wise men think, that pretended miracles and revelations, in this kind, contrary to so many saints and ancient doctors, argue rather that the angel of Satan is transformed into an angel of light, and that whatsoever things are alleged, in this kind, are mere fancies, and counterfeit stuff, than that they prove the truth of this conceit; and that proofs in this kind, are fitter for silly women than councils to take notice of.

It appeareth by St Bernard[3], that in his time they of

[1] Cap. cum ex injuncto extra. de Hæreticis.

[2] "Novæ autem revelationes contra tot sanctos, et antiquos doctores, angelum Satanæ in angelum lucis transformatum, aut phantasias vel etiam figmenta, sapientibus ingerere videntur. Hæ siquidem cum vocatis miraculis quæ in hac causa asseruntur, pro mulierculis non pro sacra sunt synodo: unde nec censeo digna de quibus verba fiant."—Id. [cap. 5. p. 141.]

[3] "Inter ecclesias Galliæ constat profecto Lugdunensem hactenus præeminuisse, sicut dignitate sedis sic honestis studiis et laudabilibus institutis. Unde miramur satis, quid visum fuerit hoc tempore quibusdam vestrum, voluisse mutare colorem optimum, novam inducendo celebritatem, quam ritus ecclesiæ nescit, non probat ratio, non commendat antiqua traditio. Numquid patribus doctiores aut devotiores sumus?..... Quid, si alius propter eamdem causam etiam utrique

Lyons in France, out of a superstitious conceit, as he rightly censureth it, began to celebrate the Feast of the Conception of the blessed Virgin, supposing that she was conceived without sin; but he opposeth himself against this innovation, and saith, "the observation of the Church hath no such thing, reason inferreth it not, nor ancient tradition commendeth it; that we are not more learned and devout than our fathers, that, in like sort, others may bring in the feast of her parents' conception, that *patriæ non exilii frequentia hæc gaudiorum, et numerositas festivitatum cives non exules decet:* that, whereas some brought out a certain pretended writing of divine revelation, it was not to be regarded, and that another might bring forth the like writing, wherein the holy virgin might be found to command the same thing to be done in honour of her parents, according to the command of the Lord, 'Honour thy father and thy mother;' so did he shew his dislike." Yet, after this, many churches received the same observations; and in process of time all were brought to keep the same day holy; yet so, that many of them professed, that they would keep it holy, not in respect of her preservation, but of her sanctification from sin. So that we see, that this point of Romish superstition was never admitted by the Church, but protested against by all the most worthy members of it; which thing, besides that which hath already been alleged, the reader may find farther confirmed by Ariminensis; who not only contradicteth this fancy himself, but produceth many authorities for the reproof of it. So that, herein also, the Church wherein our fathers lived and died, is found to have been a protestant Church, as in the former.

But some man will say, Many of those that we produce for witnesses that she was conceived in sin, yet think that she was sanctified in the womb, and born without sin. For answer hereunto, we must observe that which Gregorius Ari-

parenti ejus festos honores asserat deferendos? Patriæ est non exsilii frequentia hæc gaudiorum, et numerositas festivitatum cives decet non exsules. Sed profertur scriptum supernæ, ut aiunt, revelationis. Quasi et quivis non queat scriptum æque producere, in quo virgo videatur idipsum mandare et de parentibus suis, juxta Domini mandatum, dicentis: Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam."—Bernard. Epist. CLXXIV. [Tom. I. col. 169. Par. 1719.]

minensis hath[1], that many thought she was sanctified in the womb, and born without original sin, as sin, and making guilty of condemnation; but not without concupiscence inclining to evil, which was wholly taken away, or so restrained by the superabundance of grace, when the Holy Spirit overshadowed her that she might be the mother of God, that it should never be an occasion of sin: this opinion the Master of Sentences followeth[2]; and this opinion the schoolmen follow, for the most part.

But Augustine saith[3], *Ista sanctificatio qua efficimur et singuli templa Dei, et in unum omnes templum Dei, non est nisi renatorum, quod nisi nati homines esse non possunt. Si homo regenerari per gratiam Spiritus in utero potest, quoniam restat illi adhuc nasci, renascitur ergo antequam nascitur, quod fieri nullo modo potest.* "Seeing, therefore, none can be sanctified before he be born; neither can any man be cleansed from original sin before his birth; inasmuch as that is not taken away, but by the infusion of grace." And the Gloss upon the eighth to the Romans, saith, "Christ was the first that was born without sin." And Anselm, in his second book, *Cur Deus homo?* hath these words[4]: "Though Christ's conception were pure, and without the sin of carnal delight, yet the virgin herself, of whom he took flesh, was conceived in iniquity, and her mother conceived her in sin, and

[1] "Dicendum secundum doctores communiter quod in secunda sanctificatione sua, quando scilicet Spiritus Sanctus obumbravit ei ut fieret mater Dei, fomes in ea vel totaliter extinctus fuit vel saltem sic debilitatus aut ligatus per superabundantiam gratiæ ut ei postea nullius peccati occasio fuerit."—Gregor. Ariminens. in Sent. Dist. xxxi. qu. 2. art. 3. [fol. 104. Lugd. 1495.]

[2] "Mariam quoque totam Spiritus Sanctus in eam prævenies a peccato prorsus purgavit, et a fomite peccati etiam liberavit, vel fomitem ipsum penitus evacuando, ut quibusdam placet, vel sic debilitando et extenuando ut ei postmodum peccandi occasio nullatenus extitit."—Petr. Lombard. Sent. Lib. III. Dist. 3. [cap. 1. fol. 116. Bas. 1513.]

[3] De Præsentia Dei ad Dardanum. Ep. 57. [al. 187. Tom. II. col. 689.]

[4] "Licet ipsa hominis ejusdem sit munda, et absque carnalis delectationis peccato; virgo tamen ipsa unde assumptus est, est in iniquitatibus concepta, et in peccatis concepit eam mater ejus, et cum originali peccato nata est, quoniam et ipsa in Adam peccavit in quo omnes peccaverunt."—Anselm. Cur Deus Homo? Lib. II. [cap. 16. p. 92. Lut. Par. 1675.]

she was born with original sin, because she also sinned in Adam in whom all sinned[1]."

And divers of the Fathers feared not to make her subject to actual sin. Origen, writing upon Luke, insisting upon those words of Simeon to Mary, "A sword shall pierce through thy soul," hath these words[2]: "What is this sword that pierced the heart, not only of others, but of Mary also? It is plainly written, that, in the time of his passion, all the apostles were scandalized as the Lord himself had said, You shall all be scandalized this night: they were all therefore so scandalized, that even Peter, the prince of the apostles, denied him thrice. What, shall we think that when the apostles were scandalized, the mother of our Lord was free from being scandalized? Surely, if she suffered no scandal in the time of the Lord's passion, Christ died not for her sins; but if all have sinned, and have been deprived of the glory of God, and are justified by his grace and redeemed, then surely, Mary was scandalized at that time: and that is it that Simeon now prophesieth, And even thy soul (which knowest that being a virgin, and never knowing man, thou broughtest him forth; which heardest, of the angel Gabriel, the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the most High shall overshadow thee,) a sword of infidelity shall pierce;

[1] Rom. v. 12.

[2] "Quis est iste gladius qui non aliorum tantum, sed etiam Mariæ cor pertransiit? Aperte scribitur quod in tempore passionis omnes sint apostoli scandalizati, ipso quoque Domino dicente: Omnes vos scandalizabimini in nocte hac. Ergo scandalizati sunt universi, in tantum ut Petrus quoque, apostolorum princeps, tertio denegarit. Quid? Putamus quod, scandalizatis apostolis, mater Domini a scandalo fuerit immunis? Si scandalum in Domini passione non passa est, non est mortuus Jesus pro peccatis ejus. Si autem omnes peccaverunt et egent gloria Dei, justificati gratia ejus et redempti, utique et Maria illo tempore scandalizata est, et hoc est quod nunc Simeon prophetat, dicens: Et tuam ipsius animam, quæ scis absque viro peperisse te virginem, quæ audisti a Gabriele: Spiritus Sanctus veniet super te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi; pertransibit infidelitatis gladius, et ambiguitatis mucrone ferieris, et cogitationes tuæ te in diversa lacerabunt, cum videris illum quem Filium Dei audieras, et sciebas absque semine viri esse generatum, crucifigi, et mori, et suppliciis humanis esse subjectum, et ad postremum lacrymabiliter conquerentem atque dicentem: Pater, si possibile est, pertranseat calix iste a me."—Origen. in Lucam, Hom. XVII. [Tom. III. p. 952. Par. 1740.]

thou shalt be stricken with a sword of doubting; and thy thoughts shall rend thee into divers parts, when thou shalt see him whom thou heardest to be the Son of God, and whom thou knewest to be generated in thee without the seed of man, to be crucified, to die, to be subject to human punishments, and, at the last, with tears and strong cries complaining, and saying, If it be possible, let this cup pass from me."

Chrysostom, upon the thirteenth Psalm, agreeth with Origen: his words are these[1]: "When Christ was crucified, there was none found that did good: the disciples all fled away, John ran away naked, Peter denied him, the sword of doubting went through the soul of Mary herself." And Augustine, to the same purpose, hath these words[2]: "And that which he addeth, saying, 'and a sword shall pierce thy soul, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed;' thereby, doubtless, he signified, that even Mary herself, of whom the Son of God took flesh, should doubt in the time of Christ's death, but so, as to be confirmed in his resurrection." And Theophylact[3], upon the same place of Luke: "Haply by the sword he understandeth the dolor, haply the scandal where-

[1] "Hæc Origenes: cui Chrysostomus in enarratione Psalmi tertii decimi consona scribit his plane verbis: Quando Christus fuit crucifixus, non fuit qui faceret bonum. Discipuli omnes fugerunt, Joannes nudus recedit, Petrus negat, ipsius Mariæ matris animum gladius dubitationis pertransiit."—Sixtus Senens. Biblioth. Sanct. Lib. VI. annot. 138. [Tom. II. p. 824. Neap. 1742.]

[2] "Quod autem adjecit, dicens: Et tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius, ut revelentur multorum cordium cogitationes; hoc utique significavit, quia etiam Maria per quam gestum est mysterium incarnationis Salvatoris, in morte Domini dubitaret, ita tamen ut resurrectionis honore et virtute Domini firmaretur."—Augustin. Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test. qu. 73. [Tom. III. Append. col. 72, D.]

[3] Τάχα μὲν καὶ ἡ θλίψις ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει γενομένη, τάχα δὲ ῥομφαίαν λέγει καὶ τὸν σκανδαλισμὸν ὃν ἐσκανδαλίσθη ὁρῶσα τὸν Κύριον σταυρούμενον· ἴσως γὰρ ὑπενόει, πῶς ὁ τεχθεὶς ἀσπόρως, ὁ θαύματα ποιήσας, ὁ νεκροὺς ἀναστήσας, ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ ἐνεκρώθη, καὶ ἐνεπτύσθη; τὸ δὲ ὅπως ἂν ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν ἐκ πολλῶν καρδιῶν διαλογισμοὶ, τοῦτο σημαίνει, ὅτι ἀποκαλυφθήσονται καὶ φανερωθήσονται πολλῶν λογισμοὶ σκανδαλιζομένων, καὶ ἐλεγχθέντες εὑρήσουσι ταχεῖαν τὴν ἴασιν· οἷον καὶ σὺ, ὦ παρθένε, ἀποκαλυφθήσῃ καὶ φανερωθήσῃ, τί φρονεῖς περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. εἶτα βεβαιωθήσῃ ἐπὶ τῇ εἰς αὐτὸν πίστει· ὁμοίως καὶ Πέτρος ἀπεκαλύφθη ἀρνησάμενος, ἀλλ' ἐδείχθη ἡ ἰσχὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ, προσλαβομένου αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς μετανοίας. Theophylact. in Luc. ii. [Tom. I. p. 290. Ven. 1754.]

with Mary was scandalized for seeing him to be crucified, haply she thought how he that was born without the seed of man, who had done miracles, and raised the dead, could be crucified, spit upon, and die: and that he saith, 'the cogitations of many hearts shall be revealed,' importeth no more but the thoughts of many that shall be scandalized, shall be revealed; and being reprehended, they shall find present remedy; and so shalt thou, O virgin, be revealed and manifested, what thou thoughtest of Christ; and then thou shalt be confirmed in the faith: so likewise Peter shall be manifested, when he shall deny him; but the power of God shall be shewed when he receiveth him upon his repentance."

Chrysostom[1], writing upon those words: "Behold thy mother and thy brethren, &c.," and those words of Christ: "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren?" saith, that "Christ uttered these words, not as being ashamed of his mother, or denying her that bare him, (for had he been ashamed of her, he would not have passed through her womb); but shewing that it would nothing profit her, that she was his mother, unless she did all those things that beseemed her: for this that she now attempted, argued too much ambition: for she would make it known to the people, that she had power over, and could command, her Son, not conceiving any great matter of him; and therefore she came unseasonably. See therefore," saith he, "the want of discretion in her and them, for it had been fit for them to come in, and to have heard with the multitude; or if not, to have stayed till he had ended his speech, and then to have come unto him: but they call him out, and this they do before all, shewing too much ambition, and willing to shew that with great power

[1] Ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν, οὐκ ἐπαισχυνόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ μητρὶ, οὐδὲ ἀρνούμενος τὴν γεγενηκυῖαν, εἰ γὰρ ἐπῃσχύνετο οὐδ' ἂν διῆλθε διὰ τῆς μήτρας ἐκείνης, ἀλλὰ δηλῶν ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῇ ὄφελος τούτου εἰ μὴ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖ ἅπαντα. Καὶ γὰρ ὅπερ ἐπεχείρησε φιλοτιμίας ἦν περιττῆς. Ἐβούλετο γὰρ ἐνδείξασθαι τῷ δήμῳ ὅτι κρατεῖ καὶ αὐθεντεῖ τοῦ παιδὸς οὐδὲν οὐδέπω περὶ αὐτοῦ μέγα φανταζομένη. Διὸ καὶ ἀκαίρως προσῆλθεν· ὅρα γοῦν καὶ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐκείνων τὴν ἀπόνοιαν· δέον γὰρ εἰσελθόντας ἀκοῦσαι μετὰ τοῦ ὄχλου ἢ μὴ τοῦτο βουλομένους ἀναμεῖναι καταλῦσαι τὸν λόγον καὶ τότε προσελθεῖν· οἱ δὲ ἔξω καλοῦσιν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων τοῦτο ποιοῦσι, φιλοτιμίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι περιττὴν, καὶ δεῖξαι θέλοντες ὅτι μετὰ πολλῆς αὐτῷ ἐπιτάττουσι τῆς ἐξουσίας. Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. XLV. [Tom. VII. p. 467.]

they command him." And in another place[1]: "It is admirable to see how the disciples, though very desirous to learn, yet knew when it is fit to ask him; for they do not this in the sight and hearing of all: and this Matthew sheweth, saying, 'and coming unto him:' and St Mark, 'they came unto him privately,' or when he was alone. It had been fit his mother and his brethren had done so, and that they should not have called him out, and made such a shew as they did." And writing upon John, and intreating of those words of the virgin (when the wine began to fail), "They have no wine," saith[2]: "She was willing to do them a pleasure, and to make herself the more illustrious by her child: and haply she was carried with some human affection, as his brethren were when they said, 'Shew thyself to the world,' desiring to reap glory from his miracles; and therefore he answereth something sharply, saying, 'What have I to do with thee? my hour is not yet come.'" And a little after, speaking of her calling him out, mentioned in the former place, he saith: "She had not that opinion of him that was fit, but because she had brought him forth, she thought to command Him in everything, after the manner of other mothers, whom she should have honoured and worshipped as her Lord: and therefore he saith, 'Who is my mother?'" And Theophylact, writing upon the same words, saith[3]: "The mother of

[1] Ἄξιον θαυμάσαι τοὺς μαθητὰς, πῶς καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντες μαθεῖν, ἴσασι πότε ἐρωτῆσαι ἐχρῆν. Οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ πάντων τοῦτο ποιοῦσι· καὶ τοῦτο ἐδήλωσεν ὁ Ματθαῖος εἰπὼν, καὶ προσελθόντες· καὶ ὅτι οὐ στοχασμὸς τὸ εἰρημένον ὁ Μάρκος αὐτὸ σαφέστερον παρέστησεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι κατιδίον προσῆλθον αὐτῷ. Τοῦτο δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τὴν μητέρα ποιῆσαι ἐχρῆν, καὶ οὐχὶ καλέσαι ἔξω καὶ ἐπιδείξασθαι. Id. in Matt. Hom. XLVI. [Tom. VII. p. 475.]

[2] Ἐβούλετο ἐν ἐκείνοις καταθέσθαι χάριν καὶ ἑαυτὴν λαμπροτέραν ποιῆσαι διὰ τοῦ παιδός· καὶ τάχα τι καὶ ἀνθρώπινον ἔπασχε, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοντες· δεῖξον σεαυτὸν τῷ κόσμῳ, βουλόμενοι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θαυμάτων δόξαν καρπώσασθαι, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς σφοδρότερον ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων· τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ, γύναι; οὔπω ἥκει ἡ ὥρα μου....Οὐδέπω γὰρ ἦν ἐχρῆν περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαν εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ὤδινεν αὐτὸν ἠξίου κατὰ τὴν λοιπὴν τὴν μητέρων συνήθειαν οὕτως ἅπαντα ἐπιτάττειν αὐτῷ, δέον ὡς δεσπότην σέβειν καὶ προσκυνεῖν. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν τότε οὕτως ἀπεκρίνατο. Id. in Joann. Hom. XX. [Tom. VIII. p. 122.]

[3] Ἀνθρώπινόν τι ἐβούλετο ἐνδείξασθαι ἡ μήτηρ, ὅτι ἐξουσιάζει τοῦ παιδός, οὐδὲν γὰρ μέγα οὔπω περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐνόει, διὰ τοῦτο οὖν καὶ ἔτι λαλοῦντα βούλεται πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπισπάσασθαι, φιλοτιμουμένη ὡς ὑποταττο-

Christ would take upon her to be a mother, and shew that she had power over her Son, for as yet she conceived no great thing of him: and therefore, she would draw him out unto her, while he was yet speaking, being a little proud that she had such a son at her command. What doth Christ therefore? because he knew her intention, hear what he saith: 'Who is my mother?' which he said, not to wrong his mother, but to correct her mind, desirous of glory, and subject to such affections as men are wont to be." Euthymius, in his Commentaries, observeth the former place in Chrysostom, but dareth not reprehend it; as Sixtus Senensis[1] telleth us.

But they will say, Augustine[2] affirmeth that the mother of our Lord was without sin. Surely it will be found that he saith no such thing; the circumstances of that they allege out of Augustine are these: the Pelagian commemorateth

μένου αὐτῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ· τί γοῦν ὁ Χριστός; ἐπεὶ τὸν σκοπὸν αὐτῆς ἔγνω, ἄκουε τί φησίν. Τίς ἐστιν ἡ μήτηρ μου; Οὐχ ὑβρίζων τὴν μητέρα λέγει ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ διορθούμενος τὴν φιλόδοξον αὐτῆς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην γνώμην. Theophylact. super Matt. xii. 48. [Tom. I. p. 63.]

[1] "Animadvertit hunc locum (Chrysostomi) apud Græcos Euthymius in Commentariis, nec ausus est improbare."—Sixtus Senens. Biblioth. Sanct. Lib. VI. cap. 58. [Tom. II. p. 764.]

[1] "Deinde commemorat eos, qui non modo non peccasse, verum etiam juste vixisse referuntur, Abel, Enoch, Melchisedech, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Jesus Nave, Phinees, Samuel, Nathan, Elias, Joseph, Elizeus, Micheas, Daniel, Ananias, Azarias, Misael, Ezechiel, Mardocheus, Simeon, Joseph cui desponsata est virgo Maria, Johannes. Adjunxit etiam feminas, Debboram, Annam Samuelis matrem, Judith, Esther, alteram Annam filiam Phanuel, Elizabeth, ipsam etiam Domini ac Salvatoris nostri matrem, quam dicit sine peccato confiteri necesse est pietati. Excepta itaque sancta virgine Maria, de qua propter honorem Domini nullam prorsus, cum de peccatis agitur, haberi volo quæstionem: unde (al. *inde*) enim scimus quid ei plus gratiæ collatum fuerit ad vincendum omni ex parte peccatum, quæ concipere ac parere meruit quem constat nullum habuisse peccatum: hac ergo virgine excepta, si omnes illos sanctos et sanctas cum hic viverent congregare possemus, et interrogare utrum essent sine peccato, quid fuisse responsuros putamus? Utrum hoc quod iste dicit, an quod Johannes apostolus? Rogo vos, quantalibet fuerint in hoc corpore excellentia sanctitatis, si hoc interrogari potuissent, nonne una voce clamassent, Si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nosipsos decipimus et veritas in nobis non est."—August. De Natur. et Grat. cont. Pelagianos. cap. 36. [Tom. X. col. 144.]

sundry holy ones, which are reported not only not to have sinned, but to have lived righteously, as Abel, Enoch, Melchizedech, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, &c., and addeth to these certain women, as Deborah, Anna Samuel's mother, Judith, Esther, another Anna the daughter of Phanuel, Elizabeth, and the mother of our Lord and Saviour, whom, he saith, that piety requireth us to confess to have been without sin. The words of Augustine, in answer to the Pelagian, are these: "Except therefore the holy virgin Mary, (of whom, for the honour of our Lord, I will make no question at all, now that we are to speak of sins; for hence do we know that more grace was given to her wholly to overcome sin, who was honoured so much as to conceive and bear him, whom we know to have had no sin; this virgin therefore excepted), if we could gather together all those holy men and women, as now living, and ask of them whether they were without sin, what answer, think we, would they make? I pray, tell me, whether that which this man saith, or that which the apostle John? surely, how much soever they excelled in sanctity, while they were in this body, they would all cry out with a loud voice, 'If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and there is no truth in us.'"

Gregorius Ariminensis[1] noteth, that Augustine speaketh not of original sin, but actual; and that this ample grace to overcome sin, was not given her till the Spirit overshadowed her, and the power of the most High came upon her, that she might conceive and bear him that never knew sin; so that, before, she might commit sin; which yet he will not affirm, because the modern doctors for the most part think otherwise; so intimating that all did not. And surely, the words of Augustine, do not import that she had no sin, but that she overcame it, which argueth a conflict: neither doth he say, he will acknowledge she was without sin, but that he will not move any question touching her, in this dispute of sins and sinners. So, passing by the point, and not willing to enter into this dispute with the Pelagian, who conceived it would be plausible for him to plead for the purity of the

[1] "Dicendum quod Augustinus loquitur ibi de peccatis actualibus tantum; nec esset ex illa auctoritate probatum eam totaliter caruisse peccato actuali nisi postquam esset facta mater Dei."—Greg. Arimin. ubi sup.

mother of our Lord, and disgraceful for any one to except against her. By that which hath been said, it appeareth that the Church of God never resolved any thing touching the birth of the blessed virgin without sin, nor whether she were free from all actual sin, or not.

If haply it be alleged, that the Church celebrated the Feast of her Nativity, and therefore believed that she was born without sin; first, touching the celebration of this feast, it is evident, that it was not ancient: "That it was not in the days of Saint Augustine, (as some imagine, because on that day there is read in the Church a sermon of Saint Augustine's, touching the solemnity of that day[1]), it is proved out of Saint Augustine himself[2], for in his twenty-first Sermon, *De Sanctis*, he hath these words: "We celebrate this day the birth-day of John the Baptist; which honour we never read to have been given to any of the saints." *Solius enim Domini et beati Joannis dies nativitatis, in universo mundo celebratur et colitur:* that is: "For the birthday of our Lord only, and of John the Baptist, is celebrated and kept holy throughout the whole world: *illum enim sterilis peperit, illum virgo concepit: in Elizebetha sterilitas vincitur, in beata Maria conceptionis consuetudo mutatur:* that is, "A woman that was barren bare the one, and a virgin the other; in Elizabeth barrenness is overcome, in blessed Mary the ordinary course of conceiving is changed." And in his twentieth Sermon he hath these words: *Post illum sacrosanctum Domini natalis diem, nullius hominum nativitatem legimus celebrari, nisi solius beati Joannis Baptistæ. In aliis sanctis et electis Dei, novimus illum diem coli, quo illos post consummationem laborum, et devictum triumphatumque mundum, in perpetuas æternitates præsens hæc vita parturit. In aliis consummata ultimi diei merita celebrantur, in hoc etiam prima dies, et ipsa etiam hominis initia consecrantur; pro hac absque dubio causa, quia per hunc Dominus ad-*

[1] "Non recte sentire eos existimamus qui opinati sunt jam ab Augustini ætate eandem esse in ecclesia celebratam, ea persuasi ratione quod in ecclesiasticis officiis ejus diei legatur sermo S. Augustini de ea solennitate."—Baron. Martyrolog. mens. Septembr. [In Sept. viii. p. 399. Antv. 1589.]

[2] S. Augustin. De Sanctis. Serm. xxi. [al. 197. Tom. v. Append. col. 329], et Serm. xx. [al. 196. col. 327.]

ventum suum, ne subito homines insperatum non agnoscerent voluit esse testatum : that is, "After that most sacred day of the birth of our Lord, we read not that the nativity of any one amongst men is celebrated, but of John the Baptist only; touching other saints, and other the chosen of God, we know that that day is celebrated, in which, after the consummation of their labours, after their victories and triumphs over the world, this present life bringeth them forth to begin to live for ever. In others the consummate virtues of the last day are celebrated, in this the first day and the beginnings of the man are consecrated; for this cause, no doubt, because the Lord would have his coming made known to the world by him, lest, if his coming had not been expected and looked for, it might haply not have been acknowledged." Neither doth the reading of the sermon of St Augustin, on that day, pertaining to the solemnity of the day, prove that this day was kept holy before his time; for, as Baronius[1] sheweth, the sermon was fitted originally to the solemnity of the Feast of the Annunciation, and the words were these; "Let our land rejoice, illustrated with the solemn day of so great a virgin," which are altered, and read in the breviary in this sort: "Let our land rejoice, illustrated by the birthday of so great a virgin." And it is evident by the council of Mentz[2], holden in the time of Charles the Great, in the year 813, that this feast was not celebrated, in the Church of Germany and France, in those times. As, likewise, it appeareth by the Constitutions of Charles and Ludovicus Pius.

Secondly, the celebrating of the birthday of the blessed virgin, will no more prove that she was born without all sin, than that John the Baptist was so born; concerning whom

[1] "Quamobrem monitum volumus lectorem vere sermonem illum esse germanum S. Augustini opus: nequaquam tamen in natali Dei genetricis habitum, sed perpaucis mutatis eidem celebritati accommodatum, qui est sermo secundus de Annunciatione, ubi verba illa; 'Gaudeat terra nostra tantæ virginis illustrata solenni die,' ita pie mutata leguntur in brevario: 'Gaudeat terra nostra tantæ virginis illustrata natali'."—Baron. ubi supr.

[2] "Constat Gallicanam ecclesiam etiam temporibus Caroli Magni et Ludovici Pii eam ignorasse, ut apparet ex concilio Moguntino sub eodem Imp. celebrato, anno Domini 813. can. 36. et ex capitularibus ejusdem Imp. et Ludovici Pii, lib. I. cap. 164: lib. II. cap. 35: et lib. VI. cap. 186."—Baron. ibid.

Bernard saith, he knoweth he was sanctified before he came out of the womb, but how far this sanctification freed him from sin, he dareth not say or define any thing. Thus we see that the Church, wherein our fathers lived and died, was a protestant Church, in these points, touching the conception and birth of the blessed virgin, as well as in the former.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE PUNISHMENT OF ORIGINAL SIN: AND OF LIMBUS PUERORUM.

BELLARMINE[1] sheweth, that there are four opinions in the Roman Church touching the punishment of original sin, and the state of infants dying unregenerate: for Ambrosius Catharinus, in his book of the state of children dying unbaptized; Albertus Pighius, in his first Controversy; and Savonarola, in his book of the Triumph of the Cross, do teach, that infants, dying without baptism, shall after the judgment enjoy a kind of natural happiness, and live happily for ever, as it were in a certain earthly paradise: howsoever, for the present, they go down into those lower parts of the earth, which are called *Limbus puerorum*. These men suppose that infants incur no stain, or infection, by Adam's sin; but that, for his offence being denied the benefit of supernatural grace, which would have made them capable of heaven-happiness, they are found in a state of mere nature, in which as

[1] "Ad quem errorem proxime accessisse videntur Ambrosius Catharinus in lib. De Statu Puerorum sine Baptismo decedentium, Albertus Pighius in prima Controversia, et Hieronymus Savonarola in lib. De Triumpho Crucis. Docent enim infantes sine baptismo morientes futuros post judicium beatos naturali beatitudine, et in quodam veluti paradiso terrestri perpetuo feliciterque victuros. Tertia sententia jam aliquanto severior docet parvulos sine baptismo decedentes damnari apud inferos æterna morte, sed tamen sic puniri carentia visionis Dei, quæ dicitur pœna damni, ut nullum patiantur omnino dolorem neque internum neque extremum. Ita docet S. Thom. in quæst. 5. de Malo, art. 1, 2, et 3; et tum ipse tum alii aliquot scholastici doctores in 2 Sent. Dist. 33. Quarta sententia superiore adhuc severior

they cannot come to heaven, so they are subject to no evil that may cause them to sorrow. For though they see that happiness in heaven, whereof they had a possibility, yet they no more grieve that they have not attained it, than innumerable men do that they are not kings and emperors as well as others, of which honours they were capable as well as they, in that they were men. The second opinion is, That infants, dying in the state of original sin not remitted, are excluded from the sight of God, and condemned to the prison-house of the infernal dwellings for ever, so that they suffer the punishment of loss, but not of sense; and that they are subject to no dolour or grief, inward or outward: this, he saith, is the opinion of Thomas Aquinas and some other schoolmen. The third opinion is, That they are, in a sort, subject to the punishment of sense, that is, to grief and dolour, which floweth out of the consideration of their great and inestimable loss of eternal happiness; but because they cannot have remorse, not having lost that eternal good by their own negligence and contempt, therefore they are not subject to that dolour that is properly named the worm that never dieth, whereof we read in the ninth of Mark: "Their worm dieth not, and their fire never goeth out[1]." There is a fourth opinion, which is that of Augustine[2], who saith:

liberat quidem parvulos ejusmodi a cruciatu ignis et vermis, de quo legimus Marci nono: Vermis eorum non moritur, et ignis non extinguitur; quæ proprie dicitur pœna sensus, sed non eos liberat ab interno dolore qui sequitur ex amissa beatitudine sempiternæ felicitatis."—Bellarm. De Amissione Gratiæ et Statu Peccati. Lib. VI. cap. 1. [Tom. IV. p. 180. Ven. 1721.]

[1] "But Bonaventura Sent. l. 2. Dist. 33. art. 2. Quæst. 2. sheweth, that if they have any such dolour and grief, it is without patience and hope, and so joined with murmuring and despair; and if it proceed from deliberation, it cannot be without actual obliquity, neither can it but redound into the flesh: so that if there be any such grief, there is not only privative, but positive and sensible grief also: there is therefore a worm and hell-punishment. [Dolor ille est absque patientia, et absque spe, et ita cum murmure et desperatione. Tum etiam dolor animæ redundat in carnem, et si talis dolor ex deliberatione procedit, non videtur esse absque actuali obliquatione."—Tom. IV. p. 472. Rom. 1596.]

[2] "Firmissime tene, et nullatenus dubites, non solum homines jam ratione utentes, verum etiam parvulos, qui, sive in uteris matrum vivere incipiunt et ibi moriuntur, sive jam de matribus nati, sive

"We must firmly believe, and no way doubt, that not only men that have had the use of reason, but infants also, dying in the state of original sin, shall be punished with the punishment of eternal fire; because though they had no sin of their own proper action, yet they have drawn to themselves the condemnation of original sin, by their carnal conception." To this opinion Gregorius Ariminensis[1] inclined, fearing exceedingly to depart from the doctrine of the fathers; and yet dareth not resolve any thing, seeing the modern doctors went another way. And to the same opinion Driedo[2] inclineth, likewise.

Thus, then, we see that Pelagianism was taught, in the midst of the Church wherein our fathers lived, and that, not by a few but many: for was not this the doctrine of many in the Church, that there are four mansions, in the other world, of men sequestered from God, and excluded out of his presence. The first, of them that sustain the punishment as well of sensible smart, as of loss, and that for ever; which is the condition of them that are condemned to the lowest hell. The second, of those that are subject to both these punishments, not eternally, but for a time only; as are they that are in purgatory. The third, of them that were subject only to the punishment of loss, and that but for a time, named by them, *Limbus patrum.* The fourth, of such as are subject only to the punishment of loss, but yet eternally; and this named by them, *Limbus puerorum*: nay, were there not that placed these in an earthly paradise? and was not this Pelagianism? Surely, Augustine[3] telleth us that the Pelagians

sacramento sancti baptismatis de hoc sæculo transeunt, ignis æterni supplicio sempiterno puniendos. Quia etsi peccatum propriæ actionis nullum habuerunt, originalis tamen peccati damnationem carnali conceptione et nativitate traxerunt."—De fide ad Petrum. cap. 27. [Tom. VI. Append. col. 31.]

[1] ["Asserit magister manifeste parvulos tantummodo pœna damni puniri, nequaquam autem pœna sensus, et quantum ad hoc cum eo concordant omnes moderni doctores."—Gregorius Ariminensis. In ii. Sent. Dist. 31. qu. 3. art. 1. fol. 104.]

[2] "Arbitramur hujuscemodi parvulos sensibili quadam molestia seu afflictione ab igne et in igne torqueri, sed non tam acerba quin sic malint vivere quam omnino perire."—De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio. lib. I. Tract. 3. cap. 2. [Tom. III. p. 123. Lovan. 1551.]

[3] "Verum vos quoque qui eos velut liberos ab omni damnatione

excluded such as were not made partakers of God's grace, out of the kingdom of heaven, and from the life of God, which is the vision of God, and yet supposed that they should be for ever in a kind of natural felicity; so that they imagined a third state and place, between the kingdom of heaven and hell, where they are that endure, not only the punishment of loss, but of sensible smart also; where they are whose worm never dieth, and whose fire never goeth out; and this is the opinion of papists, against which St Austin[1] mightily opposeth himself. "The unregenerate is excluded out of the kingdom of heaven, where Christ remaineth, that is the fountain of the living. Give me, besides this, another place, where there may be a perpetual rest of life; the first place, the faith of Catholics, by divine authority, believeth to be the kingdom of heaven; the second, hell; where every apostata, and such as are aliens from the faith of Christ, shall suffer everlasting punishment: but that there is any third place we are altogether ignorant, neither shall we find in the holy Scripture, that there is any such place. There is the right hand of him that sitteth to judge, and the left; the kingdom, and hell; life, and death; the righteous, and the wicked: on the right hand of the judge are the just; and the workers of iniquity on the left. There is life, to the joy of glory; and death, to weeping and gnashing of teeth. The

esse contenditis, cogitare non vultis qua illos damnatione puniatis, alienando a vita Dei et a regno Dei tot imagines Dei," &c.—Contr. Julian. lib. v. cap. 8. [al. 10. Tom. x. col. 651.]

[1] "Ecce non baptizatus, vitali etiam cibo poculoque privatus, dividitur a regno cœlorum, ubi fons viventium permanet Christus. Da mihi, præter hunc, alterum locum, ubi vitæ possit requies esse perennis. Primum enim locum fides Catholicorum divina auctoritate regnum credit esse cœlorum, unde ut dixi, non baptizatus excipitur: secundum, gehennam, ubi omnis apostata vel a Christi fide alienus æterna supplicia experietur: tertium, penitus ignoramus, imo nec esse in scripturis sanctis inveniemus. Finge, Pelagiane, locum ex officina perversi dogmatis tui, ubi alieni a Christi gratia vitam requiei et gloriæ possidere parvuli possint. Dextera est justi sedentis judicis, et sinistra regnum est et gehenna, vita est et mors, justi sunt et iniqui. In dextera igitur justi sunt constituti; in sinistra operarii iniquitatis; in regno requies baptizatorum, in gehenna pœna incredulorum; vita ad lætitiam gloriæ, mors ad fletum et stridorem dentium; justi in regno Patris cum Christo, iniqui in igne æterno parato diabolo et angelis ejus."—Hypognost. lib. v. [cap. 5. Tom. x. Append. col. 39.]

just are in the kingdom of the Father with Christ; the unrighteous, in eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels." By which words of Augustine, it is evident that there is no such place to be admitted, as the papists imagine their *Limbus puerorum* to be: neither did the Church wherein our fathers lived and died, believe any such thing, though many embraced this fancy.

And therefore Gregorius Ariminensis[1], having proved out of Augustine and Gregory, that infants that die in the state of original sin not remitted, shall not only suffer the punishment of loss, but of sense also, concludeth in this sort: because I have not seen this question expressly determined either way, by the Church, and it seemeth to me a thing to be trembled at, to deny the authorities of the saints; and on the contrary side, it is not safe to go against the common opinion, and the consent of our great masters; therefore, without peremptory pronouncing for the one side or the other, I leave it free to the reader to judge of this difference, as it seemeth good unto him.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE REMISSION OF ORIGINAL SIN; AND OF CONCUPISCENCE REMAINING IN THE REGENERATE.

IN the remission of all sin there are two things implied; the taking away of the stain or sinfulness, and the removing of the punishment that for such sinfulness justice would bring upon the sinner. In actual sin there are three things considerable. First, an act or omission of act. Secondly, an habitual aversion from God, and conversion to the creature remaining after the act is past, till we repent of such act, or omission of act: and this is the stain of sin remaining, denominating the doers sinners, and making them worthy of

[1] ["Quoniam tamen hujus quæstionis non vidi partem aliquam expresse determinatam ab ecclesia, et tremendum mihi videtur negare auctoritates sanctorum, e contra non est tutum contraire communi opinioni et consensioni magistrorum nostrorum, idcirco neutri parti alteram præferens dijudicationem earum lectori relinquo."—Greg. Arim. ubi supra.]

punishment. And thirdly, a designing to punishment after the act is past. In remission therefore of actual sin there must be, first, a ceasing from the act or omission; secondly, a turning to God and from the creature; and thirdly, for Christ's sake, who suffered what we deserved, a taking away of the punishment that sin past made us subject to.

In original sin there are only two things considerable; the stain or sinfulness, and the designing of them that have it to punishment. The stain of original sin consisteth of two parts: the one privative, which is the want of those divine graces that should cause the knowledge, love, and fear of God; the other positive, and that is an habitual inclination to love ourselves more than God, and inordinately to desire whatsoever may be pleasing to us, though forbidden and disliked by God; and is named concupiscence. This sin first defileth the nature, and then the person; in that it so misinclineth nature, as that it hath the person at command, to be swayed whither it will. The remission of this sin implieth a donation of those graces that may cause the knowledge, love, and fear of God; a turning of us from the love of ourselves, to the love of God; and, for Christ's sake, a removing of the punishment we were justly subject to, in that we had such want and inordinate inclination. The donation of grace maketh original sin cease so to misincline nature as formerly it did, and so as to have the person at command to be swayed whither it will; it maketh it not cease to misincline nature, in some sort, and so to be a sin of nature; it maketh it cease to be a sin of the person, freeing it from being subject to it, and putting it into an opposition against it; so that it is no farther a sin of the person, than it is apt to be led by it, to be hindered from good, or drawn to evil. The nature and person are freed from the guilt of condemnation; the nature, in respect of the sin that remaineth in it, is subject to punishment; the person is not free from those punishments which the remaining sin of the nature it hath, bringeth upon it, as death, &c.: the person is freed from being subject to any punishment, farther than it must needs be in respect of nature. So that original sin or concupiscence remaineth, in act, in the regenerate, moving to desire things not to be desired; and so, a sin of nature, making it subject to punishment; but it doth not remain, in act, *illiciendo et abstrahendo mentem*,

ejusque consensu, concipiendo et pariendo peccata; that is, it doth not so remain in act, as to allure and draw the mind, and to gain the consent of it to conceive and bring forth sin; and so, remaineth not in the guilt of condemnation, nor as a sin of the person.

If, therefore, when the question is proposed, whether concupiscence, in the regenerate, which grace restraineth and opposeth, be sin; we understand, by sin, a thing that is not good, an evil that is not a punishment only, but a vice and fault; and such an evil as positively and privately repugneth against the law which the Spirit of God writeth in the hearts of the believers; an iniquity; a thing that God hateth, and which we must hate and resist against by the Spirit, that it bring not forth evil acts: if we understand, by sin, such a disposition of nature, as God, by the law of creation, at first forbad, and ceaseth not still to forbid to be in the nature of man; it is undoubtedly sin, a sin, I say, of nature, though not of person. And hereunto Stapleton[1] agreeth; for, whereas it is objected out of Augustine[2], to prove that concupiscence in the regenerate is sin; that as blindness of heart is a sin,

[1] "Unus est postremo Augustini locus quem invictum putat Calvinus, Chemnitius, aliique omnes protestantes: lib. v. cap. 3. contra Julianum sic scribit: 'Sicut cæcitas cordis et peccatum est quo in Deum non creditur, et pœna peccati qua cor superbum digna animadversione punitur, et causa peccati cum mali aliquid cæci cordis errore committitur, ita concupiscentia carnis adversus quam bonus concupiscit spiritus, et peccatum est quia inest illi inobedientia contra dominatum mentis, et pœna peccati est quia reddita est meritis inobedientis, et causa peccati est defectione consentientis vel contagione nascentis.' Hæc ille.... Nunc ut ad verba ipsa et formam argum. respondeamus, omissis multis aliis respondendi modis, ut vobis videtur, parum firmis, dicimus concupiscentiam illo in loco vocari ab Augustino non solum pœnam et causam peccati sed etiam peccatum, non quia vere et proprie peccatum sit quod Deum per se offendat in renatis, sed quod peccatum naturæ sit, respiciendo primam ejus integritatem, non personæ, juxta illud Apost. 'Non ego operor illud, sed quod habitat me, id est in carne mea peccatum.' Ratio enim quam adfert quare peccatum sit, hoc evidenter ostendit. Quia (inquit), inest illi inobedientia contra dominatum mentis. Est ergo contra integritatem naturæ in qua nulla erat carnis inobedientia quoddam peccatum seu vitium, sicuti peccatum oculi vocari potest luscum esse, peccatum auris surdastrum esse." —Stapleton. De Doctrina Justificationis. lib. III. cap. 7. [Tom. II. p. 79. Lut. Par. 1620.]

[2] Contra Julian. Lib. v. cap. 3.

in that men, by reason of it, believe not in God; and a punishment of sin wherewith the proud heart of man is punished; and a cause of sin, when men, through error of their blind heart, do any evil thing; so that concupiscence of the flesh, against which the good Spirit opposeth good desires, is a sin, in that there is in it disobedience against the mind that should command; and a punishment of sin, because it was justly brought upon him whose disobedience against God deserved so; and a cause of sin, when it obtaineth a consent: he answereth, setting aside all other answers as not sufficient, that concupiscence, in that place, is said by Augustine, not only to be a punishment and cause of sin, but sin also, not as if it were truly and properly a sin, making God displeased with the regenerate in whom it is; but that it is a sin of nature, respecting the first integrity of it, and not of the person; according to that of the apostle, 'It is not I that do it, but the sin that dwelleth in me, that is, in my flesh.' For, the reason which he bringeth why it is sin, doth evidently shew this. Because, saith he, there is, in it, disobedience against the dominion of the mind, it is therefore a certain sin, or fault, contrary to the integrity of nature, in which there was no disobedience of the flesh: as it is a fault of the eye to be dim, and of the ear, to hear imperfectly. And though Stapleton say he had no author to follow in this interpretation, yet he might easily have found, that Alexander of Ales, long since, was of the same opinion, making concupiscence in the regenerate a sin of nature, and not of the person; as I have elsewhere[1] shewed at large.

If this be so, what then, will some man say, is the difference, between the Romanists and those of the reformed Churches? surely, it is very great: for these teach that concupiscence was newly brought into the nature of man by Adam's sin; that in the unregenerate, it is properly sin; that it maketh them guilty, and worthy of eternal condemnation that have it. But the Romanists say, it was not newly brought in by Adam's fall; that it is a consequent of nature that it is more free, and at liberty to produce the proper effects of it now, than it would have been if grace had not been lost, but not more than it would have been in nature simply considered, without grace or sin; and that it never

[1] Lib. III. cap. 26.

made them guilty that had it. These say, that in the regenerate it is so far weakened, as that it hath no power to sway him that is so renewed, to what it pleaseth; that the guilt of condemnation which it drew upon man before his regeneration, is taken away; that yet still it is a sin of nature, making guilty of punishment; that yet still it is hated of God, and must be hated of us. But the Romanists say, the guilt that is taken away, is not the guilt whereby concupiscence maketh guilty, but out of which it came that man deserved to have concupiscence free and at liberty. And therefore Bellarmine[1] saith, the guilt of concupiscence may be conceived in three sorts. First, to be a guilt rising from it, and founded in it, making him guilty that hath it; as the guilt of theft is that whereby he is guilty that hath commited theft. Secondly, that may be said to be the guilt of concupiscence, not that floweth from it, but from which it floweth; as if a man should cut off his hand, he might be said to be guilty of the hand that is cut off, not because it is a sin making guilty to have a hand cut off, but because he is guilty of the not having a hand that hath cut it off himself: so we are to understand the guilt of concupiscence, not as if the having of it did make a man guilty, but because Adam by sin made himself guilty of having concupiscence at liberty to solicit him to ill that was formerly restrained. Thirdly, the guilt of concupiscence is that which it causeth, if it obtain consent to those motions it maketh; not for that a man is guilty because he hath concupiscence, but because he yieldeth

[1] "Sed hoc loco diligenter attendendum est, reatum concupiscentiæ tribus modis intelligi posse. Primo, dici potest reatus concupiscentiæ reatus qui ab ipsa oritur et in ipsa fundatur, ita ut reus sit qui ipsam habet quia ipsam habet. Sicut dicitur reatus furti is quo proprie reus dicitur qui furtum fecit. Secundo, dici potest reatus concupiscentiæ is quo ipsa facta est non quem ipsa facit, quomodo si quis sibi ipse manum abscinderet diceretur esse reus manus abscissæ, non quod habere manum abscissam sit peccatum vel reum faciat, sed quod abscindere sibi manum sit contra rationem et reatum faciat. Sic igitur dicitur reatus concupiscentiæ, non quod ipsam habere faciat hominem reum, sed quod ipsa nata sit ex reatu peccati Adam qui factus Deo, rebellis meruit in se experiri carnis suæ rebellionem. Tertio, dici potest etiam reatus concupiscentiæ is quem ipsa facit si ad consensum pertrahat, ut non sit proprie homo reus quia concupiscentiam habet sed quia concupiscentiæ cedit."—Bellarmin. De Amiss. Grat. et Stat. Peccat. lib. v. cap. 13. [Tom. IV. p. 164. Ven. 1721.]

to it. So that, according to their opinion, when there is a remission of the offence that set concupiscence at liberty, it is no guilt to have it, for it is natural. Four things, therefore, are to be proved by us. First, that concupiscence was no condition of nature. Secondly, that it maketh guilty of eternal condemnation, if it be not remitted. Thirdly, that God hateth it, and that we must hate it, as long as any remains of it are found in us. Fourthly, that the first motions of it are sin.

The first of these four is clearly delivered by St Augustine, in his third[1] book against Julian; his words are these: *An vero cujuscunque frontis sis, audeas suspicari, in prima hominum constitutione, priusquam culpam debita damnatio sequeretur, istam carnalem concupiscentiam aut extitisse in paradiso, aut inordinatis, ut eam nunc videmus, motibus, pugnas adversus spiritum fœdissimas edidisse?* And, in his fourth[2] book, where Julian objecteth, that if we grant that that concupiscence of the flesh against which we resist by continency, was not in paradise before sin, but that it flowed from that sin which the devil first persuaded the first man to commit, it will be consequent that the senses of seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling, and handling, are not of God but of the devil; he answereth, that Julian is ignorant, or maketh shew to be ignorant, *per quemlibet corporis sensum, aliud esse sentiendi vivacitatem, vel utilitatem, vel necessitatem; aliud sentiendi libidinem; Vivacitas sentiendi, qua magis alius, alius minus, in ipsis corporalibus rebus, pro earum modo atque natura, quod verum est, percipit, atque id a falso magis minusve discernit: utilitas sentiendi est, per quam corpori vitœque quam gerimus, ad aliquid approbandum, vel improbandum, sumendum vel rejiciendum, appetendum, vitandumve consulimus; necessitas sentiendi est, quando sensibus nostris etiam quæ nolumus ingeruntur: libido autem sentiendi est, de qua nunc agimus, quæ nos ad sentiendum, sive consentientes mente, sive repugnantes, appetitu carnalis voluptatis impellit. Hæc est contraria delectationi sapientiæ, hæc virtutibus inimica.* And, in his fifth[3] book, he hath these words: *Dixi inobedientiam carnis,*

[1] Cap. 13. [Tom. x. col. 565.]
[2] Cap. 14. [Tom. x. col. 615.]
[3] Cap. 7. [cap. 9. col. 647.]

quæ in carne concupiscente adversus spiritum apparet, diabolico vulnere contigisse. And again, *Hanc legem peccati repugnantem legi mentis, a Deo illatam propter ultionem, et ideo pœnam esse peccati.* But I will no longer insist upon this point, having sufficiently proved, in that part that is of original sin, that all these evils did flow from Adam's transgression, and were no conditions of nature.

The next thing that is to be proved is, that concupiscence, till it be remitted, maketh them in whom it is, guilty of eternal condemnation. This is proved out of St Augustine[1]: his words are these: *Julianus concupiscentiam bonam prædicat; nos autem qui eam malam dicimus, et manere tamen in baptizatis, quamvis reatus ejus (non quo ipsa erat rea, neque enim aliqua persona est, sed quo reum hominem originaliter faciebat) fuerit remissus, atque vacuatus; absit ut dicamus sanctificari, cum qua necesse habent regenerati, si non in vacuum Dei gratiam susceperunt, intestino quodam bello tanquam cum hoste constigere, atque ab ea peste desiderare atque optare sanari.* And afterwards: *Et concupiscentia quæ manet oppugnanda atque sananda, quamvis in baptismo dimissa sint cuncta omnino peccata, non solum non sanctificatur, sed potius ne sanctificatos æternæ morti obnoxios possit tenere, evacuatur.*

Gregorius Ariminensis[2] fully agreeth with Augustine, and contradicteth Bellarmine; his words are these: "Original sin is in a sort taken away, and in a sort remaineth, after baptism: for it is taken away in respect of the guilt, not of

[1] Contr. Julian. lib. VI. [cap. 17. col. 690.]

"In baptismate mortuum est peccatum in eo reatu quo nos tenebat: et jam non eodem modo appellatur peccatum quo facit reum, sed quod sit reatu primi hominis factum, et quod rebellando nos trahere nitatur ad reatum, nisi adjuvet nos gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, ne sic etiam mortuum peccatum rebellet, ut vincendo reviviscat et regnet."—Contr. Julian. Lib. II. [cap. 9. col. 547.]

[2] "Aliquo modo tollitur et aliquo modo manet post baptismum peccatum originale: nam tollitur quoad reatum, non tollitur autem quoad essentiam; hoc est, quod vitium illud sive qualitas illa quæ dicitur concupiscibilitas, et est ante baptismum originale peccatum, manet quidem secundum essentiam suam etiam post baptismum; non manet autem quoad reatum; hoc est, non per eam est homo post baptismum reus damnationis æternæ, sicut erat ante baptismum."—Greg. Arim. In Sent. Lib. II. Dist. 31. Qu. 1. art. 4. [fol. 102. Par. 1495.]

the essence; that is, that vice, or that quality that is named concupiscence, and is, before baptism, original sin, abideth truly in the essence of it, after baptism, but not in the guilt; that is, it maketh not men guilty of condemnation after baptism as it did before; and for proof hereof he allegeth the testimony of St Augustine[1], in his book *De peccato originali.* His words are these: *Obesset ista carnalis concupiscentia etiam tantummodo quod inesset; nisi peccatorum remissio sic prodesset, ut quæ in eis est, et nato, et renato; nato quidem et inesse et obesse, renato autem inesse quidem, sed non obesse possit. In tantum enim obest natis, ut nisi renascantur, nihil possit prodesse, si nati sunt de renatis. Manet quippe in prole, it aut reatum faciat, originis vitium, etiamsi in parente reatus ejusdem vitii remissione ablutus est peccatorum.* That is: "Carnal concupiscence, by only being in a man, would undo him, if remission of sins did not so help the matter, that it being in men born and born anew; in men as born into the world it is, and is to their hurt and evil: in men born anew it only is, but is not to their hurt. For it is so far forth hurtful to men born, that unless they be born anew, it nothing profiteth them to have been born of such as were new born. For original sin doth so abide in the child as to make him guilty; though the guilt of the same sin be taken away in the parent by remission of sins."

The Master of Sentences[2], in his second book, agreeth with St Augustine; his words are these: "Unless it be by an ineffable miracle of the Creator, baptism doth not cause the law of sin which is in our members to be extinguished, and not to be: it causeth, indeed, all the evil a man hath thought or done to be abolished, and to be accounted as if it had never been done: but it suffereth concupiscence (the bond of guilt, wherewith the devil by it held the soul, and separated

[1] [Cap. 39. Tom. x. col. 272.]

[2] "Non itaque hoc præstatur in baptismo, nisi forte miraculo ineffabili Creatoris, ut lex peccati quæ est in membris prorsus extinguatur, et non sit; sed ut quicquid mali ab homine factum dictum cogitatumque est, totum aboleatur, ac velut factum non fuerit habeatur. Ipsa vero concupiscentia soluto reatus vinculo, quo per illam diabolus animas retinebat, et a suo Creatore separabat, maneat incerta mine."—Dist. xxxii. [cap. 1. fol. 99. B.]

it from God her Creator, being loosened) to remain, that there may be a continual fight." Bonaventura[1], writing upon the same place, saith: "Concupiscence importeth, in the unregenerate, an immoderate desire of commutable good, in such sort as to captivate reason, and to pervert the soul, so that it must prefer commutable good before that which is incommutable: this concupiscence cannot be found in any, but it must make him in whom it is, guilty of condemnation; the strength of this concupiscence is so broken and overthrown by the grace of regeneration, that it hath no power to captivate reason, to pervert the soul, and bring upon it a necessity of preferring things finite before infinite; and so the guilt of condemnation is taken away: but it hath still power to move and solicit us to evil; and we, by God's grace, have power to resist and overcome. For as the Master of the Sentences[2] saith in the same place: Though concupiscence remain after baptism, yet doth it not rule and reign as before, but it is diminished, weakened, and made less forcible, that it may rule no longer, unless any man will give strength unto his enemy by going after the lusts thereof."

[1] "Sicut dictum est, concupiscentia duo dicit. Dicit enim appetitum immoderatum boni commutabilis, et sic dico quod ista immoderantia circa appetitum potest esse dupliciter. Aut ita quod ratio captivetur et anima pervertatur ut habeat necessitatem præponendi bonum commutabile bono incommutabili, et sic dicitur esse concupiscentia intensa, et hoc modo tenet rationem culpæ ratione videlicet illius immoderantiæ. Alio modo concupiscentia dicit immoderantiam, non quia ratio succumbat sensualitati, sed quia sensualitas non perfecte obtemperat rationi, et hoc modo tenet rationem pœnæ. Primo modo quia tenet rationem culpæ directe opponitur ipsi gratiæ, et ideo gratia superveniens aufert illam immoderantiam pro eo quod talis immoderantia ponebat debitæ justitiæ carentiam. Aliam autem immoderantiam quæ, sicut dictum est, dicit rationem pœnæ non tollit gratia in suo adventu propter hoc quod non opponitur formaliter ei; sed quoniam gratia et concupiscentia relicta respectu ejus ad quod inclinant quandam habent oppositionem, hinc est quod secundum quod homo plus exercitatur in gratia magis et magis remittitur concupiscentia: nunquam tamen omnino tollitur concupiscentia, quia semper remanet radix ejus in homine nisi auferatur per donum gratiæ speciale."—[Bonaventura in 2. Sent. Dist. 32. [Tom. IV. p. 447. Rom. 1589.]

[2] "Licet remaneat concupiscentia post baptismum, non tamen dominatur et regnat sicut antea; imo per gratiam baptismi mitigatur et minuitur, ut post dominari non valeat nisi quis reddat vires hosti eundo post concupiscentias."—[Ibid.]

So that it is evident, that the Church of God taught a we do, that concupiscence in its own nature is a sin, makin guilty of grievous punishment: that when it is weakened and ceaseth to be so potent as formerly it was, yet it ceaseth not to be of the same kind that formerly it was, as Grego rius Ariminensis[1] sheweth: and therefore, seeing it was befor a sin, it is still in some sort a sin: that God hating it before he hateth it still; and we also are to hate it, and by al means to seek to weaken and destroy it. Cassander[2] saith that a very worthy and famous divine affirmeth, that it is sin in the regenerate, though it be not imputed. And he addeth that the difference between them that say it is sin, and then that say it was sin properly and made guilty of condemnation but now being weakened and the guilt taken away, it is not properly sin, is a mere *logomachia.*

And therefore, in the conference at Wormes, the collo quutors agreed touching this point[3]: the form of their agree ment is this: "We confess, with unanimous consent, that all that come of Adam according to the ordinary course, are born in original sin and under the wrath of God. Original

[1] Ubi supra.

[2] "Certe insignis quidam theologus aperte asserit, etiam in regeneratis manere peccatum, tametsi non imputetur.... Magna vero controversia hactenus extitit, de vitiosa illa concupiscentia quam constat etiam post baptismum esse reliquam, sit ne propria ratione peccatum, etiam postquam baptismo remissa est: sed hæc vocis magis quam rei contentio esse videtur."—Cassand. Consult. art. ii. [p. 911. Par. 1616.]

[3] "Fatemur unanimi sententia omnes ab Adam propagatos secundum legem communem cum peccato originali, et ita in ira Dei nasci. Est autem peccatum originale carentia justitiæ originalis debita inesse cum concupiscentia; consentimus etiam in baptismo reatum peccati originalis remitti, cum omnibus peccatis, per meritum passionis Christi. Manere autem, non solum apostolicis scripturis sed ipsa etiam experientia docti sentimus, concupiscentiam, vitium naturæ, infirmitatem, morbum. De quo quidem morbo, in renatis, inter nos convenit quod maneat materiale peccati originis, sublato formali per baptismum. Materiale autem vocamus peccati quod sit a peccato, et quod ad peccatum inclinat, quod repugnat legi Dei, quemadmodum et Paulus appellat; ad eandem enim rationem in scholis compendio dici solet, manere in baptizato originis peccati materiale, formale vero rectius est auferri."—Formula concordiæ de Peccato Originis et Concupiscentia inita Wormatiæ ann. 1541. inter Eccium et Mensingum, item Bucerum et Philippum Melancthonem, ut reperitur ibidem apud Cassandrum.

sin is the privation and want of original righteousness, joined with concupiscence. We agree also, that the guilt of original sin is remitted in baptism, together with all other sins, by the merit of Christ's passion: but we think that concupiscence, a vice or fault of nature, an infirmity, and disease, remaineth; taught so to think, not only by the apostolical scriptures, but by experience also. And touching this disease we agree, that that which is material, in original sin, remaineth in the regenerate, that which is formal being taken away by baptism. And we call that the material part of original sin, that took beginning from sin, that inclineth unto sin, and repugneth against the law of God, as Paul also calleth it: and in this sort it is briefly said, in the schools, that the material part of original sin remaineth in the baptized, and that the formal is taken away." By the formal part of sin they understand the privation or want of those divine graces that should cause the knowledge, love, and fear of God; the inordinate inclination to love ourselves and finite things, so as not to regard God; and the consequent guilt of condemnation, accompanying such privation and inordinate inclination: by the material part they understand, not concupiscence as it is in strength, captivating all to the sinister love of ourselves, and things finite; but as weakened it still soliciteth to evil, but so that easily it may be resisted, if we make right use of the grace that God hath given us: this remainder of concupiscence is evil, inclineth to evil, God hateth it, and we must hate it, &c. And therefore, it is most absurd that the council of Trent[1] hath, that God hateth nothing in the regenerate; and the reason they give is very weak, that therefore he hateth nothing in them, because there is no condemnation unto them; for many things may be disliked in them that shall not be condemned.

It remaineth that we speak concerning first motions. Bonaventura[2] describeth first motions to be, the motions of

[1] ["In renatis nihil odit Deus, quia nihil est damnationis iis qui vere consepulti sunt cum Christo per baptisma in mortem."— Concil. Trident. Session. v. can. 5. Labbe, Tom. xx. col. 28. Ven. 1733.]

[2] "Dicendum quoque quod primi motus, secundum prædicta, sunt peccata venialia triplici ratione. Primo, quia movent ad illicitum. Secundo, quia sunt quodammodo voluntarii, non secundum se, sed quia, sicut dictum est, non impediuntur a voluntate, vel etiam propter præ-

sensuality according to the impulsion of concupiscence, impetuously tending to the fruition of a delectable creature. First motions, (saith he) are either *primo primi*, or *secundo primi: primo primi sunt naturales, secundo primi sunt sensualitatis: primo primi sequuntur naturalium qualitatum actionem, secundo primi imaginationem:* these first motions he pronounceth to be sin, for three causes. First, because they move to that which they should not, and to that which is unlawful. Secondly, because they are, in a sort, voluntary; though not in themselves, yet in that they are not hindered by the will, or in respect of precedent apprehension. Thirdly, they are sin, in respect of delight annexed: for when the soul is joined by delight to the creature, it is darkened and made worse, as when it is joined to God, it is enlightened and bettered. These, saith he, are venial sins, because the will hath not a complete dominion over these motions of sensuality, as over those acts that proceed from the command of the will; but yet it might have hindered them, and therefore they are venial sins; and so they continue, so long as they stay and proceed not so far as to have the will's consent; but if they proceed so far as that the will consenteth to take delight therein, though not to proceed to action, it is a mortal sin. This is the opinion of Bonaventura, a cardinal and a canonized saint; and with him agree sundry others: so that, in this point, the Church formerly taught as we do now.

cedentem apprehensionem. Tertio, propter delectationem annexam. Cum enim anima per delectationem conjungitur creaturæ, obtenebratur, et pejoratur; sicut quando conjungitur Deo, illuminatur et melioratur.

"Quamvis ergo sit in sensualitate peccatum, non tamen hoc erit mortale sed tantummodo veniale; quia voluntas non habet dominium completum super primos motus qui sunt sensualitatis, sicut in aliis actibus qui ex imperio voluntatis procedunt, sed habet in eis dominium incompletum, sicut in illis actibus qui non imperium rationis præcedunt; et tamen voluntas tales motus sensualitatis impedire poterat, et ideo sunt peccata venialia."—Bonaventura. Compend. Theol. Verit. Lib. III. cap. 10. [Tom. VII. p. 775. Rom. 1596.]

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE DISTINCTION OF VENIAL AND MORTAL SIN.

BELLARMINE[1] saith, that the Romanists with one consent do teach, that some sins, in their own nature, (no respect had to predestination, or reprobation; to the state of men regenerate, or not regenerate), are mortal, other venial; and that the former make men unworthy of the favour of God, and guilty of eternal condemnation; the other only subject them to temporal punishments, and fatherly chastisements. But we know the Church of God believed otherwise. For first, Gerson[2] proveth, that every offence against God, may justly be punished by him, in the strictness of his righteous judgment, with eternal death, yea with utter annihilation; because there is no punishment so evil and so much to be avoided, as the least sin that may be imagined: so that a man should rather choose eternal death, yea utter annihilation, than commit the least offence in the world. Secondly, he proveth the same, because all divines do agree, that wheresoever there is eternity of sin, there must be eternity of punishment; now where there is no remission, there sin must,

[1] "Docent communi consensu theologi catholici peccata quædam ex natura sua, nulla ratione habita ad prædestinationem vel reprobationem, aut ad statum renatorum vel non renatorum, esse mortalia, quædam venialia, et prioribus quidem indignum reddi hominem amicitia Dei, et mortis æternæ reum. Posterioribus temporalis tantum supplicii, paternæque castigationis hominum reum constitui."—Bellarmin. De Amiss. Grat. et Stat. Peccat. Lib. I. cap. 4. [Tom. IV. p. 33.]

[2] "Omne peccatum pro quanto est offensa Dei et contra legem ejus æternam est de sua conditione et indignitate mortiferum, secundum rigorem justitiæ, et a vita gloriæ separativum. Ratio est quoniam omnis offensa in Deum potest juste ab ipso judice Deo puniri pœna mortis tam temporalis quam æternæ, immo annihilationis pœna. Est igitur de se mortifera. Assumptum deducitur ex hoc quod nulla pœna talis est ita mala quantum mala est ipsa offensa. Et ex alio, quia potius toleranda esset omnis mors pœnalis et annihilatio, quam committenda esset quantumlibet parva offensa in Deum. Præterea quælibet offensa Dei nisi remitteretur, repelleret a gloria Dei, perpetuo et absque termino puniretur; alioquin maneret dedecus culpæ sine decore justitiæ; quod autem offensa dimittitur aut remittitur est ex pura liberalitate Dei remittentis et non amplius imputantis."—Gerson. De Vita Spirituali. Lect. 1. [Tom. III. col. 166. Par. 1606.]

of necessity, remain for ever: for, though sin soon cease in respect of the act, yet every sin remaineth, after the act past, in respect of the stain and guilt, till it be remitted whence it followeth, that every sin in its own nature, and without grace to remit it, remaineth eternally, and deserveth eternity of punishment, and is mortal.

We say, therefore, that some sins are mortal, and some venial, not because some deserve eternity of punishment, and others do not; for all deserve eternity of punishment, and shall eternally be punished, if they remain without grace, and unremitted eternally: but because some sins, either in respect of the matter wherein men do offend, or *ex imperfectione actus*, in that they are not committed with full consent, exclude not grace, the root of remission, and pardon, out of the soul of him that committeth them: whereas other, either in respect of the matter wherein they are conversant, or the full consent wherewith they are committed, cannot stand with grace. So that, contrary to Bellarmine's position, no sin is venial in its own nature, without respect had to the state of grace. And this is proved against him by the authority of such men, living in the Church in the days of our fathers, as he must not except against. Thomas Aquinas[1] saith, eternity of punishment answereth not to the grievousness of sin, but to the eternal continuance of it without remission: and that therefore, eternity of punishment is due to every sin of the unregenerate so continuing, *ratione conditionis subjecti*, in respect of the condition and state of him that committeth it, in whom grace is not found, by which only sin may be remitted. Whence it will follow, that every sin of the unregenerate so continuing, is worthy of eternal punishment, and shall so be punished, and therefore is mortal. And on the contrary side, every sin of the regenerate that may stand with grace, and not exclude it, is rightly said to be venial; that is, such as leaveth place for that grace that can and will procure remission: of which sort are all the sins of the elect

[1] "Æternitas pœnæ non respondet quantitati culpæ, sed irremissibilitati ipsius.

"Peccato originali non debetur pœna æterna ratione suæ gravitatis, sed ratione conditionis subjecti, scilicet hominis, qui sine gratia invenitur, per quam solum fit remissio pœnæ."—Thomas Aquinas, Prima Secundæ. Quæst. 87. art. 5.

of God, called according to purpose, which are not committed with full consent.

Cardinal Cajetan[1], writing upon those words of Thomas Aquinas, cleareth this point exceeding well: "Grace only," saith he, "is the fountain whence floweth remission of sin: nothing therefore positively maketh sin venial, or remissible, but to be in grace: nor nothing maketh a sin positively irremissible, or not venial, but the being out of the state of grace: for to be in the state of grace, is to have that which will procure remission of sin; and to be out of the state of grace, is to be in a state wherein remission cannot be had. So that that which positively maketh sin venial, or not venial, is the state of the subject wherein it is found: if we respect therefore the nature of sin, as it is in itself, without grace, it will remain eternally in stain, and guilt, and so will subject the sinner to eternal punishment: so that every sin, in itself, deserveth eternal punishment, and is mortal: but yet such is the nature of some sins, either in respect of the matter wherein they are conversant, or their not being done with full consent, that they do not necessarily imply an exclusion

[1] "Sola gratia est principium remissionis pœnæ, quia sola ponit hominem in statu capaci, ex condigno, remissionis non solum culpæ sed pœnæ: idcirco remissibilitas et irremissibilitas tam culpæ quam pœnæ positive sumptæ attenduntur penes statum subjecti, scilicet esse in gratia vel non, et non attenduntur universaliter penes ipsa peccata: et non advertere hoc multos decipit. Existens nam in gratia ut sic habet in se unde debeatur sibi quandoque remissio omnis culpæ et pœnæ, quia habet in se unde debetur sibi vita æterna, quæ non compatitur culpam aut pœnam: et sic statui gratiæ convenit remissibilitas positive, vendicat nam sibi illam; statui vero culpæ extra gratiam convenit irremissibilitas positive; quia si affirmatio est causa confirmationis, negatio est causa negationis, itaque, quia talis status sit per privationem principii omnis remissionis charitatis, scilicet et gratiæ, immo ex hoc ipso sibi vendicat irremissibilitatem, quæ est habere irremissibilitatem positive. Penes culpas autem loquendo, nulla culpa est remissibilis positive, quia nullam sibi vendicat remissionem, quia nulla ponit principium remissionis quæ est charitas; sed aliqua, scil. venialis, dicitur secundum se remissibilis negative, i. e. per non ablationem principii remissionis. Peccatum nam veniale secundum se non privat charitate. Ad irremissibilitatem autem culpa se habet sic, quia mortalis est irremissibilis positive, quia contrariatur charitati; venialis autem per accidens, quia scil. est in subjecto existente in statu non capaci remissionis."—Cajetan. in loc. [fol. 189. B. Ven. 1594.]

of grace out of the subject in which they are found, and so do not necessarily put the doers of them into a state positively making them not venial, by removing grace the fountain of remission. So that, to conclude, no sin is positively venial, as having any thing in it that may claim remission; for no sin implieth, or hath any thing in it, of grace the fountain of remission: but some sin, either *ex genere* or *ex imperfectione actus*, in respect of the matter wherein a man offendeth, or in that it is not done with full consent to the exclusion of grace, may be said to be remissible or venial *negative, per non ablationem principii remissionis*, in that it doth not necessarily imply the exclusion of grace the fountain of remission: and some sins, either in respect of the matter, or manner, do imply such exclusion, and are therefore named mortal."

Ricardus de Sancto Victore[1] agreeth with the former, and more clearly confirmeth our opinion than they do. The circumstances of that we find in him touching this point, are these: one had written unto him desiring to be resolved in a certain doubt; the doubt was this: How it could be true that he had learned of his teachers, that venial sins deserve only temporal punishments; and mortal, eternal: whereas yet in those that go to hell, if any of those sins that they call venial be found, they must be punished; and every punishment sustained in hell is eternal, seeing out of hell there is no redemption; whence it will follow, that even those sins

[1] "Videtur mihi veniale peccatum quod in Christo renatis per se solum nunquam inducit æternum supplicium, etiam si defuerit pœnitentiæ remedium. Mortale vero peccatum etiam si fuerit solum, si pœnitentiæ remedium defuerit, æternam mortem inducit. Veniale itaque peccatum in Christo renatis, quantum in se solo est, semper pertinet ad veniam; mortale vero, quantum in se solo est, semper pertinet ad mortem æternam. Mortale peccatum, quantum mihi videtur, triplici ratione recte distinguitur. Mortale est quod a quovis non potest committi sine grandi corruptione sui. Item mortale est quod non potest committi sine grandi læsione proximi. Mortale nihilominus quod non potest committi sine grandi contemptu Dei. Cætera omnia videntur mihi venialia. Veniale peccatum est reatus cui, quantum est in se solum fide mediante, nunquam debetur æterna damnatio. Mortale peccatum est reatus cui, quantum est in se solum, semper debetur æterna damnatio."—Ricardus de Sanct. Victor. De Differentia Peccati Mortalis et Venialis. part i. p. 389. Ven. 1592.]

that are named venial, deserve eternal punishment; for they are punished, eternally, in the damned: and it must not be thought, that the punishment inflicted for them is more than they deserve. All this, concerning the eternity of the punishment of every sin of the reprobate, he acknowledgeth to be true: and therefore sheweth that some sins are said to be venial, and mortal; but for other considerations than some supposed. His resolution, therefore, of the doubt proposed, is expressed in these words; "That sin seemeth unto me to be venial, which, found in the regenerate in Christ, of itself alone never bringeth upon them eternal punishment, though they repent not particularly of the same: and that is mortal, which though it be alone, bringeth eternal death upon the doers of it, without particular repentance: that therefore is a venial sin, which, of itself alone, and if there be nothing else to hinder, is ever sure to be pardoned and remitted, in the regenerate, so as never to bring condemnation upon them: and that is mortal, that of itself alone, putteth the doer into a state of condemnation and death."

Here we see sins are distinguished; some are said to be venial, and some mortal: but none are said to be venial, without respect had to a state of regeneration, as Bellarmine imagineth. To these we may add Almain[1], and Fisher bishop of Rochester, and sundry other: but it needeth not; for howsoever our adversaries make shew to the contrary, they all confess that to be true that we say; for, every sin eternally punishable deserveth eternal punishment; but every the least and lightest sin that we can commit, without grace and remission, remaineth eternally in stain and guilt, and is eternally punishable: whence it will follow, that every sin deserveth eternal punishment, and so is, by nature, mortal[2].

[1] Jacobus Almain in Tractatu 3. c. 20. Roffensis in Refutatione articuli 32. Lutheri citati a Bellarmino de Amissione Gratiæ. Lib. I. cap. 4. [Tom. IV. p. 33.]

[2] Bellarmine, c. 11. affirmeth, that venial sins are not against, but beside the law; but Durandus and others teach, that when men sin venially, they do that the law forbiddeth, and so do contrary to the law, not only besides it.

"Recte dicunt theologi peccata venialia, cujuscumque tandem generis sint, non esse contra legem sed præter legem."—Bellarm. [p. 44.]

"Mentiri jocose est directe contra dictamen legis naturalis, et non solum præter: et idem est de omnibus quæ ex genere suo sunt

So that, in this point, as in the former, the Church wherein our fathers lived and died, is found to have been a protestant Church.

CHAPTER X.

OF FREE WILL.

CARDINAL Contarenus[1] hath written a most divine and excellent discourse touching free will, wherein he sheweth the nature of free will, and how the freedom of will is preserved or lost: in this discourse, first, he sheweth what it is to be free; and then, secondly, what that is which we call free will. What it is to be free, he sheweth in this sort: As he is a servant that is not at his own dispose to do what he will, but is to do what another will have him to do, so he is said to be free who is at his own dispose, so as to do nothing presently because another will have him, but what seemeth good unto himself, and he hath a liking to do. The more therefore that any thing is moved, by and of itself, the more free it is. So that in natural things we shall find, that accordingly as they are moved by any thing within or without themselves in their motions, they come nearer to liberty, or are farther from it: so that a stone is, in a sort, free when it goeth downward, because it is carried by something within; but it suffereth violence, and is moved by something from without, when it ascendeth: yet doth it not move itself, when it goeth downward, but is moved by an impression of that weight which it put not into itself, but the Author of nature, and moveth but one way; so that it is far from freedom and liberty, even in this motion also. Living things move themselves; and not one way only, as the former, but every way: as we see plants and trees, wherein the first and lowest degree of life is discerned, move themselves downwards, upwards, on the right hand, and on the left: yet discern they not whither,

peccata venialia."—Durand. in 2 Sent. Dist. 42. Quæst. 6. [p. 456. Lugd. 1587.]

[1] ["Ut disputationem hanc nostram aggrediamur, ad liberi arbitrii vim naturamque congnoscendam, quid liberi primo nomine significetur, quæque sit illius verbi vis, intelligamus necesse est; tum vero ad liberum arbitrium explicandum veniemus," &c.—Gaspar Contarenus, de Libero Arbitrio, p. 597, sqq. Par. 1571.]

neither do they move themselves out of any discerning, and so are far from liberty. Brute beasts are moved by themselves, in a more excellent sort: for having discerned such things as are fitting to their nature and condition, there is raised in them a desire of the same: so that they may very properly and truly be said to move themselves, because they raise in themselves the desire that moveth them; yet is there no freedom or liberty in them.

For there is no liberty truly so called, but where there is an apprehension, not of things of some certain kind only, but of all things generally, of the whole variety of things, of the proportion which they have within themselves, and of the different degrees of goodness found in them; and, answerable hereunto, a desire of good in general, and a greater or less desire of each good, according as it appeareth to be more or less good, and so a preferring of one before another, and a choosing of what it thinketh best. So that reason is the root of all liberty: for in that reason discerneth good in general, the will in general desireth it, in that it sheweth there is a good wherein there is all good and no defect, the will, if it have any action about the same, cannot but accept it: in that it sheweth that one thing is better than another, the will preferreth or less esteemeth it: in that it sheweth some reasons of good, and some defects and evils, the will chooseth or refuseth: when reason finally resolveth a thing, now and in this particular, to be best, the will inclineth to it.

This generality of knowledge is not found in any thing below the condition of man: other living creatures have an apprehension of some certain things only; they have no knowledge of good in general, but of certain good things only; nor no desire of good in general, in the extent of it, but of such particular good things as are fitted to them: these therefore have neither free and illimited apprehension nor desire of good, but limited, restrained, and shut up within a certain compass; so that they are like to a man shut up in prison, who though he may move himself and walk up and down, yet cannot go beyond a certain limitation and bounds set unto him. But man was made to have an apprehension of all things, to discern the nature of each, and the different degrees of goodness found in them; and accordingly, to desire good in general, to desire each thing more or less, as it ap-

peareth more or less good; never to rest satisfied till he come to an infinite good; to desire the same for itself, as originally good, and as the last end, because above or beyond it there is nothing to be desired; and to desire nothing but in reference unto it, seeing nothing is good but by partaking of it.

And hence, it is easy to see, how the liberty of our will is preserved; and how and in what sort it is lost: for, seeing the desire of the chief good and last end is the original of all particular desires; if God be proposed unto us as our last end and chief good, in whom, from whom, and for whom, all things are: then our will, without restraint, and without all going aside, and intangling or intricating itself, shall freely love whatsoever is good, and each thing more or less, according as it comes nearer to God, and nothing but that which is pleasing to him: thus is our liberty preserved and continued. But if we depart from God, and make any other thing our chief good and last end; then we seek that which is infinite within the compass of that which is finite, and so languish; never finding that we seek, because we seek it where it is not to be found: and besides, bring ourselves into a strait, so as to regard nothing, though never so good, farther than in reference to this finite thing which we esteem as if it were infinite: neither do we set up any other thing unto ourselves to be our chief good, but ourselves. For, as Picus Mirandula noteth, the ground of the love of friendship is unity: now first, God is more near to every of us than we are to ourselves: then, are we nearer to ourselves than any other thing: and, in the third place, there is a nearness and conjunction between other things and us. So that, in the state of nature instituted, we loved God first, and before and more than ourselves; and ourselves no otherwise but in and for him: but, falling from that love, we must of necessity decline to love ourselves better than any thing else, and seek our own greatness, our own glory, and the things that are pleasing to us, more than any thing else: and because the soul, unmindful of her own worth and dignity, hath demersed herself into the body and senses, and is degenerated into the nature and condition of the body, she seeketh nothing more than bodily pleasures, as fitting to her, and declineth nothing more, as contrary to her, than the things that grieve and afflict the outward man.

This is the fountain of all the evils that are found in our nature: this putteth us into horrible confusions; for having raised ourselves into the throne of God by pride, and fancied unto ourselves a peerless and incomparable greatness, we are no less grieved at the good of other men, than if it were our evil: nay, indeed, it is become our evil; for how can our excellence be peerless, and incomparable, if any other excel or equal us, or have any thing wherein he is not subordinate to us? Thus do we run into envy, and all other evils, and endlessly disquiet and afflict ourselves. And, secondly, we are hereby deprived of our former liberty; for neither do we know all the variety of good things as we did, our knowledge being from sense; nor their different degrees, that so we might have power to desire them, and to prefer each before other, according to the worth of it; neither can we desire any good, but as serving our turn; so that what doth not so, we cannot esteem.

Touching the will of man since the Fall; it is resolved by all divines, that it hath lost the freedom it formerly had from sin and misery: but some understand this in one sort, and some in another. For some affirm, that men have so far forth lost their liberty, from sin, by Adam's fall, that they cannot but sin in whatsoever moral act they do; which thing I shewed to have been believed by the Church wherein our fathers lived and died. But they of the Church of Rome at this day dislike this opinion, for they suppose, that though our will be not free from sin, so as collectively to decline each sin; and that though, in the state wherein presently we are, we cannot but sin at one time or other, in one thing or other; yet we may decline each particular sin divisively, and do the true works of moral virtue. Much contending there is and hath been touching freewill: wherefore, for the clearing of this point, two things are to be noted: first, from what, and secondly, wherein, this liberty may be thought to be.

The things from which the will may be thought to be free, are five: First, the authority of a superior commander, and the duty of obedience: secondly, the inspection, care, government, direction, and ordering of a superior: thirdly, necessity, and that either from some externe cause enforcing, or from nature inwardly determining, and absolutely moving one way: fourthly, sin, and the dominion of it: fifthly,

misery. Of these five kinds of liberty, the two first agree only to God, so that, in the highest degree, τὸ αὐτεξούσιον that is, freedom of will, is proper to God only; and in this sense, Calvin and Luther rightly deny, that the will of any creature is or ever was free. The third kind of liberty opposite, not only to coaction, but natural necessity also: opposition to coaction, the understanding is free; for however a man may be forced to think and believe contrary to his inclination, that is, such things as he would not have to be true; yet the understanding cannot assent to any thing contrary to her own inclination; for the understanding is inclined to think so of things, as they are, and as they may be made to appear unto her to be, whether pleasing to nature or not; but the understanding is not free from necessity.

But the will, in her action, is free, not only in opposition to coaction, but to natural necessity also. Natural necessity consisteth herein, that when all things required to enable an agent to produce the proper effect thereof, are present, it hath no power not to bring forth such effect, but is put into action by them: so the fire, having fit fuel in due sort put unto it, and being blowed upon, cannot but burn. The liberty of the will, therefore, appeareth herein, that though all those things be present that are pre-required to enable it to bring forth the proper action of it, yet it hath power not to bring it forth; and it is still indifferent and indeterminate, till it determine and incline itself; God indeed worketh the will to determine itself; neither is it possible that he should so work it, and it should not determine itself accordingly: yet doth not God's working upon the will take from it the power of dissenting, and doing the contrary, but so inclineth it, that having liberty to do otherwise, yet she will actually determine so.

Here, Luther and Calvin are charged with the denial of this liberty of the will; and many strange absurdities are attributed to them; for, first, Luther is said to have affirmed that the will of man is merely passive; that it produceth not any act, but receiveth into it such acts as God alone, without any concurrence of it, worketh and produceth in it. But all this is nothing but a mere calumniation: for Luther knoweth right well, that men produce such actions as are externally good and evil, willing, and out of choice; and confesseth that

we do the good things that God commandeth us, when we are made partakers of his grace; but that God worketh us to do them; we believe, we fear, we love; but it is God that worketh us to believe, fear, and love. *Certum est nos facere cum facimus*, saith St Augustine[1], *sed Deus facit ut faciamus.* It is most certain that we do those things we are said to do, but it is God that maketh us to do them; not only by persuading, inviting, and inwardly drawing us by moral inducements, but by a true and real efficiency: so that, according to Luther's opinion, we move not, but as moved; nor are active, but as having first been passive; nor turn ourselves, but as first wrought upon, and made to turn: yet do we truly move ourselves, and truly, freely, and cheerfully choose that which is good, and turn ourselves from that which is evil, to that which is good. Divines[2] say that *facere ut velimus*, and *facere ipsum velle*, differ very much[3]: that is, they say, it is one thing to make us to will, and another to produce the act of willing. God worketh both, but in a different sort; the first, *sine nobis facientibus nos velle; secundem autem, operatur nobiscum simul tempore consentientibus et cooperantibus;* that is, God worketh the first of these alone; we make not ourselves to will; the second, he produceth together with us, willing that he would have us, and producing that we do. So that, in the former consideration, we are merely passive; in the latter, active: which neither Luther[4], nor any of his followers ever denied. Calvin, they say, confesseth, that the will concur-

[1] August. de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio, cap. 16. [Tom. x. col. 735, A.]

[2] "Aliud est facere ut velimus, aliud facere ipsum velle: dicimus tamen Deum vere efficienter per gratiam suam facere utrumque. Primum videlicet sine nobis facientibus nos velle; secundum autem operatur, nobiscum simul tempore consentientibus et cooperantibus."—Alvarez. De auxiliis Divinæ Gratiæ, Disput. 86, sect. 8, p. 692. Lugd. 1611.

[3] "Facere ut velimus est operari in nobis aliquid quo disponamur et efficaciter inclinemur, et determinemur ad volendum." Alvar. Ibid.

[4] "Lutherus usus Scholasticorum phrasi, sententiam illam ita explicavit, quod mere passive se habeat. Et tamen non docuit sine cogitatione mentis et consensu voluntatis fieri conversionem, sed hoc voluit: Deum eos, quos convertit, trahere voluntatibus eorum, quas ipse in illis per Spiritum Sanctum operatus est, sicut Augustinus loquitur," &c.—Vide Chemnicii Examen Decret. Concil. Trident. De Libero Arbitrio. [Genev. 1641. p. 126.]

reth actively to the act which God produceth, but without any freedom at all; unless we speak of that freedom which is from coaction. It is true, indeed, that Calvin denieth us to be free from necessity; but he speaketh of the necessity of sinning; but he never denieth us to be free from natural necessity, that is, from being put into action so as natural agents are, that is, without all choice and liking of that we incline to do. It is evident that Calvin confesseth the will of man to be free to do evil; and he denieth it not to be free to perform acts civilly good, or morally good, *ex genere et objecto;* yea, he thinketh that the will, freely and out of choice, willeth whatsoever it willeth: as, in the state of aversion, it freely willeth that it should not; so when God converteth it, he turneth the course of the actions and desire of it, and maketh it freely, and out of choice, to turn to good.

That men have lost the freedom from sin, and put themselves into a necessity of sinning, St Augustine sheweth[1]: *Libero arbitrio male utens homo et se perdidit, et ipsum: sicut enim qui se occidit, utique vivendo se occidit, sed se occidendo non vivit, nec seipsum potest resuscitare cum occiderit: ita cum libero peccaretur arbitrio, victore peccato, amissum est et liberum arbitrium, a quo enim quis devictus est, huic et servus addictus est. Quæ sententia cum vera sit, qualis, quæso, potest servi addicti esse libertas, nisi quando eum peccare delectat? Liberaliter enim servit, qui sui domini voluntatem libenter facit. Ac per hoc ad peccandum liber est, qui peccati servus est; unde ad juste faciendum liber non erit, nisi a peccato liberatus, esse justitiæ cœperit servus. Ipsa est vera libertas propter recte facti lætitiam*[2], *simul et pia servitus propter præcepti obedientiam. Sed ista libertas ad bene faciendum, unde erit homini addicto et vendito, nisi redimat ille cujus illa vox est, Si vos Filius liberaverit, vere liberi eritis? Quod antequam fieri in homine incipiat, quomodo quisquam de libero arbitrio in bono gloriatur opere, qui nondum liber est ad operandum bene: nisi se, vana superbia inflatus, extollat, quam cohibet apostolus dicens, Gratia salvi facti estis per fidem?*

Here we see necessity of sinning, and freedom from

[1] August. Enchirid. cap. 30. [Tom. VI. col. 207.]

[2] al. recte faciendi licentiam.

natural necessity, do stand together, in the corrupted nature of man[1]: *Nescio quo pravo et miro modo ipsa sibi voluntas, peccato quidem in deterius mutata, necessitatem facit; ut nec necessitas cum voluntaria sit, excusare valeat voluntatem; nec voluntas, cum sit illecta, excludere necessitatem. Est enim necessitas hæc quodam modo voluntaria: est favorabilis vis quædam, premendo blandiens, et blandiendo premens; voluntas est quæ se cum esset libera servam fecit peccati, peccato assentiendo; voluntas nihilo minus est, quæ se sub peccato tenet voluntarie serviendo. Vide quid dicas, inquit aliquis mihi: Tune voluntarium dicis, quod jam necessarium esse constat? Verum quidem est quod voluntas seipsam addixerit, sed non ipsa se retinet, magis retinetur et nolens*[2]. *Bene hoc saltem das, quod retinetur; sed vigilanter retine voluntatem esse, quam retineri fateris. Itaque voluntatem nolentem dicis? Non utique voluntas retinetur non volens: voluntas enim volentis est, non nolentis. Quod si volens retinetur, ipsa se retinet. Quid ergo dicet, aut quid respondebit ei, cum ipsa fecerit? Quid fecit? Servam se fecit; unde dicitur, Qui peccatum facit, servus est peccati*[3]. *Propterea cum peccavit (peccavit autem, cum peccato obedire decrevit) servam se fecit. Sed fit libera si non adhuc facit. Facit autem in eadem servitute se retinens: neque enim non volens voluntas tenetur: voluntas enim est. Ergo quia volens, servam seipsam fecit: non modo fecit, sed facit. Sed non me, inquis, decredere facies necessitatem quam patior, quam in memetipso experior, contra quam et assidue luctor. Ubinam, quæso, hanc necessitatem sentis? nonne in voluntate? Non ergo parum firmiter vis, quod et necessario vis. Multum vis quod nolle nequeas, nec multum obluctans. Porro ubi voluntas, et libertas? quod tamen dico de naturali, non de spirituali, qua libertate (ut dicit apostolus) Christus nos liberavit. Nam de illa idem*

[1] Bernard. in Cant. Serm. 81. [Tom. I. col. 1554.]

[2] "Animalia carentia ratione carent libertate, sensu aguntur, feruntur impetu, rapiuntur appetitu, neque enim judicium habent quo se dijudicent sive regant; sed ne instrumentum quidem judicii ratione. Hanc vim a natura solus homo non patitur, et ideo solus inter animantia liber: et tamen interveniente peccato patitur quandam vim et ipse, sed a voluntate non a natura; ut ne sic quidem ingenita libertate privetur; quod enim voluntarium, et liberum." Bernard. ibidem.

[3] Joann. viii. [34.]

ipse dicit: Ubi Spiritus Domini, ibi libertas. Ita anima miro quodam et malo modo, sub hac voluntaria quadam et male libera necessitate, et ancilla tenetur et libera: ancilla propter necessitatem, libera propter voluntatem: et quod magis mirum, magisque miserum est, eo rea quo libera, eoque ancilla quo rea; ac per hoc eo ancilla, quo libera. And afterward, *Non quod volo hoc ago, sed me non alio prohibente: et quod odi illud facio, sed me non alio compellente. Atque utinam hæc prohibitio, et hæc compulsio, ita esset violenta, ut non esset voluntaria: forsitan enim sic possem excusari: aut certe ita esset voluntaria, ut non violenta: profecto enim sic possem corrigi.*

It is true that natural men may do things that are good *ex genere et objecto*, and perform such external actions as serve to entertain this present life; but to do any thing morally good, not only *ex genere et objecto*, but *ex fine et circumstantiis*, there is no power left in corrupted nature. It is excellent to this purpose that we read in St Augustine[1]: *Per velle malum, recte perdidit posse bonum, qui per posse bonum, potuit vincere velle malum. Per peccatum igitur liberum arbitrium hominis possibilitatis perdidit bonum, non nomen et rationem. Esse fatemur liberum arbitrium omnibus hominibus, habens quidem judicium rationis, non per quod sit*

[1] August. Hypognost. Lib. III. [cap. 4. Tom. X. Append. col. 14.]

August. Lib. I. Retract. cap. 15: "Voluntas in tantum libera est, quia in tantum liberata est: alioquin tota cupiditas, quæ voluntas proprie nuncupanda est." Ep. 106: "Sine gratia nos dicimus ad non peccandum nihil voluntatis arbitrium valere."—[Tom. I. col. 25.]

Prosper contra Collatorem. c. 19. saith that man, since the Fall, "labitur memoria, errat judicio, nutat incessu." And, cap. 21: "Infidelitas rapuit fidem, captivitas abstulit libertatem, nec potuit illic ulla portio residere virtutum, quo tanta irruperat turma vitiorum."—[Cap. 9. Tom. I. p. 180. Bassan. 1782.]

Aug. de Spiritu et Litera, cap. 3. "Liberum arbitrium nihil nisi ad peccandum valet si lateat veritatis via, aut si agnita veritas non delectet et ametur."—[Tom. X. col. 87.]

Id. de Verbis Apost. Serm. 13. [al. Serm. 157. Tom. V. col. 755.]

Id. Contra Duas Epistolas Pelag. Lib. I. cap. 3. [Tom. X. col. 414.]

Id. de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio. cap. 15. [Tom. X. col. 734.]

Id. de Correptione et Gratia, cap. 1. [Tom. X. col. 751.]

Id. ad Bonifacium. Lib. III. cap. 8. [Tom. X. col. 464.]

Id. Epist. 107. ad Vitalem. [al. 217. Tom. II. col. 803.]

idoneum, quæ ad Deum pertinent, sine Deo aut inchoare aut certe peragere: sed tantum in operibus vitæ præsentis, tam bonis, quam etiam malis. Bonis dico, quæ de bono naturæ oriuntur; id est, velle laborare in agro, velle habere amicum, velle habere indumenta, velle fabricare domum, artem discere diversarum rerum bonarum, velle quicquid bonum ad præsentem pertinet vitam, &c. Malis vero dico, ut velle idolum colere, velle homicidium. And again, *De verbis Apostoli*, Serm. 13. *Agis quidem, Deo non adjuvante, libera voluntate, sed male. Ad hoc idonea est voluntas tua, quæ vocatur libera, et male agendo fit damnabilis ancilla. Cum dico tibi sine adjutorio Dei nihil agis, nihil boni dico: nam ad male agendum habes sine adjutorio Dei liberam voluntatem; quanquam non est illa libera. A quo enim quis devictus est, huic et servus addictus est: et omnis qui facit peccatum, servus est peccati.* And again, *Contra Duas Epistolas Pelag. ad Bonifacium*, Lib. I. c. 3: *Arbitrium in bono liberum non erit, quod liberator non liberaverit, sed in malo liberum habet arbitrium.* And afterward, *Hæc voluntas quæ libera est in malis, quia delectatur malis, ideo libera in bonis non est, quia liberata non est.* And again, *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, Lib. I. c. 15: *Semper est in nobis voluntas libera, sed non semper est bona. Aut enim a justitia libera est, quando servit peccato, et tunc est mala: aut a peccato libera est, quando servit justitiæ, et tunc est bona. Gratia vero Dei semper est bona, et per hanc fit ut sit homo bonæ voluntatis, qui prius fuit malæ voluntatis.* And in his book, *De Correptione et Gratia*, c. 1: *Liberum arbitrium et ad malum, et ad bonum faciendum, confitendum est nos habere: sed in malo faciendo liber est quisque justitiæ, servusque peccati: in bono autem liber esse nullus potest nisi fuerit liberatus.* And *Ad Bonifacium*, Lib. III. c. 8: *Liberum arbitrium captivatum non nisi ad peccatum valet, ad justitiam vero nisi divinitus liberatum, adjutumque non valet.* Again, *Epistola*, 107, *Ad Vitalem: Liberum arbitrium ad diligendum Deum primi peccati granditate perdidimus.* Ariminensis[1] saith: *Voluntas determinata est ad malum actum, scilicet quod si sine speciali Dei auxilio eliciet actum, utique eliciet malum.* And I have shewed that many other concurred with him. It is excellent therefore that Au-

[1] Lib. II. Dist. 29. art. 2. [fol. 111.]

gustine[1] hath: *Ergo damnas (inquit Pelagianus) opera liberi arbitrii? Audi, hæretice stulte, et inimice fidei veritatis: Opera liberi arbitrii bona, quæ ut faciant præparantur per gratiæ prœventum, nullo liberi arbitrii merito, et ipso faciente, gubernante, et perficiente, ut abundent in libero arbitrio non damnamus, quia ex his vel hujusmodi, homines Dei justificati sunt, justificantur, justificabuntur in Christo. Damnamus vero authoritate divina opera liberi arbitrii quæ gratiæ præponuntur, et ex his tanquam meritis, in Christo justificari extolluntur.* Ariminensis[2]: *Ex his infero corollarium; quod nemo potest mereri primam gratiam de condigno, nec etiam de congruo, contra aliquorum sententiam modernorum: nomine autem gratiæ intelligo quodcunque Dei speciale adjutorium ad bene operandum.* Bonaventura[3]: *Sciendum quod habilitatio sive præparatio ad gratiam triplex est; scilicet efficiens, formalis, materialis; prima est a Deo, secunda a gratia gratis data; tertia a nobis. Anima namque habet facultatem et instrumenta cognoscendi et diligendi Deum ex natura; sed non habet cognitionem veritatis, et ordinem dilectionis, nisi ex gratia.*

In another place he hath these words[4]: *Libertas arbitrii triplex est, scilicet, a necessitate, a peccato, a miseria. Prima libertas est naturæ, secunda, gratiæ: tertia, gloriæ: item prima est bonorum et malorum, secunda est tantummodo bonorum, tertia est in cœlo regnantium. Libertas malorum est velle peccare, et etiam posse peccare. Liberum arbitrium liberius est in bonis quam in malis, quia in bonis est tantummodo servitus miseriæ, in malis autem est servitus miseriæ et peccati: sed in patria est liberrimum, quoniam omnis talis servitus destruetur. Nota quod, licet Deus non possit male facere et similiter angelus, et animæ beatæ, tamen est in eis liberum arbitrium: quia bonum*

[1] August. Hypognost. Lib. III. [Tom. X. Append. col. 24.]

[2] Greg. Arim. Lib. II. Dist. 28. qu. 1. art. 1. [fol. 96. B.]

[3] Bonavent. Compend. Theol. Veritatis, Lib. V. cap. 2. [Tom. VII. p. 798. Rom. 1596.]

[4] Id. Lib. II. cap. 56. [p. 765.]

"Præparatio ad fruendum Deo per donum habituale: ad susceptionem hujus doni, per auxilium Dei intus moventis animam et inspirantis bonum propositum."—Thos. Aquin. prima secundæ, Quæst. 109. art. 6. [Tom. XI. p. 249. Ven. 1593.]

eligunt, et malum declinant, non ex infirma necessitate, sed libera voluntate. Eodem modo dicendum est de diabolo, quod habet liberum arbitrium, bonum tamen semper respuit, et malum eligit: sed hoc non facit in eo violenta coactio, sed voluntaria obstinatio. Liberum arbitrium habet se in quibusdam indifferenter ad bonum et ad malum, ut in primis parentibus ante lapsum: in quibusdam plus se habet ad malum, quam ad bonum, ut in regeneratis per baptismum: in quibusdam plus se habet ad bonum quam ad malum, ut in sanctificatis in utero: in quibusdam necessario se habet ad malum, ut in infidelibus non regeneratis: in quibusdam necessario se habet ad bonum, ut in confirmatis, sicut fuit beata virgo post conceptionem Filii.

And in another place[1]: *Homo pronior ad malum quam ad bonum, et hoc multis de causis. Primo, quia sicut dicitur: corpus quod corrumpitur, aggravat animam, trahens illam ad malum, et non sic erigens ad bonum. Secundo, quia sicut dicit Augustinus: Plus valet malum inolitum, quam bonum insolitum. Tertio, quia naturaliter facilius est descendere, quam ascendere: et unus magis trahit deorsum, quam decem sursum. Quarto, quia incitans ad malum præsens est, sed finis virtutum incitans ad bonum absens est. Delectabile autem apprehensum per sensum, vel imaginationem, quasi de necessitate movet concupiscentiam. Quinto, quia plures circumstantiæ requiruntur ad bonum, quam ad malum. Sexto, quia tendimus ad nostrum principium, scilicet, ad nihilum. Septimo, quia fomes, qui movet ad malum, semper intra nos est: gloria vero quam quærimus extra nos est. Octavo, quia vires animæ sunt active ad diligendum temporalia: sed passivæ et materiales ad ea quæ sunt gratiæ et gloriæ. Quia non possunt haberi virtutes per modum acquisitionis, sed per modum receptionis. Unde malum possumus facere per nos, sed bonum non possumus facere sine gratia adjutrice.*

Peter Lombard[2], proposing the question, Whether all the intentions and actions of them that lack faith be sin? hath these words: *Si fides intentionem dirigit, et intentio bonum opus facit; ubi non est fides, nec intentio bona nec opus bonum esse videtur. Quod a quibusdam non irrationabiliter astruitur,*

[1] Bonavent. Compend. Theol. Veritatis. Lib. III. cap. 10. [p. 775.]

[2] Lib. II. Dist. 41. [fol. 109. Colon. 1513.]

qui dicunt omnes actiones et voluntates hominis sine fide malas esse, quæ fide habita bonæ existunt, unde apostolus ait, Omne quod non est ex fide peccatum est. Quod exponens Augustinus ait, Omnis infidelium vita peccatum est, et nihil bonum est sine summo bono: ubi deest agnitio æternæ veritatis, falsa virtus est etiam in optimis moribus. Et Jacobus, in Epistola canonica, ait, Qui offendit in uno, scilicet in charitate, factus est omnium reus. Qui ergo fidem et charitatem non habet, omnis ejus actio peccatum est, quia ad charitatem non refertur. Quod enim ad charitatem non refertur (ut supra meminit Augustinus) non fit quemadmodum fieri oportet, ideoque malum est. Non ergo mandata custodit, qui charitate caret, quia sine charitate nullum mandatorum custoditur. Impossibile est (ut ait Apostolus) sine fide aliquid placere Deo. Quæ ergo sine fide fiunt, bona non sunt: quia omne bonum placet Deo. His autem objicitur quod supra dixit Augustinus, scilicet quod in servili timore, etsi bonum fiat, non tamen bene: nemo invitus bene facit, etiamsi bonum est quod facit. Hic enim dicit bonum fieri sed non bene, ab illo qui charitatem non habet. Qui enim serviliter timet charitate vacuus est: de quo tamen hic dicit, quia bonum facit, sed non bene. Qui etiam super illum locum Psalmi: Turtur invenit sibi nidum ubi reponat pullos suos, dicit, quod Judæi, hæretici, et pagani, opera bona faciunt, quia vestiunt nudos, et pascunt pauperes, et hujusmodi, sed non in nido ecclesiæ, id est, in fide: et ideo conculcantur pulli eorum. Quibus illi respondent, dicentes bona opera appellari hujusmodi, quæ sine charitate fiunt, non quia bona sint quando sic fiunt, quod evidenter supra Augustinus docuit: sed quia bona essent, si aliter fierent: quæ in suo genere sunt bona, sed ex affectu sunt mala. But he saith, there are others of another opinion, making the actions of men to be of three sorts, and denying all the actions of infidels to be sin. *Opera cuncta quæ ad naturæ subsidium fiunt, semper bona esse astruunt. Sed quod Augustinus*[1] *mala esse dicit, si malas habeant causas; non ita accipiendum est, quasi ipsa mala sint: sed quia peccant, et mali sunt, qui ea malo fine agunt.*

[1] August. in Psalm. xiii. [Contra Mendacium, cap. 7. Tom. VI. col. 457. A.]

Thomas Bradwardine[1], in his *Summe* against the Pelagians of his time, clearly resolveth, that the will of man, since the Fall, hath no power to bring forth any good action, that may be morally good *ex fine et circumstantiis*. And Alvarez[2], though he think that all the actions of infidels are not sin, yet saith, that none of them is truly an act of virtue, no, not in respect to the last natural end. Cassander[3] saith, that the article of the Augustan confession, touching original sin, agreeth with the doctrine of the Church, when as it teacheth that the will of man hath some kind of liberty, to bring forth a kind of civil justice, and to make choice in things subject to reason; but that without the Spirit of God, it hath no power to do any thing that may be just before God, or any thing spiritually just. And all orthodox divines agree, against the Pelagians, that it is the work of grace, that we are made just of unjust, truly, and before God; that this grace createth not a new will, nor constraineth it against the liking of it, but correcteth the depravation of it, and turneth it from willing ill, to will well; drawing it with a kind of inward motion, that it may become willing of unwilling, and willingly consent to the divine calling.

The Pelagians, the enemies of God's grace, being urged with those texts of Scripture wherein mention is made of grace, sought to avoid the evidence of them, affirming that by grace, the powers, faculties, and perfections of nature, freely given by God the Creator, at the beginning, are un-

[1] "Thomas Bradvardinus suo tempore doctor profundus appellatus, egregium volumen, quod Summam appellat, adversus Pelagianismum conscripsit: liberum arbitrium, nisi moveatur et adjuvetur a Deo, ad bonum nil valere."—[Cassand. Consult. Artic. 17. p. 960.]

[2] "Dicendum est ergo, nullum actum moralem in natura lapsa, elicitum ab homine absque auxilio gratiæ, esse vere bonum veræque virtutis opus, etiam comparatione ultimi finis naturalis."—Alvarez, Lib. VI. disp. 50. [p. 428. Lugd. 1611.]

[3] "Articulus de libero hominis arbitrio plane cum ecclesiastica doctrina consentit, cum docet, quod humana voluntas habeat aliquam libertatem ad efficiendam civilem justitiam, et deligendas res rationi subjectas: sed non habet vim sine Spiritu Sancto efficiendæ justitiæ Dei seu justitiæ spiritualis, sed hæc fit in cordibus cum per verbum Spiritus Sanctus concipitur."—Cassand. Consult. art. 18. [p. 960. Par. 1616.]

derstood; when this would not serve the turn, they understood by grace, the remission of sins past; and imagined that if that were remitted wherein we have formerly offended, out of that good that is in nature we might hereafter so bethink ourselves, as to do good and decline evil. Thirdly, when this shift failed likewise, they began to say, that men haply will not bethink themselves of that duty they are bound to do, or will not presently and certainly discern what they are to do, without some instruction or illumination; but that if they have the help of instruction and illumination, they may easily, out of the strength of nature, decline evil, and do that they discern to be good. Against this, it is excellent that St Bernard[1] hath: *Non est ejusdem facilitatis, scire quid faciendum sit, et facere. Quoniam et diversa sunt, cœco ducatum, ac fesso præbere vehiculum. Non quicunque ostendit viam, præbet etiam viaticum itineranti: aliud illi exhibet qui facit ne deviet, et aliud qui præstat ne deficiat in via. Ita nec quivis doctor statim et dator erit boni, quodcunque docuerit. Porro duo mihi sunt necessaria, doceri ac juvari; tu quidem, homo, recte consulis ignorantiæ, sed si verum sentit apostolus, Spiritus adjuvat infirmitatem nostram. Immo vero qui mihi per os tuum ministrat consilium, ipse mihi, necesse est, ministret per spiritum suum adjutorium, quo valeam implere quod consulis.*

When they were driven from this device also, they betook themselves unto another; to wit, that the help of grace is necessary, to make us more easily, more constantly, and universally, to do good, than, in the present state of nature, we can: and to make us so to do good, as to attain eternal happiness in heaven. And this is, and was, the opinion of many in the Roman Church, both anciently, and in our time. For many taught, that men, in the present state of nature as now it is, since Adam's fall, may decline each particular sin, do works truly virtuous and good, fulfil the several precepts of God's law, according to the substance of the work commanded, though not according to the intention of the Lawgiver; that they may love God above all[2], as the Author and end of nature. So that, to these purposes,

[1] Bernard. De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio. [cap. 1. Vol. I. col. 609.]

[2] "Cameracensis ait, multos doctores asserere hominem extra

there was no necessity of the gift of grace, but that grace is added to make us more easily, constantly, and universally, to do good, and to merit heaven. And therefore, Stapleton[1] confesseth, that many wrote unadvisedly, as well amongst the Schoolmen heretofore, as in our time, in the beginnings of the differences in religion; but that now men are become wiser. I would to God it were so; but it will be found, that howsoever they are, in a sort, ashamed of that they do, yet they persist to do as others did before them: for they teach still[2], that men may decline each particular sin, do the true works of moral virtue, do things the law requireth, according to the substance of the things commanded, though not so as to merit heaven, or never to break any of them. Bellarmine[3], indeed, denieth, that we can love God above all, in any sort, without the help of grace. But Cardinal Cajetan[4] saith, that though we cannot so love God above all, as to do nothing

gratiam per sola naturalia posse diligere Deum super omnia."—Camer. Sent. i. Dist. 1. qu. 2. art. 2. [Petrus de Alyaco Cameracensis in Sent.]

[1] "Utcunque igitur vel olim scholastici aliqui, vel circa initium hodierni schismatis scriptores aliqui catholici de hac præparatione hominis ante gratiam imprudenter scripserunt, non est illud hodie ab aliquo scriptore catholico amplius defensum."—Stapleton. de Justificatione. Lib. II. cap. 4. [Tom. II. p. 50. Par. 1620.]

"Respectu primæ gratiæ, meritum ex congruo jampridem explosum est."—Stapleton. ibid.

[2] "Observatio omnium præceptorum moralium secundum substantiam operis, necessario cum dilectione proximi et Dei conjuncta est, ac per hoc secundum scripturas viribus solius naturæ nullo modo haberi potest. Sed adversus ea quæ dicta sunt objiciunt adversarii," &c.—Bellarm. de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio. Lib. v. cap. 5.—Et, "Potest servari præceptum secundum substantiam operis etiam cum peccato, ut si quis amico restituat depositum, ut illo ipse a furibus spolietur. At bonum morale non potest cum peccato fieri; proinde majus quiddam est facere bonum morale quam servare præceptum."—Cap. 9. [Tom. IV. pp. 309. 313. Ven. 1721.]

[3] "Concedunt omnes theologi non posse diligi Deum sine gratia Dei et fide præcedente: neque nos de hac re dubitamus."—[Id. Lib. VI. cap. 7. p. 355.]

[4] "Non potest homo omnia a se dilecta referre in Deum ut ultimum finem quod faciebat in natura integra. Et patet veritas conclusionis, quia integra natura hoc poterat, et quia corrupta non potest, nisi adjutorio gratiæ sanantis. Potest reddere Deo actum diligendi, actus enim particularis est iste sub morali bono," &c.—Cajetan. in Primam Secundæ. Quæst. 109. Art. 3. [fol. 247.]

but that which may be referred to God as the last end, yet so as to do many good things in reference to him as the last end. And Bellarmine, if he deny not his own principles, must say so; for first, he defendeth, that man may do a work morally good without grace[1], and do it to obey God the Author of nature: and elsewhere, he proveth[2], that man cannot perpetually do well, in the state of nature, without grace, because it is so turned away from God to the creature, by Adam's sin, and specially to himself, that actually, or habitually, or in propension, he placeth his last end in the creature and not in God; and so cannot but offend, if he be not watchful against this propension. Whence it followeth, that seeing a man must place his chief good in God, if he do good; and that naturally he can do good; he can naturally place the same in God. That which he somewhere hath[3], that it is enough to intend the next end *explicite*, and that it will, of itself, be directed to God the last end, seeing every good end moveth *virtute finis ultimi*, is idle: for it moveth not, but *virtute finis ultimi amati: nam finis non movet nisi amatus, ergo amat finem ultimum.*

So that many formerly, and almost all presently, in the Church of Rome, are more than semi-Pelagians, not acknowledging the necessity of grace to make us decline evil and do good; but to do so constantly, universally, and so as to merit heaven: but Augustine, Prosper, Fulgentius, Gregory, Beda, Bernard, Anselm, Hugo, many worthy divines mentioned by the Master of Sentences, yea, the Master himself, Grosthead, Bradwardine, Ariminensis, the catholic divine that Stapleton speaketh of, those that Andradius noteth, Alvarez

[1] "Possunt Ethnici etiam sine fide cognoscere Deum esse et curam nostri gerere; proinde poterunt operari bona moralia, ut Deo auctori naturæ obediant."—Bellarm. ubi supra. Lib. v. cap. 9. [p. 315.]

[2] "Natura humana, per peccatum primi hominis depravata, aversa est a Deo, et conversa ad creaturas, ac præsertim ad se; proinde finem ultimum vel actu vel habitu vel certe propensione quadam in creatura non in Deo constitutum habet."—Id. cap. 5. [p. 309.]

[3] "Non est necesse omnia referre in Deum explicite, sed satis est si opus referatur in bonum finem proximum; tunc enim per se dirigetur in Deum ut in ultimum finem. Sicut enim omne agens particulare agit in virtute primi motoris, id est, Dei, sic etiam omnis bonus finis movet in virtute ultimi finis."—Id. ubi supra, Lib. v. cap. 9. [p. 315.]

and other, agree with us, that there is no power left in nature to avoid sin, and to do any one good action that may be truly an action of virtue; and therefore they say, Grace must change us, and make us become new men.

Cardinal Contarenus[1] noteth, that the philosophers, perceiving a great inclination to evil to be found in the nature of mankind, thinking it might be altered and put right by inuring them to good actions, gave many good precepts and directions, but to no purpose: for this evil being in the very first spring of human actions, that is, the last end chiefly desired, which they sought, not in God, but in the creature, no help of nature or art was able to remedy it; as those diseases of the body are incurable which have infected the fountain of life, the radical humidity. God only, therefore, who searcheth the secret and most retired turnings of our soul and spirit by the inward motion of his Holy Spirit, changeth the propension and inclination of our will, and turneth it unto himself. And, in another place he hath these words[2]:

[1] "Cum hæc igitur humanæ naturæ corruptio atque ægritudo esset, eamque philosophi, tum natura duce tum experientia cognovissent, quibus posset remediis ac pharmacis sanari indagarunt. Cumque depravatam propensionem esse animadverterent, et mutari eam bonarumque actionum consuetudine dirigi posse crederent; in morali philosophia atque in virtutis studio, cujus habitu ad bona inclinamur, desudarunt. Sed cum esset ægritudo hæc in primo humanarum actionum principio, id est, in ultimo fine, a quo voluntas deflexerat, et intellectus quoties ad agendum accedebat, quoniam appetitus propensione in ultimum finem sequitur, obcæcabatur, nec posset ægritudo hæc (quemadmodum nec ii quoque corporis morbi, qui primum vitæ principium et humorem, quem vocant radicalem, inficiunt), ulla vel artis vel naturæ curatione tolli: idcirco vehementer philosophi aberrabant. Solus enim Deus est qui secretos mentis nostræ recessus perscrutari potest, internaque Spiritus Sancti quem infundit agitatione mutatam voluntatis nostræ propensionem ad seipsum convertit."—Contarenus, de Libero Arbitrio. [p. 602. Par. 1571.]

[2] "Animadvertere nos oportet, in duas sectas Christi ecclesiam dæmonis astutia esse dissectam, quæ suum potius quam Christi negotium agentes, ac privatæ magis gloriæ quam Dei honori ac proximorum utilitati studentes, pertinaci dissidentia opinionum defensione, incautos et imperitos homines in præcipitium deducunt. Alii enim catholicæ sese religionis titulo venditantes, et Lutheranorum adversarios jactitantes, dum arbitrii libertatem nimium astruere conantur, Christi se gratiæ plurimum detrahere non intelligunt, et nimio Lutheranos oppugnantes studio, maximis ecclesiæ Christianæ luminibus primisque catholicæ veritatis doctoribus adversantur, in Pelagii hæ-

"We must observe that at this present, the Church of God, by the craft of the devil, is divided into two sects, which rather doing their own business than that of Christ, and seeking their own glory more than the honour of God and the profit of their neighbours, by strife and pertinacious defence of contrary opinions, bring them that are not wary and wise to a fearful downfall. For, some vaunting themselves to be professors of the catholic religion and enemies to the Lutherans, while they go about too much to maintain the liberty of man's will, out of too much desire of opposing the Lutherans, oppose themselves against the greatest lights of the Christian Church, and the first and principal teachers of catholic verity; declining more than they should unto the heresy of Pelagius. Others, when they have been a little conversant in the writings of St Augustine, though they have neither that modesty of mind nor love towards God that he had, out of the pulpit propose intricate things, and such as are indeed mere paradoxes to the people." So that, touching the weakness of nature, and the necessity of grace, we have the consent of all the best and worthiest in the Church, wherein our fathers lived and died.

The next thing to be considered is, The power of free will in disposing itself to the receipt of grace. Durandus[1] is of opinion, that a man, by the power of free will, may dispose and fit himself for the receipt of grace, by such a kind of disposition, to which grace is to be given by pact and divine ordinance, not of debt. Amongst the latter divines there are that think, that as one sin is permitted that it may be a punishment of another, so God, in respect of alms, and other moral good words done by a man in the state of sin, useth the more speedily and effectually to help the sinner, that he

resim plus æquo declinantes. Alii contra, ubi in D. Augustini scriptis nonnihil versati, sanctissimique illius viri verbis tincti fuerint, ab ejus tamen animi modestia atque in Deum amore longe alieni, difficillima e suggesto et quæstionum labyrinthis intricatissima dogmata populo proponunt, quæ neque ipsi intelligunt nec sine paradoxis explicare possunt."—[Id. de Prædest. p. 604.]

[1] "Ad eundem finem remotum possunt ordinari habitus, sicut ad beatitudinem vitæ quæ est contemplatio Dei ordinantur virtutes morales disponendo hominem ut aptior sit in contemplando."—Durand. in 1 Sent. Quæst. 6. art. 3. Prolog. [p. 25.]

"Potest homo ad Deum tendere præparando se absque alio speciali adjutorio ad gratiam."—Id. in ii. Sent. Dist. 28. Quæst. 5. [p. 405.]

may rise from sin; and that God, infallibly, and as according to a certain law, giveth the helps of preventing grace to them that do what they can out of the strength of nature: and this is the merit of congruence they are wont to speak of in the Roman schools.

But, as I noted before, Gregorius Ariminensis resolutely rejects the conceit of merit of congruence. Stapleton saith, it is exploded out of the Church. And Alvarez[1], that St Augustine[2] and Prosper, whom Aquinas and the Thomists follow, reject the same. *August. Lib.* II. *contra duas Epistolas Pelagii c.* 8. *Si sine Dei gratia per nos incipit cupiditas boni, ipsum cœptum erit meritum, cui tanquam ex debito, gratiæ veniat adjutorium, ac sic gratia Dei non gratis donabitur, sed meritum nostrum dabitur. Et c.* 6. *Lib.* IV. *et Lib. de Prædest. Sanctorum: et de Dono Perseverantiæ. Et Prosper, Lib. de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio, ad Ruffinum, ait; Quis ambigat tunc liberum arbitrium cohortationi vocantis obedire, cum in illo gratia Dei affectum credendi, obediendique generaverit? Alioquin sufficeret moneri hominem, non etiam in ipso novam fieri voluntatem, sicut scriptum est, Præparatur voluntas a Domino. Neque obstat,* (saith Alvarez[3]), *quod idem Salomon, Proverb. cap.* 16, *inquit, Hominis est præparare animam. Intelligit enim hominis esse, quia libere producit consensum, quo præparatur ad gratiam: sed tamen id efficit, supposito auxilio speciali Dei inspirantis bonum et interius moventis, sic explicat istum locum August. Lib.* II. *contra duas Epistolas Pelag. cap.* 8. And so those words are to be understood: "If any one open the door I will enter in," Revel. iii., and Isai. xxx.: "The Lord expecteth that he may have mercy on you:" for he expecteth not our consent as coming out of the power of nature, or as

[1] Alvarez. Lib. VII. Disp. 55. [p. 470.]

[2] "Quare tamen et huic ita, et huic non ita? Homo tu quis es? debitum si non reddis, habes quod gratuleris: si reddis, non habes quod queraris."—Aug. Lib. I. Quæstionum ad Simplicianum [Tom. VI. col. 104.]

Id. Lib. II. Contra duas Epist. Pelag. cap. 8. [Tom. X. col. 443.]

Id. Lib. IV. cap. 6. [col. 475.]

Id. de Prædestinatione Sanctorum. [Tom. X. col. 797.]

Id. de Dono Perseverantiæ. [Tom. X. col. 829.]

Prosper, de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio. [cap. V. col. 91. Par. 1711.]

[3] Alvarez. ubi supra.

if any such consent were a disposition to grace, but that consent he causeth in us. *Fulgentius*[1], *Lib. de Incarnatione, cap.* 19: *Sicut in nativitate carnali omnem nascentis hominis voluntatem præcedit operis divini formatio: sic in spirituali nativitate, qua veterem hominem deponere incipimus. Bernard*[2], *de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio, in initio: Ab ipsa gratia me in bono præventum agnosco, et provehi sentio, et spero perficiendum. Neque currentis, neque volentis, sed Dei miserantis est. Quid igitur agit, ais, liberum arbitrium? breviter respondeo: Salvatur; tolle liberum arbitrium, non erit quod salvetur; tolle gratiam, non erit unde salvetur; opus hoc sine duobus effici non potest: uno a quo fit, altero cui vel in quo fit, Deus author est salutis, liberum arbitrium tantum capax; nec dare illam nisi Deus, nec capere valet nisi liberum arbitrium: quod ergo a solo Deo, et soli datur libero arbitrio, tam absque consensu esse non potest accipientis, quam absque gratia dantis, et ita gratiæ operanti salutem cooperari dicitur liberum arbitrium, dum consentit, hoc est, dum salvatur: consentire enim salvari est.*

Yet must we not think that God moveth us, and then expecteth to see whether we will consent: *Concilium Arausicanum*[3], *Can.* 4. *Si quis, ut a peccato purgemur, voluntatem nostram Deum expectare contendit, non autem ut etiam purgari velimus, per Sancti Spiritus infusionem, et operationem in nos, fieri confitetur; resistit ipsi Spiritui Sancto, per Salomonem dicenti, Præparatur voluntas a Domino, et Apostolo salubriter prædicanti; Deus est qui operatur in nobis, et velle et perficere pro bona voluntate.* So that God doth not stir and move the will, and so stay to see whether it will consent or not; but worketh, moveth, and inclineth us to consent.

The good use of grace proceedeth[4], not from the mere liberty of our will, but from God working by the effectual

[1] Fulgentius, de Incarnatione. cap. 19. [p. 188. Ven. 1742.]

[2] Bernard. de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio. [cap. 1. Tom. I. col. 609.]

[3] Concil. Arausican. ii. can. 4. Labbe. Tom. v. col. 810. Ven. 1728.

[4] "Bonus usus liberi arbitrii, quo Deo vocanti et excitanti consentit, non procedit effective a sola et innata ejus libertate, sed necessario reducendus est in ipsum Deum, tanquam in causam priorem operantem per auxilium efficax præoperantis gratiæ, atque efficientem ut homo libere cooperetur."—Alvarez. Lib. IX. Dist. 97. [p. 769.]

help of pre-operating grace, and causing a man freely to consent and co-operate. If not, God were not the total cause, which, as the first root, bringeth forth all that which discerneth the righteous from the sinner. *Quis te discernit?* Our consent, and effect of predestination. The will doth not first begin her determination and consent: the influx of free will into a good action, or the good use of grace exciting, is supernatural: as being about a supernatural object, therefore it must proceed from a supernatural cause, &c.: God is a cause, and the first cause: in that a cause, he hath reference to the effect; in that the first, to the second; when, therefore, by his helping grace, he worketh together with us to will and perform, his operation hath a double respect; first, to our will, which it effectually moveth to work this; and secondly, to our act of willing, which it produceth together with our will: for our will hath no operation but in one respect only, that is, of the act it bringeth forth; but it hath no influence upon itself, antecedently to the production of the act. So then, God is the first determiner of our will; for if the created will originally begin her own determination, it will follow that it is the first free, the first root, and the first cause of her own determination; which must not be granted: for, seeing a created thing that is free, is free by participation, it must, of necessity, be reduced to a first free, as to a former cause: otherwise *duo prima, principia.* So that God, by his effectual grace, not only morally, but truly, efficiently, moveth and inclineth the will to the love and liking of what he will, in such sort that it cannot but turn; nor cannot dissent *in sensu composito*, though it may *in sensu diviso:* the meaning of this is, that the effectual motion of God's grace, and an actual dissenting, resisting, or not yielding, cannot stand together: but the efficacy of God's grace, and a power of dissenting, do stand together. For the efficacy of grace doth not take away the power, but so directeth the will, as infallibly, in such liberty, to bring forth that he pleaseth. *Est simultas potentiæ ad opposita, non autem potentia simultatis ad opposita simul habenda*[1]: there is, in some created thing at the same time, a possibility of having or doing things opposite, as to sit or walk; but there is no possibility of having these together. So there is, in free will moved by effectual grace, a power to do, or not to

[1] Capreolus, [apud. Alvarez, Lib. IX. Disp. 94. [p. 753.]

do, *in sensu diviso;* because the efficacy of grace, and power of dissenting, may stand together, but not *in sensu composito;* that is, that the motion of grace and actual dissenting should stand together. This is the opinion of Alvarez[1], and many other, opposing the Jesuits: neither had Calvin or Luther any other apprehension of these things. So that the necessity, efficacy, power, and working of God's grace, is rightly delivered, by sundry in the Roman Church, even till this day. It is not to be marvelled, therefore, if it be said, that the Church, wherein our fathers lived and died, believed and taught as we now do. *Aloisius Lippomannus*[2], *in Catena, ad Lectorem,* hath these words: *Illud te admonitum esse volumus, ut si in toto hoc opere Chrysostomum aliquando legeris dicentem, Homini quoties is sua attulerit, et conatum omnem fecerit, abunde postea a Deo gratiam suppeditari; caute et prudenter pium doctorem legas, ne in errorem illum decidas, ut credas gratiam Dei dari propter merita nostra: nam si ex meritis, non est gratia: cum nec istud ipsum sua afferre, et conatum omnem facere, sine præveniente Dei gratia possit esse, juxta illud Psalmi: Et misericordia ejus prævenit me; itemque, Et misericordia ejus subsequetur me in omnibus diebus vitæ meæ. Ac illud sanctæ ecclesiæ: Tua nos quæsamus, Domine, gratia semper prævenial et sequatur: cui nos quoque scrupulo provide occurrentes, in duobus fortassis aut tribus locis paucula quædam in Chrysostomum apposuimus.*

Gocchianus[3], *de Libertate Christiana,* l. 2. c. xxiii. *Maria gratia plena, ut quicquid in ea et per eam divina dispositione fieri conspicitur, totum ex dono Dei nullis præcedentibus meritis* [*fieri*] *designetur. Ecce habes qualiter in exordio humanæ reparationis præsumptio humanæ facultatis dejicitur, in eo, quod Maria plena gratia nunciatur....Prædicatur in ea plenitudo gratiæ, ut nihil proprii meriti, sed totum quod in ea est gratia esse designetur.* [*Et iterum prout*] *August.* [*ostendit*] *in Enchirid.:* "*Quid*

[1] "Quando S. Thomas vel ejus discipuli dicunt liberum motum a Deo auxilio efficaci non posse in sensu composito dissentire aut non operari, nihil aliud significatur quam motionem illam efficacem et actualem dissensum non posse simul poni in eodem arbitrio, qui sensus est catholicus."—Alvarez. ibid.

[2] Aloisius Lippomannus, [Catena in Genesim. Par. 1546.]

[3] Gocchianus (Joannes Pupperus) De Libertate Christiana. Lib. I. cap. xxiii. Ed. 1521.

humana natura in homine Christo meruit, ut in unitate personæ unici Filii Dei singulariter esset [*assumpta?*] *Quæ bona voluntas? cujus boni propositi studium? quæ bona præcesserunt, quibus mereretur iste homo, ut una fieret persona cum Deo? nempe ex quo homo esse cœpit, non aliud cœpit esse quam Dei Filius, idemque hominis filius, &c. Magna hic et sola Dei gratia ostenditur, ut intelligant homines, per eandem gratiam ejus se justificari a peccatis, per quam factum est ut homo Christus nullum habere posset peccatum:"* [*hæc ille*]. *Ecce habes in Mediatore* [*nostro Jesu*] *Christo,* [*quem operatione spiritus Sancti virgo concepit et peperit*], *gratiam commendatam. Qui cum esset unicus Dei Filius, non gratia, sed natura, et ob hoc plenus veritatis, factus est hominis filius; ut esset etiam gratiæ plenus. Verbum caro factum est.* [sic. '*Quia ergo in Christo Jesu, in quo proposuit Deus Pater instaurare omnia, quæ in cœlis sunt, et in terra*'] *tanquam in fonte unde totius humani generis derivatur salvatio, nihil aliud invenitur quam gratia, unde alicui aliquid aliud de proprio potest provenire, per quod potest salvari, miranda* [sic. '*nimium*'] *imo potius miseranda humanæ præsumptio facultatis, quæ cum per humilitatem gratis salvari possit, propria impediente superbiâ gratis salvari non velit. Omnes, inquit Esaias, sitientes, venite ad aquas; et qui non habetis argentum et aurum, properate. Emite, et comedite, emite, absque ulla commutatione, vinum et lac...Idem*[1] *Spiritus movet hominis voluntatem, ut bonum velit quod prius noluit, et bonam voluntatem adjuvat ut bonum volitum ad effectum perducat, nulla cooperatione propriæ voluntatis facultatis, sed sanatæ et renovatæ. Augustine*[2]*, de Patientia; Gratia non solum adjuvat justum, verum etiam justificat impium; et ideo etiam cum adjuvat justum, et videtur ejus meritis reddi; nec sic desinit esse gratia, quoniam id adjuvat, quod ipsa est largita. Hugo de Sancto Victore*[3]*: Benefaciendi tres sunt gratiæ; præveniens, cooperans, et subsequens: prima dat voluntatem; secunda facultatem; tertia perseverantiam.* So that, in the matter of free will and grace, the Church wherein our fathers lived and died, is found to have been a protestant Church.

[1] Gocchianus. ibid.

[2] Aug. de Patientia. cap. 20. [Tom. VI. col. 541.]

[3] Miscell. ii. Lib. II. tit. 137. [Tom. III. p. 170. Mogunt. 1617.]

CHAPTER XI.

OF JUSTIFICATION.

THEY of the Church of Rome do teach that there is a threefold justification. The first, when a man born in sin, and the child of wrath, is first reconciled to God, and translated into a state of righteousness and grace: the second, when of righteous he becometh more righteous: and the third, when having fallen from grace, he is restored again.

The first justification implieth in it three things: remission of sins past; acceptation and receiving into that favour that righteous men are wont to find with God; and the grant of the gift of the Holy Spirit, and of that sanctifying and renewing grace, whereby we may be framed to the declining of sin, and the doing of the works of righteousness. These being the things implied in the first justification of a sinner, it is agreed by all, that when, in sorrowful dislike of former misdoings, we turn unto God, all our sins past are freely remitted, through the benefit of Christ's satisfaction imputed unto us; as also, that for the merit of Christ's active righteousness, consisting in the fulfilling of the law, we are accepted and find favour with God, as if we had always walked in the ways of God, and pleased him. And both these are necessary[1]: for if a man cease to be an enemy, he doth not presently become a friend; and though he pardon him that offended him so as not to seek revenge of the offence, yet doth it not follow that presently he receiveth him into favour; but it is possible he should neither respect him as an enemy, nor as a friend; and neither will evil unto him as to an enemy, nor good as to a friend. So likewise it sufficeth not that God remit our sins, and seek not our evil, for Christ's passion; but it is necessary also

[1] "Difficultas in operatione accidit ex hoc, quod receptivum operationis non est dispositum ad recipiendum, et non solum ex defectu virtutis activæ: ergo si receptivum sit dispositum, erit facilitas in agendo, in quantum agens agit circa tale passum."—Scotus in i. Sent. Dist. 17. qu. 2. art. 2. [Tom. v. p. 945.]—"Si culpa dimittitur, divina offensa remittitur, ergo peccator Deo reconciliatur: ergo per consequens a Deo acceptatur; nullus autem a Deo acceptatur sine gratia: ergo, &c.... Et confirmatur, qui si non est inimicus, ergo amicus."—Id. in iv. Sent. Dist. 1. qu, 6. [Tom. VIII. p. 116. Lugd. 1639.]

that he be so reconciled, as to embrace us as friends, and to do good unto us: this we have by the merit of Christ's active righteousness, who, having a twofold right to heaven, the one of inheritance, because born the Son of God; the other of merit, because he had done things worthy the reward of heaven; made use only of the one, and communicateth the other unto us. Neither is this all, that the sinner, when he is to be justified, seeketh after; for he never resteth satisfied, till he have not only obtained remission of sins past, and acceptation with God, but the grant of the gift of the Spirit also, and of that grace that may keep him from offending God so as formerly, and incline him to do the things that are pleasing unto him. And therefore, in the conference at Ratisbon[1], the divines of both sides agreed, that no man obtaineth remission of sins, *nisi etiam simul infundatur charitas sanans voluntatem; ut voluntas sanata, quemadmodum ait Augustinus, incipiat implere legem. Fides ergo viva est, quæ et apprehendit misericordiam Dei in Christo, et credit justitiam, quæ est in Christo, sibi gratis imputari, et quæ simul pollicitationem Spiritus Sancti, et charitatem accipit.*

So that it is evident, that to be justified hath a threefold signification: for first, it importeth as much as to be absolved from sin, that is, to be freed from the woeful consequents of that disfavour and dislike that unrighteousness and sin subjecteth us unto: secondly, to be accepted and respected so as righteous men are wont to be: and thirdly, to be framed to the love and desire of doing righteously. And, in this sort, doth Dominicus a Soto[2] explicate this point: and with him do all they agree, who say, that grace doth justify *formaliter, charitas operative,* and *opera declarative*: that is, that grace doth justify formally, charity as that which maketh men do the works of righteous men, and that good works, by way of declaration, make it manifest that they are righteous that do them. For they understand by grace, a state of acceptation, that is, such a condition, wherein men are not disfavoured as having done ill, but respected as if they had done all righteousness; which is in truth a relation,

[1] [Acta in Conventu Ratisbonensi, A.D. 1541, Artic. V. De Justificatione Hominis. Vitebergæ, 1541. cum præfat. Philipp. Melancthon.]

[2] Dominicus a Soto. [In iv. Sent. Dist. 14. Quæst. 2. art. 6. p. 371. Duac. 1613.]

as the protestants teach: for what is it but a relation, in reference to another, to be respected by him, and accepted to him? And in this sense a man may be justified, that is, accepted as if he had never done ill, or failed in any good, for the righteousness of another[1]. Nay, they all confess, that all they that are justified, are so accepted, for the obedience, merit, and satisfactory sufferings, of Christ, when they are first reconciled to God. So that it is strange that they should urge, as sometimes they do, that a man can no more be justified, that is, accepted as if righteous, for the righteousness of another, than a line can be, or be accounted, straight, for the straightness of another: for, as Durandus[2] rightly noteth, though one man's merit and well-doing cannot be imputed to another, as to be, or be accounted, his merit, and he esteemed to have merited and done well; yet it may be so communicated, as that the fruit, benefit, and good of it, shall redound to him, and he be accounted worthy respect, for the other's sake, as if he had done well. Neither do they, nor can they, make any question hereof, if they will but understand what they say: for, whereas three things are required of a man, if he will be subject to no evil, and enjoy good: viz. not to have done evil; to have done good; and to do good in the present, and time to come: though we be framed to the doing of good hereafter, yet we can neither be freed from the punishment our former evil doings de-

[1] "And to this purpose it is that the protestant divines do urge that the word of 'justifying' is *verbum forense*, and that it signifieth as much as 'to pronounce for one in judgment;' which may be conceived two ways; first, so as to clear him from the imputation of having sinned that hath sinned, and to pronounce that he hath done righteously that hath not: and in this sense if God should justify the sinner, his judgment were not right; and to attribute this to him were absurd, as our adversaries rightly tell us: or else, to clear and free one from punishment, as if he had never offended, and to adjudge such freedom to him as righteous men are wont to enjoy, such as he might look for if righteous, and to grant him the gift of renovation, making him decline ill and do good."

[2] ["Aliquem mereri alteri vel pro altero potest intelligi dupliciter, uno modo quod meritum unius cedat alteri ad meritum. Alio modo quod fructus meriti unius redundet in alterum. Primo modo nullus potest mereri pro altero. Secundo autem modo unus potest alteri mereri vel demereri, ita scilicet quod fructus vel damnum meriti vel demeriti redundet in alterum."—Durandus a Sancto Porciano in iii. Sent. Dist. 19. qu. 3. p. 547. Lugd. 1587.]

served, but by the benefit of his sufferings that suffered what he deserved not, to free us; nor to be accepted, having done nothing worthy acceptation, but for his merit, who did all good in our nature, to procure us acceptation.

Andreas Vega[1] confesseth that men may be absolved from their sins, that is, freed from the punishment of them, by the imputation of Christ's righteousness: and that they may become acceptable and dear unto God, in such sort as just men are, formally, by being beloved of him: but that if we speak philosophically of justice, it is in the predicament of quality, and not of relation: which we willingly yield unto. And though he say[2], No man ever in express words affirmed, before Bernard's[3] time, that Christ's righteousness is imputed to us; yet he thinketh it may rightly be said to be imputed, both for satisfaction and merit: that is, so as to free us from punishment, and bring good upon us, as if we had merited it: and that, to these purposes, it is imputed to us, as if it were ours. And farther he addeth[4],

[1] "Licet ab amore quo Deus justos amat, formaliter possunt dici Deo cari et dilecti, et ab imputatione justitiæ Christi possent etiam formaliter, ut vis, dici justi, i.e. absoluti a peccatis; tamen, si philosophice de justitia et sanctitate loquamur, nunquam quisquam dixerit nostram justitiam in prædicamento esse relationis, cum ab omnibus philosophis et dialecticis ponatur in prædicamento qualitatis."—Andreas Vega, de Justificatione. Lib. xv. cap. 15. [p. 744. Aschaffeburgh, 1621.]

[2] "Negari non potest quin generi humano et omnibus sic justificatis imputetur justitia Christi ad satisfactionem et meritum."—Id. Lib. xv. cap. 2. [p. 732.]

[3] "Poterit sufficere authoritas Bernardi, qui in epistolâ 109. ad Innocentium Papam ita scribit, "Si unus pro omnibus mortuus est, ergo omnes mortui sunt, ut videlicet satisfactio omnibus imputetur, sicut omnium peccata unus ille portavit."—Id. Lib. xv. cap. 2. [p. 733.] Bernard. Epist. 190. [vide Tract. de Error. Abelard. Tom. I. col. 658. Par. 1719.]

[4] "Meminisse debemus toties ad nos pertingere virtutem et eorum apud Deum efficaciam, quoties novum aliquod spirituale beneficium ab ipso recipimus. Statuit enim Pater cœlestis, pro sua summa caritate et benevolentia in suum Filium, in hoc illum honorare, ut sicut nihil in natura nisi per illum, quatenus Deus est, facit; ita et nihil, nisi propter illum ut homo est, faciet ex iis quæ ad nostram justificationem et reparationem spectant. Neque in solo sacramento baptismi, quidquid vir quidam doctissimus contenderit, imputatur nobis justitia Christi, sed et in aliis sacramentis, et quoties aliquod a Deo donum accipimus."—Andreas Vega, ubi supr. cap. 3. [p. 733.]

that as God doth nothing in nature, but by his Son as God; so he will do nothing pertaining to our justification and restoration, but for him as he is man: and that there is no benefit bestowed on us, or good done unto us, but it presupposeth a new application and imputation of the merits of Christ. So that every one is newly made partaker of Christ's merits, and oweth new thanks to him, so often as new gifts and benefits are conferred and bestowed upon him: and he feareth not to pronounce that the righteousness of Christ is imputed unto us, not only when we are baptized, (as, he saith, a man excellently learned unadvisedly affirmeth,) but in other sacraments, and as often as men receive any new gift from God: yea[1], that a new imputation of Christ's righteousness is necessarily required, for the remission of those venial sins into which the justified fall, and the freeing of us from temporal punishments. Bernard[2]: *Nemo levia peccata contemnat, impossibile est enim cum iis salvari, impossibile est ea dilui, nisi per Christum, et a Christo: et Augustine*[3]*: Tam de eo qui levioribus peccatis obnoxius est, quam de eo qui gravioribus pronunciat: quod si sibi relinquerentur, interirent.*

All therefore acknowledge, as he thinketh, that the righteousness of Christ is imputed; but there are, as he telleth us, two opinions in the Church of Rome touching this point: the one, that Christ's righteousness is no otherwise communicated, or imputed to us, but in that, for the merit of it, we are accepted, all things necessary to fit us for justification are given unto us; righteousness making us formally just, that is, inclining us to decline evil and do good, is infused into us; and whatsoever is profitable to set us forward, and to make us continue in the same, is bestowed on us.

Others, renowned for learning and piety, do think, that for the attaining of heaven-happiness, not only in a twofold,

[1] "Et sæpe quidem justis noviter imputari merita Christi ad remissionem levium peccatorum et hujusmodi pœnarum facile potest ostendi."—Andreas Vega, cap. 10. [p. 755.]

[2] Bernard. Serm. in Cœna Domini. [Tom. I. col. 899. A.]

[3] "Verum est, quia non volentis neque currentis sed miserentis est Dei. (Rom. ix. 16.) Quia etiamsi levioribus quisque peccatis aut certe quamvis gravioribus et multis, tamen magno gemitu et dolore pœnitendis misericordia Dei dignus fuerit, non ipsius est, qui si relinqueretur, interiret, sed miserentis Dei."—S. August. de Diversis Quæstionibus 83. Quæst. 68. [Tom. VI. col. 54.]

righteousness is necessary, the one inherent, the other imputed, as to the former; but that this imputed righteousness of Christ is twice offered and presented by Christ to God the Father: first, that we may be justified; that is, that our sins may be remitted, we accepted, and renewing grace may be given unto us: and secondly, that we may avoid and decline the extremity and severity of God's judgment; that he may accept our weak endeavours, and admit us to heaven, notwithstanding the imperfection and defects thereof; that for his sake, the imperfection and impurity of our righteousness may be covered.

This opinion is clearly delivered by Cardinal Contarenus[1]: and he telleth us, it was allowed in the conference at Ratisbon, by the divines of both sides: his words are these: "Seeing we have affirmed that we attain a twofold righteousness by faith: a righteousness inherent in us, as charity, and that grace whereby we are made partakers of the divine nature; and the justice of Christ given and imputed unto us, as being graft into Christ, and having put on Christ: it remaineth that we inquire, upon which of these we must stay and rely, and by which we must think ourselves justified

[1] "Quoniam diximus ad duplicem justitiam nos pervenire per fidem, justitiam, inquam, inhærentem nobis, et charitatem ac gratiam quâ efficimur consortes divinæ naturæ, et justitiam Christi nobis donatam et imputatam, quoniam inserti sumus Christo et induimus Christum, restat inquirere utranam debeamus niti et existimare nos justificari coram Deo, i. e. sanctos et justos haberi, ex, inquam, justitia quæ deceat filios Dei, et oculis Dei satisfaciat, an hac justitia et charitate nobis inhærente, an potius justitia Christi nobis donata et imputata? Ego prorsus existimo pie ac Christiane dici quod debeamus niti, niti inquam tanquam re stabili, quæ certo nos sustentat, justitia Christi nobis donata, non autem sanctitate et gratia nobis inhærente. Hæc etenim justitia nostra est inchoata et imperfecta, quæ tueri nos non potest quin in multis offendamus, quin assidue peccemus, ac propterea indigeamus oratione qua quotidie petamus, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra.' Idcirco in conspectu Dei non possumus ob hanc justitiam nostram haberi justi et boni, quemadmodum deceret filios Dei esse bonos et sanctos, sed justitia Christi nobis donata est vera et perfecta justitia, quæ omnino placet oculis Dei, in qua nihil est quod Deum offendat, quod Deo non summopere placeat. Hac ergo sola certa et stabili nobis nitendum est, et ob eam solam credere nos justificari coram Deo, i. e. justos haberi et dici justos. Hic est pretiosus ille Christianorum thesaurus, quem qui invenit vendit omnia quæ habet ut emat illum."—Contarenus, de Justificatione. [p. 592. Par. 1571.]

before God, that is, to be accepted as holy and just, having that justice which it beseemeth the sons of God to have. I truly think, that a man, very piously and christianly, may say, that we ought to stay, to stay I say, as upon a firm and stable thing able undoubtedly to sustain us, upon the justice of Christ given and imputed to us, and not upon the holiness and grace that is inherent in us. For this our righteousness is but imperfect, and such as cannot defend us, seeing in many things we offend all, &c.; but the justice of Christ which is given unto us, is true and perfect justice, which altogether pleaseth the eyes of God, and in which there is nothing that offendeth God. Upon this therefore, as most certain and stable, we must stay ourselves, and believe that we are justified by it, as the cause of our acceptation with God: this is that precious treasure of Christians, which whosoever findeth, selleth all that he hath to buy it."

Ruard Tapper[1] followeth the other opinion, and saith, that whereas, according to Bernard, our righteousness is impure, though sincere and true, we must not conceive that this impurity defileth our righteousness, as if itself were stained, or anything were wanting in it; for so it should not be true and right: but that it is said to be impure, because there are certain stains and blemishes together with it, in the operations of the soul: for GOD only is absolutely free from sin, and in many things we sin all: our righteousness, therefore, according to his opinion, is imperfect in virtue and efficacy, because it cannot expel and keep out all sin out of the soul wherein it is, by reason of the infirmity of the flesh: but the good works of the just do abide the severity of God's judgment, neither can they be blamed, though tried most exactly, and discussed in all their circumstances; yea, though the devil

[1] "Nec his obstat, quod impura sit nostra justitia, quamvis recta, secundum Bernardum; quia impuritas non contaminat justitiam quasi ipsa maculis inficeretur, vel aliquid in ea desideraretur. Sic enim recta non esset. Sed impuram dicit propter coexistentiam macularum quæ sunt in operationibus animæ. Solius enim Dei est perfecte peccato carere, homines vero etsi quam maxime justi fuerint non perfecte puri sunt, siquidem dictum est, quod in multis labimur omnes. Justus tamen filius repelli non potest ab hæreditate propter minutulas quasdam maculas quæ facile abstergi possunt."—Ruardus Tapper. Explicatio Articulorum Viginti circa Dogmata Ecclesiastica. Art. 8. Tom. II. p. 19. Colon. Agripp. 1582.]

should be permitted to say what he can against them, for they have no fault nor deformity.

Here, for the better clearing of this point, it is to be observed, that it is confessed by all, that the most righteous live not without sin, and consequently, that they have need, continually, of remission of sins.

"It is resolved amongst all catholics," saith Andreas Vega[1],

[1] "Apud omnes catholicos constans et indubitatum est, et merito, neminem fuisse, excepta Deipara virgine, in hac vita, qui toto vitæ suæ decursu omnia effugerit peccata venialia. 'Quis erit mundus a sordibus?' quærit Job, et ipse sibi respondet, juxta translationem quam secuti sunt antiqui doctores, et nominatim Cyprianus, Ambrosius, August., Gregor., et alii, 'Nemo, neque si unius diei fuerit vita ejus super terram.' Et David generatim dicit, 'Non justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens.' Et alibi, 'Pro hac,' scilicet impietate peccati, 'orabit ad te omnis sanctus.' 'Non ait, omnis peccator, sed omnis sanctus,' inquit August. 2. de Peccator. Merit. et Remiss. cap. 7. Vox enim sanctorum est, 'Si dixerimus quod peccatum non habemus,' &c. Et Salomon dicit, 'Non est homo justus in terra qui faciat bonum et non peccet.' Notissimaque sunt illa apostolorum, 'In multis offendimus omnes: si dixerimus quod peccatum non habemus, ipsi nos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est.' Et quis est cui non fuerit necessarium unquam in vita dicere particulam illam Orationis Dominicæ, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra?' Magnum item argumentum pro his omnibus est, quod si vitam dispiciamus omnium sanctorum qui in Scriptura mirifice laudantur, neminem inter eos omnino inveniemus qui non velut in pulchro corpore aliquem nævum vel verrucam peccati habuerit. Incipiamus ab antiquioribus. Non enim accusare volumus justos; sed imbecillitatem humanam et misericordiam Dei in omnes diffusam et omnibus expositam ostendere. Equidem, 'Enoch,' teste Ecclesiastico, 'placuit Deo, et translatus est in Paradisum ut det gentibus sapientiam.' Veruntamen quia in Genesi scribitur placuisse Deo postquam genuit Mathusalem, non sine causa collegit Basilius, Homil. 57. aliquanto ante tempore non placuisse. Idemque ait, 'Magnum illum fidei parentem Abraham alicubi fuisse incredulum. Neque immerito: siquidem et cum Deus ei primo promisit Isaac, quanquam cecidit in faciem, tamen risit in corde suo, dicens: Putas ne centenario nascetur filius, et Sara nonagenaria pariet?'

"Unde Hieronymus de illo et Sara ita loquitur: 'Arguuntur in risu, et ipsa cogitatio quasi pars infidelitatis reprehenditur. Veruntamen non ex eo quod riserunt diffidentiæ condemnantur, sed ex eo quod postea crediderunt, justitiæ palmam acceperunt.' Magnum insuper testimonium perhibet Scriptura Noe, Danieli, et Job, quos solos in Ezechiele dicit ab imminente quadam ira Dei posse liberari. Et tamen Noe subrepsit ebrietas quæ peccatum est. Ac Daniel aperte dicit orasse se Dominum, et confessum peccata sua et populi sui. Job item

that there was never any found amongst the saints, the b
Virgin only excepted, that in the whole course of thei

æt ab Scriptura et ab ipso Deo magnifice laudatus est, quasi s
rectus timens Deum et recedens a malo: idque non utcunque
ut nullus justorum qui tum erant in terra ei esset æquandus, sicu
ex verbis Dei ad Satan collegit Augustinus, 2. de Pec. Me.
cap. 13.

"Quanquam vero singulare fuit patientiæ, innocentiæ, et
sanctitatis exemplum, et horrendas tribulationes et tentatione
propter sua peccata sed propter ipsius perficiendam et demonstr
justitiam a Deo illatas, admirabili patientia pertulit; tamen, ut
tinus et Gregorius ipsius laudum eximii buccinatores fatentur,
veniali non caruit. Cui rei et illa satis idoneum argumentur
stant quæ ipse veracissimus justitiæ cultor fatetur: 'Peccavi,'
'quid faciam tibi, O Custos hominum?' Et rursus increpatus a D
et mira humanitate jussus, ut pro se, si posset, responderet
absque ulla circuitione, respondet, se leviter locutum fuisse, vi
cum dixit: 'Et innocentem et impium ipse consumit. Si fl
occidat semel, et non de pœnis innocentum rideat.' Unde et Sc
velut cavens ne tantam innocentiam quispiam illi tribueret, ut
semper culpam vitasse existimaret, non dixit non peccasse J
duntaxat non peccasse in omnibus illis quæ passus est, donec
suæ respondit, 'Si bona suscepimus de manu Domini, mala qu
sustineamus?'

"Moses, dilectus Deo et hominibus et mitissimus super omne
tantes in terra, hæsitavit nonnihil de promissione Domini cu
cussit virga bis silicem, ut educeret ex eo aquam populo
ipsius gravato; et Domino Deo displicuit illa dubitatio, et eam
ait Augustinus, cap. 1. de Utilitate Pœnit. non solum arguen
etiam vindicando. Unde et statim ei dixit et Aaroni, 'Quonia
credidistis mihi, ut sanctificaretis me coram filiis Israel, non
ducetis hos populos in terram quam ego dabo eis.' Quid tamen
vel obmurmuravit, aut fecerit Moses, in quo istam incredu
ostenderit, non satis certum est, quia, ut notavit Basilius, Hom.
expressit scriptura, et ex textu ipso recte colligit Augustinus, d
tate Pœnit., non propterea perdidisse Moysen gratiam, gratiam
habebat apud Deum. Magnas etiam laudes pietatis et inn
Samuelis scriptura veracissima prædicat. Et tamen, sicut di
gustinus, 2. de Peccat. Me. et Re. cap. 16, nec illum neque
neque Aaronem omni culpa vacasse, satis David indicavit, dicens
'Tu propitius fuisti eis et ulciscens in omnes adinventiones
In filios quippe damnationis, sicut subjungit Augustinus, v
iratus, in filios autem gratiæ vindicat propitius; et nulla vindict
correctio, nullum Dei flagellum, debetur nisi peccato.

"Eminenti insuper justitia claruerunt Zacharias et Elizab
quibus Lucas ait, 'Erant autem justi ambo ante Deum, incede

avoided all venial sins. Job[1] asketh, 'Who shall be clean from filthiness?' and answereth himself, according to the

omnibus mandatis et justificationibus Domini sine querela.' Veruntamen et Zechariam non omnino culpa vacasse Gabriel ostendit, cum ei dixit, 'Ecce eris tacens et non poteris loqui,' &c. Et ex Paulo idem ipsum revinci potest, quippe qui solum Christum dicit non habuisse necessitatem quotidie, quemadmodum et sacerdotes, prius pro suis delictis hostias offerre deinde pro populi. Aliudque est, sicut bene notarunt Patres Concilii Milevitani in Epist. ad Innocentium, incedere sine peccato, aliud incedere sine querela. Nam qui sic vivit, ut nemo de ipso queri vel reprehendere illum possit, sine querela incedit, tamen nonnulla quandoque ob fragilitatem humanam ei subrepant levia et minuta peccata: quia in querelam non veniunt nisi gravia peccata.

"Quid vero necesse est per alia exempla sanctorum discurrere, cum ipsa illa mundi luminaria, et sal terræ, Apostoli videlicet, qui primitias Spiritus acceperunt, et longo intervallo cunctos mortales antecelluerunt, in multis confessi fuerint se offendisse? Vide vero, ut et ista magno consensu docuit semper Ecclesia catholica, Tertullianus sapienter ostendit Marcioni, non ex ignorantia futurorum nec ex mobilitate animi Deum aliquos elegisse quos postea reprobavit, ut Salomonem, et Saulem quem Spiritu Sancto dicit unxisse et optimum ex filiis Israel dignissimo regem constituisse; sed quia nihil tam bono et justo judici convenit quam pro præsentibus et rejicere et eligere. Et inter alia subdit; 'Aut quis hominum sine delicto ut eum semper eligeret, quem nunquam posset recusare? vel quis item sine aliquo bono opere ut eum Deus semper recusaret, quem nunquam posset eligere?' Cyprianus neminem sine sorde et sine peccato esse ex Job, Davide, et Joanne probat. Hilarius in illa verba, 'Sprevisti omnes discedentes a justitiis tuis;' si Deus peccatores sperneret, omnes sperneret, quia sine peccato nemo est. Hieron. ostendens non injuste Ninivitas indixisse jejunium majoribus et minoribus: 'Major ætas incipit, et usque ad minorem pervenit. Nullus enim absque peccato neque si unius quidem diei fuerit vita ejus, et innumerabiles anni vitæ illius. Si enim stellæ mundæ non sunt in conspectu Dei, quanto magis vermis et putredo et hi qui peccato offendentis Adam tenentur obnoxii?' Et, 'Authoritatem sequimur Scripturarum quod nullus homo sit absque peccato.' August. 'Quicunque in hac vita divinarum Scripturarum testimoniis in bona voluntate atque actibus justitiæ prædicati sunt, et quicunque tales vel post eos fuerunt, vel nunc usque etiam sunt, vel postea quoque futuri sunt, omnes magni, omnes justi, omnes veraciter laudabiles sunt, sed sine peccato aliquo non sunt: nec quisquam eorum tam arroganter insanit ut non sibi pro suis qualibuscunque peccatis Dominica Oratione opus esse arbitretur.' Et expresse: 'Nemo ita servat mandata justitiæ, ut non sit ei necessarium pro suis peccatis orando dicere, Dimitte nobis debita nostra.' Unde et inter

[1] Job xiv. [4, 5.]

translation which the ancient doctors followed, and namely Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, and others: 'No one, though he live but one day upon earth.' And David saith generally, 'No man living shall be justified in thy sight[1];' and in another place, 'For this impiety of sin shall every holy one pray unto thee:' he saith not, every sinner, but every holy one (saith Saint Augustine[2]); for it is the voice of the saints, 'If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and there is no truth in us:' and Solomon saith, 'There is no man righteous on earth, that doth good, and sinneth not;' and those sayings of the Apostles are well known: 'In many things we sin all;' 'If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves,' &c. And who is he, that never needed, in his whole life, to say that part of the Lord's Prayer: 'Forgive us our trespasses?'

"And all this is strongly proved, in that if we look on the lives of all the saints which are marvellously commended in Scripture, we shall find none of them that had not some blemish, as in the most beautiful body. Let us begin with the more ancient; for we intend not to accuse the just, but to shew the infirmity of man, and the mercy of God, upon and towards all. Enoch, as Ecclesiasticus testifieth, pleased God, and was translated into paradise: but in that it is written in Genesis, he pleased God after he begat Methusalem, Basil[3] doth, not without cause, collect, that he formerly did not so

tria dogmata quæ adversus Pelagium catholicam ait defendere ecclesiam, secundum est, 'In quantacunque justitia, sine qualibuscunque peccatis, in hoc corruptibili corpore neminem vivere.' Basilius: 'Utilissimus est sermo de Pœnitentia hominibus, quia nemo sine peccato est.' Gennadius: 'Nullus sanctus vel justus caret peccato, nec tamen desinit esse sanctus.'

"Gregorius inquirit quemadmodum Job asseruerit, nunquam se a corde suo fuisse reprehensum, cum prius se accusaverit, dicens: 'Peccavi.' Vel certe, 'Si sciendum est, quod sunt peccata quæ a justis vitari possunt, et sunt nonnulla quæ etiam a justis vitari non possunt,' &c. Ac primi generis ait esse 'prava cogitare;' secundi vero, 'eisdem consentire.' Et subdit; 'Recte ergo is, qui peccatorem se confessus est, nequaquam se a suo corde reprehendi confitetur; quia et si qua illicita fortasse cogitando defuit aliquando rectitudini, forti tamen mentis certamine restitit cogitationi.'"—Andreas Vega, De Justificatione. Lib. XIV. cap. 17. [pp. 699, 701.]

[1] Psal. cxliii. [2.] xxxii. [6.]

[2] August. de Peccatorum Meritis. Lib. II. cap. 7. [Tom. X. col. 44.]

[3] Basil. Hom. 57. [al. de Pœnit. Tom. II. p. 605. Par. 1722.]

please God: and the same Basil saith, that that great Father of the faithful, is found to have been, somewhere, unfaithful; and not without cause, for when God first promised Isaac unto him, though he fell on his face, yet he laughed in his heart, saying, 'Thinkest thou that a son shall be born to him that is an hundred years old, and that Sarah, who is ninety years old, shall bring forth?' Whereupon Hierome speaketh of Sarah and him in this sort: 'They are reproved for laughing, and the very cogitation and thought is reprehended, as a part of infidelity; yet are they not condemned of infidelity, in that they laughed; but they received the garland of righteousness, in that afterwards they believed.' Besides these, the Scripture giveth ample testimony to Noah, Daniel, and Job, who only, in Ezekiel it saith, may escape the anger of God ready to come on men; and yet Noah fell into drunkenness, which is a sin; and Daniel professeth he prayed unto the Lord, and confessed his own sin, and the sin of his people; Job also is commended in the Scripture, and of God himself, as being a sincere man, righteous, fearing God, and departing from evil, and that not in an ordinary sort, but so as that none of the most righteous then in the world might be compared unto him; as Saint Austin rightly collecteth out of the words of God unto Satan: 'This man, though he were a singular example of innocency, patience, and all holiness; and though he endured, with admirable patience, horrible tribulations and trials, not for his sins, but for the manifestation of the righteousness of God; yet as Augustine and Gregory (who as loud-sounding trumpets set forth his praises) freely confess, he was not without venial sin.' Which thing is strongly confirmed, in that the same most sincere lover of righteousness confesseth of himself, saying[1], 'I have sinned: what shall I do unto thee, O thou Keeper of men?' And being reproved by the Lord, and in a most mild sort willed to say what he could for himself, he answered, without any circuition, that he had spoken foolishly: and therefore the Scripture, as it were carefully declining the giving occasion to any one to attribute so great innocency to Job as to make him sinless, said not, that he sinned not, but that he sinned not in all those things that he suffered before that time, when he answered his wife, 'If we have received good things of the hand of the Lord, why

[1] Job vii. [20.]

should we not patiently suffer the evils he bringeth upon us?' Moses[1], beloved of God and men, and the most meek of all the inhabitants of the earth, doubted something of the promise of the Lord, when he struck the rock twice with the rod, to bring out water for the people being distressed for want of water: and that his doubting displeased the Lord God, and he let him know so much, both by reproving him and punishing him; and therefore presently he said to him and Aaron, 'Because ye believed me not, to sanctify me before the children of Israel, you shall not bring in this people into the land which I will give them.' The Scripture also highly commendeth Samuel; but, as Augustine[2] noteth, that neither he, nor Moses, nor Aaron, were without sin, David sufficiently declared, when he said, 'Thou wast merciful unto them, and didst punish all their inventions:' for, as Augustine[3] noteth, he punisheth them that are appointed to condemnation, in his wrath; the children of grace, in mercy: but there is no punishment, no correction, nor no rod of God due, but to sin. Zachary and Elizabeth are renowned for eminent righteousness, for they are both said to have been just before God, walking in all his commandments without reproof: but that Zachary himself was not without fault and sin, Gabriel shewed when he said unto him, 'Behold, thou shalt be silent, and not able to speak.' And the same may be proved out of Paul, who saith, 'That Christ only needed not, daily, as the priests of the law, to offer sacrifice, first for their own sins, and then for the sins of the people.' And it is one thing (as the Fathers of the Council of Milevis[4] have well noted, in their epistle to Innocentius) to walk without sin; and another thing to walk without reproofs: for he that walketh so that no man can justly complain of him, or reprehend him, may be said to walk without reproof, though sometimes, through human frailty, some lighter sins do seize upon him; because men do not reprove, nor complain, but only of the more grievous sins. And to what end should we run through other examples of the saints? whereas the lights of the world, and

[1] Numb. xx. [11, 12.]

[2] Aug. de Utilitate Pœnitentiæ. [Serm. 351. Tom. v. col. 1367.]

[3] Id. de Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione. [Lib. II. cap. 13. Tom. x. col. 50.]

[4] [Concil. Milevit. ii. Tom. III. col. 395. Labbe. Ven. 1728.]

salt of the earth, the Apostles of Christ, that received the first-fruits of the Spirit, confessed of themselves, that in many things they offended and sinned."

"And therefore the Church taught this ever with great consent. Tertullian[1]; *Quis hominum sine delicto?* Cyprian[2] proveth by Job, David, and John, that no man is without sin and defiling. Hilary[3] upon those words, 'Thou hast despised all them that depart from thy righteousness;' If God should despise sinners he should despise all; for there is none without sin. Hierome[4], shewing that the Ninevites upon good ground and for good cause commanded all to fast, both old and young, writeth thus; 'The elder age beginneth, but the younger also followeth in the same course, for there is none without sin, whether he live but one day or many years; for if the stars be not clean in the sight of God, how much less a worm, rottenness, and they that are holden guilty of the sin of Adam that offended against God.' And in another place[5], 'We follow the authority of the scripture, that no man is without sin.' And St Augustine[6]; 'Whosoever are commended in Scripture, as having a good heart, and doing righteously, and whosoever such after them, either now are, or shall be hereafter, they are all truly great, just, and praiseworthy, but they are not without some sin, nor no one of them is so arrogantly mad as to think he hath no need to say the Lord's Prayer, and to ask forgiveness of his sins.' And in his thirty-first Sermon, *De verbis Apostoli*, he hath these words[7]: *Hæretici, Pelagiani, et Cœlestiani dicunt justos in hac vita nullum habere peccatum, redi hæretice ad orationem, si obsurduisti contra veram fidei rationem, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, dicis an non dicis? Si non dicis, etsi præsens fueris corpore, foris tamen es ab ecclesia. Ecclesiæ enim oratio est, vox est de magisterio Domini veniens. Ipse dixit, Sic orate, discipulis dixit, apostolis dixit, et nobis qualescunque agniculi sumus dixit, arietibus gregis dixit, Sic orate. Videte*

[1] Tertull. contra Marcionem. Lib. II. [cap. 23. p. 393. Par. 1675.]

[2] Cyprian ad Quirinum, lib. III. [cap. 54. p. 80. Oxon. 1682.]

[3] Hilarius in Psalm. cxviii. [Tom. I. col. 375. Par. 1730.]

[4] Hieron. in Ionam. [Tom. VI. col. 417. Ven. 1736.]

[5] Id. Qu. 8. ad Algasiam. [Ep. 121. Tom. I. col. 869.]

[6] Aug. de Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione. Lib. II. cap. 14. [Tom. X. col. 51.]

[7] [Id. De Verbis Apostoli, Serm. 31. al. 181. Tom. V. col. 866.]

quis dixerit et quibus dixerit, Veritas discipulis, Pastor pastorum arietibus dixit, Sic orate: Dimitte nobis debita nostra, &c.: Rex militibus, Dominus servis, Christus apostolis, Veritas hominibus loquebatur, Sublimitas humilibus loquebatur, Scio quid in vobis agatur. Ego vos appendo, ego de trutina mea renuncio, prorsus dico quid in vobis agatur. Hoc enim ego plus quam vos scio, dicite, Dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut, &c.: Oratio ista regeneratorum est, id est, baptizatorum: postremo quod totum superat filiorum est. Nam si non est filiorum, qua fronte dicitur, Pater noster? &c. And in his Retractations[1] he saith expressly, 'No man doth so keep the mandates of righteousness, as that it should not be needful for him in praying, to say, Forgive us our debts.' And elsewhere[2]; that amongst those three articles, which the Church defendeth against the Pelagians, one is, *In quantacunque justitia, sine qualibuscunque peccatis, in hoc corruptibili corpore neminem vivere.* Basil[3]: 'No speech is so profitable unto me, as that touching repentance, because there is no man without sin.' Gennadius[4]: 'There is no holy nor just man that is without sin; yet doth he not therefore cease to be holy.' Gregory[5] inquireth how that may be understood, that Job saith, his heart reproved him not; whereas before he had accused himself saying, 'I have sinned:' and he professeth, that if he shall go about to justify himself, his own heart will condemn him: and he answereth himself in this sort: That there are sins that may be avoided by the just, and that there are some that even the righteous cannot decline; of the first kind, he saith it is to think evil, of the second, to consent to evil thoughts. Rightly, therefore, he that confesseth himself a sinner saith, his heart reproved him not, because though sometimes haply he were wanting in rectitude, in that he thought evil, yet by a strong fight of the mind he resisted the same. Bernard[6]: *Ipsi de se fatentur apostoli, in multis*

[1] Id. Retract. cap. 13. [Lib. I. cap. 19. Tom. I. col. 30.]

[2] Id. de Dono Perseverantiæ. [Cap. 2. Tom. X. col. 824.]

[3] Basil. Homil. 58. [Al. de Pœnit. Tom. II. p. 603.]

[4] Gennadius, de Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus, cap. 49. [p. 27. Hamb. 1614.]

[5] Greg. Mag. Moral. Lib. XVIII. cap. 4. [Tom. I. col. 560.]

[6] Bernard. de Præcepto et Dispensatione. [Cap. 10. Tom. I. col. 515. Par. 1719.]

offendimus omnes; et si dixerimus, quia peccatum non habemus, ipsi nos seducimus; that is, The apostles confess of themselves, in many things we sin all; and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves. Augustine[1] treating of those words, 'that we may be holy and undefiled:' *Hoc agitur, inquit, ut hoc simus, si immaculati intelligendi sunt, qui omnino sine peccato sunt; si autem immaculati sunt qui sunt sine crimine, etiam in hac vita fuisse atque esse, negare non possumus: legitur homo sine crimine, legitur sine querela; at non legitur sine peccato, nisi Filius hominis, unus idemque Filius Dei unicus.* And Gregory[2]: *In hac vita multi sine crimine, nullus vero esse sine peccatis valet.*"

Yea the Fathers teach[3], not only that no man doth, but also that no man can live without venial sin. Hilary[4], *in illa verba, Amputa a me opprobrium, &c., Propheta in corpore positus loquitur, et neminem viventium scit sine peccato esse posse. Augustine, Homil. 2, in Apocalyps.: Non angeli indigent pœnitentia, sed homines, qui sine peccato esse non possunt; et subjungit: Non dicam laici, sed etiam sacerdotes, una die esse non debent sine pœnitentia, quia quomodo nullus dies est, in quo homo possit esse sine peccato, sic nullo die debet esse sine satisfactionis remedio. Et, de Dono Perseverantiæ, cap.* 13, *citat ex Ambrosio, et approbat, Cavere difficile, exuere autem impossibile surreptiones, in quibus dubium non est, quandoque nos peccare venialiter. In Lib. de Fide ad Petrum, cap.* 41, *ut firmissime tenendum traditur, neminem ex adultis sine peccato esse posse. Gregorius,*

[1] Aug. de Perfectione Justitiæ Hominis, cap. 17. [Tom. x. col. 184.]

[2] Greg. Moral. Lib. XXI. cap. 9. [Cap. 12. Tom. I. col. 688.]

[3] "Crediderim motos fuisse plerosque ex sanctis doctoribus, ut quamvis diserte alias dixerunt, posse nos per Dei gratiam implere ad plenum ipsius legem, tamen nonnunquam asseruerint non posse quenquam mortalium in hac vita omnia devitare peccata."—Vega. Lib. XIV. cap. 20. [p. 710.]

[4] Hilar. in Psalm. CXVIII. [v. 39. Tom. I. col. 312. Veron. 1730.]
August. in Apoc. Hom. 2. [Tom. III. Append. col. 162.]
Id. de Dono Perseverantiæ. cap. 13. [Al. 8. Tom. x. col. 830.]
Id. de Fide ad Petrum. cap. 41. [Tom. VI. Append. col. 32.]
Greg. in Evang. Hom. 17. [Tom. I. col. 1502. Par. 1705.]
Id. Moral. Lib. XVIII. cap. 4. [al. cap. 5. Tom. I. col. 562.]
Bernard. de Præcepto et Dispensatione. [Cap. 13. Tom. I. col. 519.]

Homil. 17. *in Evangel.: Humana vita sine culpa transiri non potest. Et alibi, Etiam a justis peccata hæc minuta asserit inevitabilia* 18. *Moral. c.* 4. *Beda, in illa verba, Ecce agnus Dei: Quamdiu sunt sancti in hoc corpore, peccato carere nequeunt: et Bernard. in Lib. de Præcepto et Dispens.: Fateor sane impossibile cuivis mortalium, vel venialiter interdum non delinquere.* And the Council of Trent[1] anathematizeth all those that shall say, that the justified man may so avoid and decline all venial sin, as not to commit any in the whole course of his life, unless it be by special privilege, as in the blessed Virgin.

But yet Andreas Vega[2] thinketh, that the just, by the assistance of God's grace, may decline all venial sin, so as in the whole course of their life to fall into none; which his saying he confesseth will seem hard to most men, even as it seemed formerly to himself. But he saith, If it be not granted that the commandments of God may be kept collectively, as well as divisively, then that he requireth is impossible, for he requireth the fulfilling of all collectively, so as not to do any of them is sin. If a man command his servant to carry so much of something out of the field into his house every hour, though he have power to carry so much any hour, yet if he have not

[1] ["Si quis dixerit hominem semel justificatum amplius peccare non posse... aut posse in tota vita peccata omnia etiam venialia vitare, nisi ex speciali Dei privilegio, quemadmodum de beata virgine Maria tenet ecclesia, anathema sit."— Concil. Trident. Session. vi. can. 23. Labbe. Tom. XX. col. 42. Ven. 1728.]

[2] "Simpliciter crediderim posse nos, per opem et favorem Dei, et omnia et singula peccata tota vita devitare. Quoniam autem hoc novum et durum plerique videbitur, sicut et mihi sæpe visum est, adnitar illud fortissimis quibusdam argumentis communire. Primo, tenetur homo non solum in progressu vitæ suæ devitare singula peccata, sed tenetur vitare omnia. Est igitur hoc homini simpliciter et absolute possibile per gratiam Dei. Alioqui incidemus in hæresim asserentium Deum obligasse homines ad impossibile. Nullo quippe modo concedendum est nos esse ad impossibile constrictos, sive uno aliquo præcepto, sive pluribus. Et maxime hoc tempore cavendum esset hoc asserere, ne conveniamus cum nostræ tempestatis hæreticis, qui aiunt posse quidem a nobis legem Dei expleri, sed ex parte, et non ex toto. Palam injustus esset Dominus qui a servo exigeret ut ferret a monte in domum unum lignum qualibet hora diei, si non potest hoc facere omnibus horis diurnis, licet id possit qualibet hora."—Vega, de Justificatione. Lib. XIV. cap. 21. [p. 712.]

power to carry it every hour, it seemeth he requireth that which is impossible, and his mandate is unjust. And besides, if we have power to do the things the law requireth, divisively only, and not collectively, then we cannot fulfil the law, *ex toto, sed ex parte tantum;* which is the opinion of the Protestants, whom the Council condemneth.

It is true, that he noteth touching this point, that they cannot avoid but that God hath commanded things impossible, who say, that men may divisively do each thing the law requireth, but not collectively all the things it requireth, seeing God commandeth us to do all these things collectively; and yet this is the opinion of most divines in the Roman Church. So that they are forced by the evidence of truth to confess together with us, that God hath commanded such things, as in the present state, by reason of the infirmity of our sinful nature, cannot be fulfilled by us.

Neither can Vega avoid the evidence of the testimonies of the Fathers, and the decree of the Council of Trent, so that he must be forced to confess, that no man can so collectively fulfil the law as not to sin, and consequently, that no man can perform that the law requireth. For his distinction of logical or metaphysical, and moral impossibility, will not help the matter; for howsoever it be true that God may give grace, freeing the will, and enabling it to do good, in such sort as to decline all ill, (and in his opinion every justified man might have such grace, if he were not wanting to himself), yet according to the course which generally he hath, doth, and will ever hold, for reasons best known to himself, he giveth not that superexcellent grace, and man's condition is still such, as that continuing in it, he cannot avoid all sin.

Stapleton[1], treating of the fulfilling of the law, layeth down these propositions. 1. They that are renewed in Christ Jesus receive the grace of the Holy Spirit, whereby they may fulfil the law. *Lex,* saith St Augustine[2], *data est ut gratia quæreretur; gratia data est ut lex impleretur; et voluntas ostenditur infirma per legem*[3], *ut sanet gratia*

[1] "Per Spiritum Sanctum nobis datur gratia qua impletur lex."—Stapleton, de Justificatione. Lib. VI. cap. 2. [Tom. II. p. 175.]

[2] August. De Spiritu et Litera, cap. 19. [Tom. X. col. 103.]

[3] Ibid. cap. 9. [col. 93.]

voluntatem, et voluntatas sanata impleat legem, non constituta sub lege, nec indigens lege. Item[1], *Lex non evacuatur per fidem, sed statuitur; quia fides impetrat gratiam, qua lex impleatur. Ad præcepta facienda adjuvat per gratiam, sicut promissa implenda curat per veritatem*[2]. *Impletur lex*[3] *cum vel fiunt quæ ibi præscripta sunt, vel cum exhibentur quæ ibi prophetata sunt: gratia pertinet ad charitatis plenitudinem, veritas ad prophetiarum impletionem; et quia utrumque per Christum, ideo non venit solvere Legem aut Prophetas, sed adimplere.*

This first proposition he qualifieth by a second, in this sort[4]: *Hæc impletio legis non intelligitur necessario et præcise, in omnibus mandatis legis, toto tempore et cursu justitiæ humanæ; sed ille censetur implere, qui voluntatem et affectum habens implendi, universa legis eatenus implet, quatenus humana fragilitas, in reliquiis naturæ corruptæ, per gratiam adjuta implere in hac vita vel potest vel solet.* "And this proposition," he saith[5], "is clearly proved, and strongly confirmed, by the known doctrine of the Church, long since clearly delivered against the Pelagians[6], that none of

[1] Ibid. cap. 30. [col. 114.]

[2] Id. contra Faustum, Lib. XIX. cap. 31. [Tom. VIII. col. 332.]

[3] Id. Lib. XVII. cap. 6. [col. 310.]

[4] Stapleton, ubi supra. cap. 3. [p. 176.]

[5] "Hæc propositio manifeste confirmatur per celeberrimam illam ecclesiæ doctrinam contra Pelagianos olim definitam, 'Neminem etiam justorum in hac vita sine peccato vivere.' Sane de Zacharia et Elizabeth in Evangelio dicitur, quod 'ambo justi essent apud Deum, incedentes in omnibus mandatis et justificationibus Domini sine querela.' De Davide dicitur quod fuerit 'vir secundum cor Dei faciens omnes voluntates ejus:' de Asa rege scribitur, quod 'fecerit rectum ante conspectum Domini sicut David pater ejus,' imo etiam quod 'cor ejus perfectum fuerat coram Domino, omnibus diebus suis.' Similiter de Josaphat, et de Ezechia, et de Josia, regibus scribitur. Et tamen horum omnia peccata in scripturis commemorantur. Zacharias incredulus Deo, mutus factus est. Davidis adulterium et homicidium nota sunt. Josaphat reprehenditur a propheta 'opem ferens impio Achab.' Ezechias 'cecidit in elatione cordis sui.' Josias quoque graviter peccavit, mittens ad Oldam prophetissam, et non acquiescens sermonibus Nechao prophetæ. Ergo isti omnes et implebant mandata Domini, et justi ex hoc ipso erant; sine peccatis tamen non erant." [Ibid.]

[6] Concil. Milevit. can. 6, 7, 8. [Labbe. Tom. III. col. 382. Ven. 1728.] Concil. Afric. can. 81. et sequent. [Tom. III. col. 523.] Aug. de

the just do live without sin. Whereas, therefore, it is said of Zachary and Elizabeth, 'that they were both just before God, walking in all the commandments and justifications of the Lord, without blame;' and of David, 'that he was a man after God's own heart, doing all his will;' and of Asa, 'that he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, as David his father did, and that his heart was perfect before the Lord all his days;' as likewise it is said of Jehoshaphat, Ezechias, Josias; it is not to be understood that they were so just as to be without sin, for the sins of them all are recounted in scripture. Zachary was incredulous, and therefore became dumb; the adultery and murder of David are well known; Jehoshaphat[1] is reprehended by the prophet for helping wicked Ahab; Ezechias[2] fell fell through the pride of his heart; Josias sinned grievously, in not resting in the words of Necho, 2 Chron. xxxv.: but they are said to have been just, because they had a desire to fulfil all, though through frailty they offended in many things." Hierome[3] sheweth that men are so just in this life, as that yet they are not without sin: *Positum, inquit, est in nostra potestate non peccare sed hoc pro modo, et tempore, et conditione humanæ fragilitatis: perpetuitas autem impeccantiæ soli Deo reservatur, nec quia ad breve tempus abstinere possum, coges me ut possim jugiter, et dicimus hominem posse non peccare si velit, sed hoc pro tempore, pro loco, pro imbecillitate corporis, quamdiu intentus est animus, quamdiu chorda nullo vitio laxatur in cithara.* And St Augustine[4]: *Nullus sanctus et justus caret peccato, nec tamen ex hoc desinit esse justus, cum affectu teneat sanctitatem.*

Thirdly[5], to this proposition he addeth, in the same

Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione, Lib. II. [Tom. X. col. 43]: De Spiritu et Litera, [Tom. X. col. 123]: Contra Epistolas Pelagianorum, Lib. IV. [col. 486]: De Perfectione Justitiæ, [col. 173.]

[1] 2 Chron. xix. [2] 2 Chron. xxxii.

[3] Hieron. contra Pelagianos, Lib. III. [Tom. II. col. 781.]

[4] August. De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus. cap. 86. [al. 53. Tom. VIII. Append. col. 80.]

[5] "Omnimoda mandatorum impletio, etsi talis in hac vita ad veram justitiam non requiritur ut omni prorsus peccato careat, tamen talis et tanta est ut gravibus illis et letiferis peccatis omnino carere possit et debeat, utrumque levioribus illis et venialibus non careat. Quamvis enim etiam justi interdum etiam letaliter peccent, tamen in tali pec-

place: "that the just, though they be not without sin, yet decline those that are mortal; or if at any time they fall into them, they rise again by repentance."

Fourthly[1], "though the righteousness of the just be not perfect in this world, so as to be free from all mixture of sin, yet it is perfect *suo modo*, in that it continually endeavoureth to be free from sin, going on from day to day." *Hœc est perfectorum vera justitia*[2], *ut nunquam præsumant se esse perfectos; ne ab itineris nondum finiti intentione cessantes, ibi incidant in deficiendi periculum, ubi proficiendi deposuerint appetitum*[3]. *Quantumcunque hic profecerimus, nemo dicat, Sufficit mihi, justus sum: qui sic dixit remansit in via, non novit pervenire. Ubi dixit, Sufficit, ibi hæsit.*

Fifthly[4], *Justitia bonorum operum in fide, est vera coram Deo justitia, utcunque mixta peccatis et imperfecta, tum quoad universa mandata implenda, tum quoad modum implendi, vereque et plene legi Dei satisfacit, non solum quia quam proxime accedit ad plenam et perfectam justitiam, aut quia gravioribus saltem criminibus caret, aut etiam quia id agit proficiendo de die in diem, ut omni prorsus peccato careat, et plene satisfaciat, sed adhuc præterea, quia quicquid deest ad plenam et perfectam adimpletionem, mandata prætermittendo, et frequenter venialiter peccando, sive propter imperfectionem, in modo et ratione implendi, id totum Christi misericordia et gratia indulget, atque ignoscit, facitque indulgendo, ut perinde simus coram Deo justi, ac si universa ad amussim omnia mandata, eademque perfectissime fecissemus.*

This doctrine of Stapleton thus delivered, is such as no protestant can dislike, neither can he dissent from them, if he constantly persist in the same; but that he may make

cato constituti justi non sunt, nec vera justitia cum tali peccato nondum per pœnitentiam deleto consistit."—Stapleton. ubi supra. cap. 5. [p. 178.]

[1] "Justitia hujus vitæ evangelica, etsi non careat omni prorsus peccato, ideoque ex hac parte perfecta non sit, tamen suo modo perfecta est, quia id semper agit ut careat peccato, proficiendo de die in diem." —Ibid. cap. 6. [p. 179.]

[2] Leo de Quadragesima, Serm. ii. [al. Serm. xl. Tom. I. col. 148. Ven. 1753.]

[3] August. in Psalm. lxix. [Tom. IV. col. 717.]

[4] Stapleton, ubi supra. cap. 8. [p. 184.]

hew of some difference between him and them, he saith, hat a threefold fraud of the Protestants, touching remission f sins, is to be avoided. First, In that they make our stification to consist in the sole remission of sins by faith, at the sacraments confer nothing to our justification. But is is untrue; for they teach no such thing, but that bap- m and repentance are necessarily required, in them that e to be first justified. The second supposed fraud is, That tions of virtue, and the careful endeavour to walk in the mmandments of God, are not necessary to our second justi- ation, or the augmentation, progress, and daily perfecting the same more and more. But this is a calumniation as e former; for they make the second justification to consist two parts: the daily progress in well-doing, whereby the ghteousness inherent is more and more perfected: and the ily remission of such sinful defects as are found in their tions. Neither do they say that mortal sins, and such as o *vastare conscientiam*, stand with justification; and there- re the daily remission which the justified man seeketh, is ot of those. The third fraud, to wit, That this remis- ion of sins is obtained by faith only, without all those eans that are necessary to attain the same, is but his own agination; for howsoever faith only apprehend this remis- ion, yet other things necessarily concur, as fitting to the ceiving of the same.

Hitherto we have strongly proved, that no man can live n this world without venial sin; and consequently, that no an fulfilleth the law exactly. We have likewise shewed, hat the best learned in the Roman Church do think, that e justified do so fulfil the law, as that they have need of ntinual remission of sins. Only one thing may be alleged gainst this that we have hitherto insisted upon[1]; that venial

[1] "Chemnitius," saith Bellarmine, de Justificatione, Lib. IV. cap. 14, rgeth that he that fulfilleth the whole law hath no sin; that in many ings we sin all; and that therefore none fulfilleth the whole law. is argument they do not well answer that think venial sins to be operly sins, and against the law; for they must say it is possible to lfil, not because it may wholly be kept, but in the greater part."— omas 1ma 2dæ Quæst. 88. Art. 1. asserit peccata venialia non esse ccata simpliciter, sed imperfecte et secundum quid, neque esse con- a legem, sed præter legem.

"Ab hoc argumento, quod valde Kemnitius urget, non tam facile se

sins are not against, but besides, the law; that they are improperly sins, and that they do not offend nor displease God, and that therefore the committing of those no way hindereth but that the fulfilling of the law may be accounted perfect. But Andreas Vega[1] learnedly refuteth this fancy, and sheweth, at large, that they are properly and absolutely sin, for that they are *actus mali simpliciter, quippe qui voluntarii et circa materiam indebitam, et a recta ratione deviant ac dissentiunt, et pœna ac reprehensione digni jure apud omnes censentur.* And sundry others agree with him in the same. So that it is clear, that though the gift of righteousness be given to the justified, and they inclined to do the things the law requireth, yet it doth not make them to decline all evil, or to do all good that the law requireth, but so to decline evil, as not to suffer it to be predominant, and so to do good, as principally to delight in well-doing, and above all things to desire to please God.

Only one thing remaineth that is questionable, Whether the good works of the justified be sin or not? That they are we have the testimony of Gregory[2], *Sanctus vir omne meritum virtutis nostræ vitium esse conspicit, si ab interno arbitro districte judicetur, ideo recte subjungit, si voluerit contendere cum eo, non poterit ei respondere unum pro mille. Et* 9 *Moral. c.* 28: *Quamvis lamentis supernæ compunctionis infundar: quamvis per studia rectæ operationis exercear, in tua tamen munditia video quia mundus non sum. Intentam quippe in Deum animam, ipsam adhuc corruptibilis caro diverberat, ejusque amoris pulchritudinem, obscœnis et illicitis cogitationum motibus fœdat. Et* 9 *Moral. c.* 14: *Omnis humana justitia injustitia convincitur si districte judicetur: prece ergo post justitiam indiget, ut quæ succumbere discussa poterat, ex sola judicis pietate convalescat.*

excipiunt qui concedunt peccatum veniale esse proprie contra legem; coguntur enim dicere legem non esse impossibilem, non quod tota simul servari possit, sed quod servari possit major ejus pars et a meliori parte fiat determinatio."—Bellarm. de Justificatione, Lib. IV. cap. 14. [Tom. IV. p. 483.]

Thomas Aquinas, Prima Secundæ, Quæst. 88. Art. 1. [Tom. II. p. 192. Ven. 1594.]

[1] Vega, de Justificatione, Lib. XIV. cap. 13. [p. 690.]

[2] Greg. Moral. Lib. IX. cap. 1. [Tom. I. col. 288.]

Id. Lib. IX. cap. 28. [36. col. 315.] et IX. cap. 14. [18. col. 301.]

And Vega[1] confesseth, that not only the life of all the holiest in this world is stained with many venial sins, but also that the good works of the most perfect come short of that goodness with which it were fit we should worship, praise, and honour God: they are not so pure, so holy, so fervent, as the greatness of God and of his benefits bestowed on us, might justly require and exact of us.

Stapleton[2] saith, *Non est tanta eorum justitia ut vel sine peccato semper sit, vel nihil illi addi queat. August.*[3], *contra Cœlestium: In illa plenitudine charitatis præceptum illud implebitur, Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua, &c.: Nam cum est adhuc aliquid carnalis concupiscentiæ, quod vel continendo frœnetur, non omnimodo ex tota anima diligitur Deus. Propter*[4] *concupiscentiam minuitur, distrahitur, et impeditur illa dilectio. Non amatur Deus perfecte ex tota anima in hac vita: non quia avertitur a Deo, sed quia avocatur; non quia a Deo abstrahitur, sed quia distrahitur. Denique, non quia charitas Dei per hunc conflictum tollitur, sed quia usus ipsius charitatis impeditur, ut scite distinguit Thomas,* II. 2, *Quæst.* 44, *Art.* 4, *Ad.* 2: *Fit autem hæc avocatio, hæc distractio, hæc diminutio delectationis sanctæ in ipsa anima, quia sine anima caro non concupiscit, quamvis caro concupiscere dicatur, quia carnaliter anima concupiscit. Concupiscentia*[5] *in quantum inest, nocet, non quidem ad perdendum de sorte sanctorum nisi ei consentiatur, tamen ad minuendam spiritualem delectationem sanctarum mentium, illam scilicet de qua dicit apostolus, Condelector legi Dei secundum interiorem hominem.* There is an imperfection in our love of God, and we come short of that which the law requireth of us; for we should love him so, as to love or de-

[1] "Non solum verum est vitam quorumvis justorum multis peccatis venialibus jugiter sordidari et deturpari, sed ipsa etiam perfectorum opera a bonitate illa longe deficere qua decerot nos Deum colere, laudare, et honorare. Sunt quippe multis imperfectionibus quoad hic vivitur conjuncta; neque tam pura neque tam sancta et ferventia quam magnitudo divinæ bonitatis et beneficentiæ in nos exigeret."—Vega, Lib. XI. cap. 40. [p. 465.]

[2] Stapleton. de Justificatione, Lib. VI. cap. 21. [Tom. II. p. 211.]

[3] Aug. de Perfectione Justitiæ. [Tom. X. col. 175.]

[4] Stapleton. ubi supra. cap. 10. [p. 190.]

[5] August. contr. Julianum. Lib. IV. cap. 2. [Tom. X. col. 589.]

sire nothing more, nothing so much, nothing but for him, nothing that he would not have loved, nothing otherwise than he would have us: but this we do not, therefore we break this law. Their answer is[1], That these laws do only teach us what we are to desire, and what we are hereafter to attain, but do not bind us under the pain of sin. If we ask them why, they answer, Because our nature is so corrupted that we cannot fulfil them: and thus doth Stapleton answer this question; but himself presently sheweth the insufficiency of this answer, for he telleth us out of Augustine[2], that the righteousness of the first man was such, as to obey God, and to have no law of concupiscence, *De Peccat. Merit. et Remission. Lib.* II. *cap.* 23. And out of the same August. *De Civitate Dei, Lib.* XIV. *cap.* 10: *Erat amor ejus imperturbatus in Deum*, that is, "he was wholly carried unto God without distraction or perturbation:" and addeth, that this primitive righteousness, (which the law of nature bound man to have,) the law was to prescribe and require, *quia ideo data est, ut extinctam propemodum naturæ legem in hominibus restauraret; August. Quæst. in Vetus Testament. Quæst.* 4: and that the rule of the law, which is a perpetual and immutable law of justice in God, was not to be altered or any way bowed and inclined, in respect of the depravation of our nature; he saith therefore that the rule without any change, remaineth the same, and commandeth all manner of perfection: and that not to have the perfection it requireth is a transgression of the law, in all

[1] "Negat (Augustinus) ad hanc vitam pertinere illa præcepta, nimirum, ut obligent ad implendum sub pœna prævaricationis et peccati. Præcepta tamen fuisse in hac vita alibi docuit, ut doceant non ut obligent. Ratio autem quare non obligent in hac vita hæc perfectionis præcepta, est status naturæ corruptæ nostræ, quæ ad primam suam perfectionem, quam ante peccatum primi parentis habuit, in hac mortalitate restaurari non potest, donec absorpta fuerit mors in victoria, omnisque concupiscentia prava prorsus extincta. 'Erat enim,' ait Augustinus, 'justitia primi hominis obedire Deo et legem concupiscentiæ non habere,' &c. Imo, aiunt protestantes, non debuit propter naturæ depravationem immutari regula legis, quæ est perpetua et immutabilis norma justitiæ in Deo. Quibus respondebis, non esse immutatam regulam legis, sed esse humanam naturam ab illa perfectione exemptam."—Stapleton. Lib. VI. cap. 11. [Tom. II. p. 192.]

[2] August. de Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione, Lib. II. cap. 23. [Tom. X. col. 60.]

Id. De Civitate Dei, Lib. XIV. cap. 10. [Tom. VII. col. 361.]

them that by Adam's sin are so corrupted, unless this corruption be remitted. So then this law bindeth the unregenerate; and do the regenerate owe less to God? It remaineth therefore a clear truth, that the most just do not perform the works of virtue with that purity and fervency of affection that the law requireth, according to that of St Paul, who confesseth, that what he would do that he did not, and what he would not that he did; that to will was present with him, but that he found no ability to perform.

Ambrosius de Fuga Sæculi, citatus ab August.[1] *contra duas Epist. Pelag. ad Bonifacium, Lib.* IV. *cap.* 11, hath these words; *Frequenter irrepit terrenarum illecebra cupiditatum, et vanitatum offusio mentem occupat, ut quod studeas vitare, hoc cogites animoque volvas. Quod cavere difficile est homini, exuere autem impossibile. Non in potestate nostra est cor nostrum, et nostræ cogitationes, quæ improviso effusæ, mentem animumque confundunt, atque alio trahunt quam tu proposueris, ad sæcularia revocant, mundana inserunt: voluptaria ingerunt, illecebrosa intexunt, ipsoque in tempore quo elevare mentem paramus, insertis inanibus cogitationibus, ad terrena plerumque dejicimur.*

And Hierome[2], *Fiat tibi, inquit Deus, secundum fidem tuam. Hanc ego vocem audire nolo, si enim secundum fidem meam fiat mihi peribo. Et certe credo in Deum Patrem, credo in Deum Filium, et credo in Deum Spiritum Sanctum, credo in unum Deum: et tamen secundum meam fidem nolo mihi fieri. Sæpe quippe venit inimicus homo et inter Dominicam messem zizania interserit. Neque hoc dico, quod majus quicquam sit quam sacramenti fides, quam puritas animæ: sed indubitata ad Deum fides ardue reperitur. Verbi gratia dictum sit, ut quod volumus perspicuum fiat, ad orationem assisto, non orarem si non crederem, sed si vere crederem, illud cor quo Deus videtur mundarem, manibus tunderem pectus, genas lacrimis rigarem, corpore inhorrescerem, ore pallerem, jacerem ad Domini mei pedes eosque fletu perfunderem, crine tergerem, hærerem certe trunco crucis, nec prius amitterem, quam misericordiam impetrarem. Nunc vero creberrime in oratione mea aut per porticus*

[1] August. contra duas Epistolas Pelagianorum, Lib. IV. cap. 11. [Tom. X. col. 489.]

[2] Hieron. contra Luciferianos. [Tom. II. col. 187.]

deambulo, aut de fœnore computo, aut abductus turpi cogitatione, etiam quæ dictu erubescenda sunt gero. Ubi est fides? siccine putamus orasse Ionam? sic tres pueros? sic Danielem inter leones? sic certe latronem in cruce?

And this is confirmed by the author of the book called *Scala Cœli*, written in English long since, a manuscript whereof I have seen: "When thou wouldest have the mind of thy heart upward to God in thy prayer, thou feelest so many thoughts in vain, and of thine own deeds before done, or what thou shalt do, that it cannot be so: yet do we rightly require it should be so. Thou shalt love God with all thy heart, and all thy soul, and thy might; it is impossible to any man to fulfil this bidding so fully as it is said, living in earth; and yet nevertheless our Lord bade us to love so, for this intent, as St Bernard saith, that we should know thereby our feebleness, and then meekly cry mercy, and we shall have it."

St Bernard[1], making two constructions of that precept, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God," &c.; the one, that it requireth that we should first taste the sweetness of the Lord, and love him as the first thing that is dear unto us, and ourselves in and for God, no otherwise, as finding nothing in ourselves worth regarding, but for Him, without whom we are nothing; the other, that it requireth us to love nothing so much as God, to be affected towards him as most worthy to be beloved, and to desire that we might so taste of his goodness, as to love him first, and nothing but for him: the former of these two, he saith, is impossible to be had in this life; *Quis enim sibi arrogare id audeat quod se Paulus ipse fatetur non comprehendisse? Nec latuit præceptorem præcepti pondus hominum excedere vires, sed judicavit utile, ex hoc ipso suæ illos insufficientiæ admoneri: et ut scirent sane ad quem justitiæ finem niti pro viribus oporteret. Ergo mandando impossibilia, non prævaricatores homines fecit, sed humiles, ut omne os obstruatur, et subditus fiat omnis mundus Deo. Quia ex operibus legis non justificabitur omnis caro coram illo. Accipientes quippe mandatum, et sentientes defectum, clamabimus in cœlum, et miserebitur nostri Deus, et sciemus in illa die, quia non ex operibus justitiæ quæ fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam salvos nos fecit.*

[1] In Cantica. Serm. 50. [Tom. I. col. 1442.]

And that all our best works are defective, and that it is not safe to trust to them; the same Bernard[1] sheweth in his Sermon *De Verbis Apostoli: Perfecta et secura gloriatio est, cum veremur omnia opera nostra, sicut testatur beatus Job de seipso, et cum Esaia propheta omnes justitias nostras, non aliud quam panum menstruatæ reputandas esse cognoscimus; nihilominus tamen confidimus etiam, et gloriamur in Domino, cujus misericordia tanta est super nos, ut a gravioribus quidem, quæ ad mortem peccata sunt, custodiat nos, et tam enigne imperfectionis nostræ delicta, et conversationis immunditatem nobis manifestare, cognitam condonare dignetur, quatenus in humilitate, et sollicitudine, et gratiarum actione mmiter radicati, jam non in nobis, sed in Domino gloiemur.*

Ruard Tapper[2] saith, Our righteousness is imperfect in irtue and efficacy, in that it cannot expel and keep all sin ut of the soul: whence it will follow, that it is sinfully defecve in itself. For righteousness keepeth out sin by way of ontrariety, and each contrary, if it be in such degree as it ould, keepeth out the contrary; if therefore it be in such egree as it should be, it will suffer no sin. For God requirth of us an entire obedience; and as he that will leave a sin n such sort as he should, must leave all; so he that will have ny one virtue so as he should, must have all, and consequently can have no sin. Bellarmine[3], *De Justificat. Lib.* IV. *ap.* 14, saith: He that keepeth the whole law, and offendeth n any one, is guilty of all; and that therefore, if those sins

[1] Qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur. [Id. De verbis Apostoli, 'Qui loriatur, in Deo glorietur.' De diversis Serm. vii. Tom. I. col. 1106.]

[2] "Sicut vitæ novitas in hac vita augetur et progressum habet; is nim qui intus est homo noster, renovatur de die in diem; ita et justia. Nec perfecta est in hac vita justitia, sicut nec etiam vitæ noitas. Ex parte enim hic cognoscimus, ex parte diligimus: omnia hic x parte et imperfecta sunt."—Ruardus Tapper, de Justificatione. Art. . [Tom. II. p. 13. Colon. Agripp. 1582.]

[3] "Qui offendit in uno, prævaricans videlicet unum præceptum, ictus est omnium reus, et injustus simpliciter constituitur; et tamen in ultis offendimus omnes, quia tametsi nihil facimus contra legem, men multa facimus præter legem, et si dixerimus quia peccatum non abemus, nihil videlicet præter legem faciendo, nos ipsos seducimus, t veritas in nobis non est."—Bellarmine, de Justificatione, Lib. IV. ap. 14. [Tom. IV. p. 483.]

which we call venial (as many the best in the Roman Church defend,) be simply and absolutely sins and violations of the law, whosoever committeth any one of them, and breaketh the law in so doing, is, in a sort, guilty of the breach of all, and keepeth no one of them as he should.

Wherefore, by the clear confession of many the worthiest in the Church in former times, and by necessary consequence from that all taught, it is evident that our righteousness is imperfect, not only by reason of the mixture of sins, but of the sinful defect and imperfection found in the good works which we do. Which thing Augustine[1] long since excellently delivered, *Ad Bonifacium. Lib.* III. *cap.* 7: *Virtus quæ nunc est in homine justo, hactenus perfecta nominatur, ut ad ejus perfectionem pertineat etiam ipsius imperfectionis, et in veritate agnitio, et in humilitate confessio. Tunc enim est, secundum hanc infirmitatem, pro suo modulo perfecta, ista parva justitia, quando etiam quid sibi desit intelligit: et* I. *Retract. c.* 19, *Omnia mandata facta deputantur, quando quicquid non sit ignoscitur: et in Confess.: Væ hominum vitæ quantumvis laudabili, si remota misericordia judicetur.*

Wherefore, seeing it is clearly confessed, that the righteousness of the just is impure, as Bernard speaketh, not only in respect of the mixture of sin, but of sinful imperfection found in the best works of virtue done by them; I think we may safely follow their opinion who say, That for the attaining of heavenly happiness, not only a twofold righteousness is necessary, the one inherent, the other imputed; but that this imputed righteousness of Christ is twice offered and presented by Christ to God the Father, first, That our sins may be remitted, we accepted, and renewing grace may be given unto us; and secondly, That for his sake the imperfections and defects of our inherent righteousness found in us, by renewing grace may be covered, that we may avoid the extremity and severity of God's righteous judgment, and that he may accept our weak endeavours and admit us into heaven, notwithstanding all our failings.

[1] Aug. ad Bonifacium. Lib. III. cap. 7. [Tom. X. col. 460.]
Id. Retract. Lib. I. cap. 19. [Tom. I. col. 29.]
Id. Confessiones. [Lib. IX. cap. 13. Tom. I. col. 169.]

ossidonius[1] writeth of Ambrose, that when he was ready
he used these words, *Non sic vixi ut me pudeat inter*
vere; sed nec mori timeo, quia bonum Dominum habe-
and he saith that St Augustine, when he was now aged,
ont much to admire and praise this saying of St Am-
: *Ideo enim eum dixisse nec mori timeo, quia bonum*
num habemus; ne crederetur præfidens de suis purga-
is moribus præsumpsisse, Non sic vixi ut me pu-
inter vos vivere: hoc dixerat ad illud quod homines
mine nosse poterant. Nam sciens examen æquitatis
e, de bono Domino se dicit magis quam de meritis
onfidere: cui etiam in Oratione quotidiana Dominica
ut: Dimitte nobis debita nostra, &c. And Cuthbertus[2]
writeth the life of Beda, saith, that he also was wont
to repeat this saying of St Ambrose.

t Augustine[3], *Cont. Crescon. Lib.* III. *c.* 80, speaketh
Ad existimationem hominum magna testium qui me
unt suppetit copia, ad Dei vero conspectum sola consci-
quam contra vestras criminationes, cum intrepidam
i, non me tamen sub oculis Omnipotentis justificare
, magisque, ab illo effluentem misericordiæ largitatem,
judicii summum examen expecto, cogitans quod scrip-
st, Cum rex justus sederit in throno, quis gloriabitur
n se habere cor, aut quis gloriabitur mundum se esse a
to? Which thing Gerson[4] also sheweth, *De verbis*
ti, Venite ad me omnes. Hæc et his similia Diabolo
uti, et peccatum suæ diffidentiæ vel desperationis in-
volenti, soleo respondere: Ne quando prævaleat in-
s meus super me. At si quando me cogitatio in con-
i divinæ majestatis rapuerit, ibi certe longe aliter
lo, quia tunc me pulverem cineremque esse recognosco.
me peccatorem miserrimum, et supplicio dignissimum
eor, et cum omni reverentia veniam deprecor. Tunc
super terram sto, et alas submitto, quas in alterca-
Diaboli, quasi in cœlo volans, extensas teneo: ut
r et coram Diabolo erectus inveniar, et humilis co-
Deo.

[1] Possidonius, de Vita Augustini. [Inter Opp. August. Tom. X. d. col. 276.]
[2] Cuthbertus in Vita Bedæ. [Opp. Bedæ Præfixa. Col. Agripp. 1612.]
[3] Aug. contra Cresconium. Lib. III. cap. 80. [Tom. IX. col. 481.]
[4] Gerson. [Tom. II. p. 795. Par. 1606.]

Of St Bernard it is reported[1], *Cum extremum jam spiritum trahere videretur, in excessu mentis suæ, ante tribunal Domini sibi visus est præsentari affuit autem et Satan ex adverso, improbis eum accusationibus pulsans; ubi vero ille omnia fuerat prosecutus, et viro Dei pro sua fuit parte dicendum, nihil territus aut turbatus ait, Fateor non sum dignus ego, nec propriis possum meritis obtinere regnum cœlorum; cæterum duplici jure illud obtinens Dominus meus, hæreditate scilicet Patris, et merito passionis; alterο ipse contentus, alterum mihi donat, ex ejus dono jure illud mihi vendicans non confundor. In hoc verbo confusus inimicus, conventus ille solutus, et homo Dei in se reversus est.* Anselm[2], archbishop of Canterbury, bringeth in a godly man thus speaking to the angels: *Quod in regno Dei vestra quærimus æqualitate beari, dono et gratiæ Jesu Christi Domini nostri id ascribimus: qui ad hoc dignatus est homo fieri, pati, mori, ut nos ab omni delicto in sanguine suo justificatos, ipsius regni consortes efficeret.*

And the same Anselm[3] is said to have prescribed certain interrogatories to be proposed to such as were ready to die = *Inter quas extrema est, Credis te non posse nisi per mortem Christi salvari? respondet infirmus, Etiam. Tum illi dicitur: Age igitur, dum superest in te anima, in hac sola morte fiduciam tuam constitue; in nulla re alia fiduciam habe; huic morti te totum committe, hac sola te totum contege, totum te immisce in hac morte, totum confige, in hac morte totum involve; et si Dominus Deus voluerit te judicare, dic: Domine, mortem Domini nostri Jesu Christi objicio inter me et judicium tuum; aliter tecum non contendo. Et si tibi dixerit quia peccator es, dic: Domine, mortem Domini nostri Jesu Christi pono inter te et peccata mea. Si dixerit tibi, quod meruisti damnationem, dic: Domine, mortem Domini nostri Jesu Christi obtendo inter me et mala merita mea, ipsiusque mortem offero pro merito quod ego debuissem habere, nec habeo. Si dixerit, quod tibi est iratus, dic: Domine, mortem Domini nostri Jesu Christi oppono inter me et iram tuam.*

[1] Guillelmus in Vita Bernardi. [Lib. I. cap. 12. inter Opp. Bernard. Tom. II. col. 1099. Par. 1719.]

[2] Anselm. de Simil. [al. Eadmer, de S. Anselmi Similitudinibus. cap. 61. p. 165. ad calcem Opp. S. Anselmi. Lut. Par. 1675.]

[3] Hosius, Confessio Catholica. cap. 73. [fol. 143. Antv. 1571.]

Iosius[1] saith, The book called *Hortulus Animæ*, hath the ırrogatories; and that the Franciscan Friars Observant ıame in the Friary at Trent, translated into Italian, he had seen *Sacerdotale Romanum*, in which this ıtion is found; *Credis non propriis meritis, sed pas-omini nostri Jesu Christi virtute et merito, ad glo-venire? Respondet infirmus, Credo: iterum sacerdos, uod Dominus noster Jesus Christus pro nostra salute sit; et quod ex propriis meritis, vel alio modo, ıssit salvari, nisi in merito passionis ejus? Respon-mus, Credo: et in fine dicit sacerdos: Si Dominus uerit te secundum peccata tua judicare, dicas: Do-us, ego pono mortem Domini nostri Jesu Christi inter licium tuum; et quamvis meruerim æternam mortem peccata mea, interpono tamen meritum passionis loco meriti quod ego miser habere deberem, et non em, Domine, pono eandem passionem et mortem Do-Jesu Christi inter me et iram tuam; et in manus mine, commendo spiritum meum.* There is extant a ırm of confession attributed to St Bernard[2], in which eth to God in this sort: *Recordare, Domine Jesu, ım non est perdere quicquam eorum quæ Pater it tibi: quin tibi proprium est misereri semper et neminem perdere, sed salvare; nam Pater tuus in mundum, non ut judices mundum, sed ut vitam s per te; ut sis propitiatio nostra et advocatus on contra nos. Quod enim debuimus, tu solvisti: cavimus, tu luisti: quod negleximus, tu supplesti; ergo nunc, Domine, et in extremis meis, ple-o superflua satisfactio, amarissima mors tua, et inæstimabile fusi sanguinis tui, commemoratio onis tuæ, &c. Ante annos* 200[3], *quidam Domi-Coloniæ, quomodo forent ægroti consolandi docuit s: Morti jam vicinus, prorsus nihil suis bonis confidere debet, nec propter mala diffidere; sed pem in merita Christi, et ejus immensam miseri-collocare; hæc est fides Catholica, et Christiana, inem fallere potest.* So that hitherto we find, the

[1] Hosius, ibid. [fol. 144.]
[2] Citat. ab Hosio. ibid.
[3] Hosius, ibid.

Church, wherein our fathers lived and died, was a Protestant Church, and that they were taught to die in the same faith that we now are.

But some man will say, Howsoever these disclaimed all merit and confidence in works, as living in bad times wherein iniquity abounded, and charity was waxen cold, yet others of a more excellent quality, pleaded their own righteousness and innocency, desiring to be judged according to the same. So David, Psal. xxvi., and elsewhere. And so, when the Lord had said to Ezechias, "Set thy house in order, for thou must die;" he turned his face to the wall, and prayed unto the Lord, and said[1], "I beseech thee, Lord, remember how I have walked before thee in truth, and with a perfect heart, and have done that which is good in thy sight." And Paul 2 Tim. iv. with more confidence, when his dissolution was at hand, and he was ready to be offered up, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; and henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me in that day." Of Hilarion, Hierome[2] reporteth, that when he was ready to die, he used these words: *Egredere, quid times? egredere, anima mea, quid dubitas? sexaginta annis servivisti Christo, et mortem times? et in hæc verba spiritum exhalavit.*

But the answer hereunto is easy: for the divines do note, that there is *justitia causæ, facti, personæ*, a righteousness of some particular cause, of some particular fact, and of the person. *Causæ;* and so David oftentimes desired of God, to be judged, in the differences between him and his adversaries that wronged him, according to his righteousness and innocency in those quarrels. Of fact; so it is said that Phinees stood up and wrought vengeance; and it was imputed to him for righteousness; that is, he was judged to have done a righteous act in so doing. The righteousness of the person is twofold; for there is a righteousness that is sincere, true, and pure; and there is a righteousness that is true, and sincere, but not pure. None of the saints ever pleaded the former kind of righteousness, nor desired to be judged according to the same. For David, in that respect,

[1] Esai. xxxviii. [3.]

[2] Hieron. [Tom. II. col. 40.]

declineth judgment, saying, "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, for no flesh is righteous in thy sight:" and again, "If thou, Lord, shouldest be extreme to mark what is done amiss, who should be able to abide it?" But in the latter sort, they do plead the truth and simplicity of their hearts, and the sincerity of the righteousness that is found in them. And this for two reasons; first, in that hereby they are assured that they pertain to God that hath thus begun to do good unto them, and so confirm themselves in the hope and expectation of that they desire, by the consideration of the good he hath already done unto them; and besides also, for that they know this is the condition wherewith all the promises of God made unto them for their good are limited; and therefore, if they found not this, they could expect nothing of God; and finding this, they need not to doubt to obtain anything that is necessary for them. And in this sort do Cardinal Contarenus and Albertus Pighius, men of no small esteem in the Roman Church, clear these objections. So that it remaineth firm which I have delivered, that the righteousness which is inherent in the just, is impure and unperfect; and that it is not safe to rely upon it.

But because this is a matter of great consequence, I will demonstrate that the same was taught before, at, and after Luther's time, by men of best place and quality in the Church wherein our fathers lived. Bernard[1] distinguisheth

[1] "Nostra, si qua est, humilis est justitia, recta forsitan, sed non pura. Nisi forte meliores nos esse credimus quam patres nostros, qui non minus veraciter quam humiliter aiebant: 'Omnes justitiæ nostræ tanquam pannus menstruatæ mulieris.' Quomodo enim pura justitia ubi adhuc non potest culpa deesse? Recta proinde interim videri potest justitia hominis, si tamen peccato non consentiant, ut non regnet in eorum mortali corpore. Nam primi hominis in initio quidem non modo recta sed etiam pura fuit, quamdiu ei datum est nec sentire peccatum. Ceterum et hæc ipsa quoniam firma non fuit, et puritatem facile perdidit, et ne ipsam quoque retinuit rectitudinem suam. Sane apud angelos justitia recta, pura, et firma est, sublimis quidem, sed adhuc longe inferior quam divina. Non enim innata est eis sed a Deo collata; ut natura ipsa, quod ex se est, non modo justitiæ sed etiam injustitiæ capax inveniatur. Numquid non ista est pravitas quædam, quam in angelis suis vera justitia illa legitur invenisse. 'Non enim justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens,' ait is qui Dei justitiam minime ignorabat. Nec ait 'Omnis homo,' sed, 'Omnis vivens,' forte ut ne ipsos angelicos eum noveris spiritus

four kinds of righteousness. "Our righteousness," he saith, "is *recta, sed non pura;* of which our fathers said, no less truly than humbly, 'All our righteousness is as the polluted rags of a menstruous woman:' for how can our righteousness be pure, wherein it cannot be but there should be sin? The righteousness of the first man was both right and pure; but because it was not firm and constant, it lost purity, and retained not so much as the rectitude it had. In the angels there is righteousness right, pure, and firm, of an high and excellent nature, but much inferior to that of God. *Non enim innata est iis, sed a Deo collata, ut natura ipsa, quod ex se est, non modo justitiæ, sed etiam injustitiæ, capax inveniatur. Numquid non ista est pravitas quædam quam in angelis suis vera illa justitia legitur invenisse?* that is: The righteousness that is found in the angels, is not inborn, but given to them, and bestowed on them; so that their nature, as of itself, is capable not only of righteousness, but of unrighteousness also. And is not this a kind of pravity and iniquity, which that true and perfect justice is said to have found in his angels? for he that was not ignorant of the justice of God, saith, 'No one living shall be justified in thy sight.' He saith not, no man, but no one living, haply that thou mayest know that he excepteth not the angelical spirits. For they live, and so much more truly than men, as they are nearer to Him in whom is the fountain of life. Yet these are just, *sed ex eo, non coram eo; munere ejus, non in ejus comparatione:* that is, from him, not before him; by his gift, but not in comparison with him.

For the clearing of this point, Peter Pomponatius[1] noteth, that there is *defectus in specie, defectus in genere,* and *defectus in latitudine entis;* that is, things do fail and come short of perfection three ways; for there are some things that want that perfection that pertaineth to things of their particular kind: some things that want not that perfection,

excepisse. Vivunt enim et ipsi tanto verius quanto propius adstant ei apud quem est fons vitæ. Nihilominus etiam justi sunt, sed ex eo, non coram eo; munere ejus, non in ejus comparatione."—Bernard. de Verbis Esaiæ: 'Vidi Dominum sedentem,' &c. . . . Serm. v. [Tom. I. col. 959.]

[1] Pet. Pomponatius. [De Fato, Libero Arbitrio, et Prædestinatione. Quæst. 2. cap. 4, passim. Bas. 1567.]

and yet come short of that which some other of the same general kind have: and some things that have all perfection that any thing of their kind any way can have, and yet come short of that which is found in the latitude and extent of perfection and being. Examples of the first; ignorance, error, blindness, &c.: in men. Of the second, the want of reason in brute beasts, which are living creatures as well as men, and yet come short of that perfection that is found in men; and likewise, the sons of men come short of that perfection of intellectual light that is found in the angels. Of the third, in all the most perfect creatures, which come short of that which is found in God, who is being itself: they are this, and not that; they have being after not being; and would have not being after being, if they were left to themselves; they are good, but not connaturally; they are no less capable of evil than of good; they are good, but mutually good, and so, in respect of God, imperfectly good. In this sense Job saith, "God found folly in his servants, and vanity in his angels." This kind of defect or evil is without all fault, sin, or blame of things wherein it is found; and is incident to the nature and condition of all created things, which are compounded of being and not being, perfection and want; and consequently, have something of good, and something of evil. That defect that is in respect of perfections that other things of the same general kind have, is likewise a natural consequent of the different degrees of things; and nothing is blamed for being thus defective. So the righteousness that was in Adam was inferior to that of the angels confirmed in grace, yet was it not sinful.

But the righteousness of the just cometh short of that which pertaineth to men. And though it be right, true, sincere, and not dissembled, yet hath it such defects that it is impure. What may all our righteousness be before God? will it not be found and esteemed, as the prophet saith, to be like the rags of a menstruous woman; and if it be strictly examined, will not all our righteousness be found to be unrighteous and defective? What, therefore, will become of our sins, when our righteousness is not able to answer for itself? Therefore, crying out earnestly with the prophet, "Lord, enter not into judgment with thy servant," let us with all humility fly to mercy, which only is able to save our

souls. *Bernardus*[1] *super Cantica, Serm.* 61*: Ubi tuta firmaque infirmis securitas et requies, nisi in vulneribus Salvatoris? tanto illic securior habito, quanto ille potentior est ad salvandum; fremit mundus, premit corpus, Diabolus insidiatur, nec cado; fundatus enim sum super firmam petram. Peccavi peccatum grande, turbatur conscientia; sed non perturbabitur, quoniam vulnerum Domini recordabor. Ego vero fidenter quod ex me mihi deest, usurpo mihi ex visceribus Domini, quoniam misericordia effluit, nec desunt foramina per quæ effluat. Foderunt manus ejus, &c.*[2]*, et per has rimas licet mihi sugere mel de petra, oleumque de saxo durissimo. Cogitabat cogitationes pacis, et ego nesciebam. Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini, aut quis consiliarius ejus fuit? At clavis reserans, clavus penetrans factus est mihi, ut videam voluntatem Domini. Meum meritum, miseratio Domini: non plane sum meriti inops, quamdiu ille miserationum non fuerit. Nunquid justitias meas cantabo? Domine, memorabor justitiæ tuæ solius: ipsa est enim et mea: nempe factus es tu justitia mihi a Deo. Nunquid mihi verendum ne una ambobus non sufficiat? non est pallium breve, quod* (*secundum Prophetam*) *non possit operire duos.* But because haply some exception may be taken to St Bernard, as if he had some singular opinion, I will shew that all the glorious lights of the Church ever believed as he did, and as we do. Theodoret[3], in Psal. xxiii.: *Quæ existimantur remunerationes, propter solam divinam benignitatem hominibus præbentur. Omnes enim hominum justitiæ nihil sunt ad dona quæ a Deo nobis suppeditata sunt, nedum ad futura munera quæ omnem humanam cogitationem transcendunt.* Chrysost.[4] in

[1] Bernard. in Cant. Serm. lxi. [Tom. I. col. 1479.]

[2] Psalm. xxii. [16.]

[3] "Καὶ γὰρ αἱ νομιζόμεναι ἀντιδόσεις διὰ μόνην τὴν θείαν φιλανθρωπίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρέχονται· πᾶσαι γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων αἱ δικαιοσύναι οὐδὲν πρὸς τὰς ἤδη δεδομένας ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ δωρέας ἀποχρῶσι, μήπου γε δὴ πρὸς τὰς ἐσομένας αἳ καὶ λογισμὸν ἀνθρώπων ὑπερβαίνουσιν."—Theodoret. in Psalm. xxiii. [Tom. I. p. 752. Halæ, 1769.]

[4] "Κἂν γὰρ μυρία κατορθώσωμεν, ἀπὸ οἰκτιρμῶν ἀκουόμεθα καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, κἂν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνελθῶμεν τῆς ἀρετῆς τὴν κορυφὴν, ἀπὸ ἐλέους σωζόμεθα."—Chrysost. in Psalm. iv. [Tom. V. p. 11. B.]

"Ταύτης πάντες δεόμεθα τῆς φωνῆς, κἂν μυριάκις ὦμεν μυρία κατορθωκότες, κἂν πρὸς ἄκραν ἥκοντες δικαιοσύνην."—Id. in Psalm. vi. [Tom. V. p. 40. E.]

Ps. iv.: *Etiamsi innumerabilia recte fecerimus, a miserationibus et clementia audimur. Etiamsi ad ipsum virtutis fastigium pervenerimus, servamur a misericordia. Et in Ps.* vi.: *super illa verba, Miserere mei, Domine, quoniam infirmus sum. Hac voce omnes egemus, etiamsi innumerabilia recte et virtute fecerimus, et vel ad summam pervenerimus justitiam.*

August.[1] *in Ps.* cxlii.: "*Omnes dereliquistis me,*" *dicit Dominus:* "*quid vultis mecum in judicium intrare, et vestras justitias commemorare? Commemorate justitias vestras; ego novi facinora vestra.*" *Nolo tecum habere causam; ut ego proponam justitiam meam, tu convincas iniquitatem meam. Ne intres in judicium cum servo tuo. Quare hoc? Quare times? Quoniam non justificabitur coram te omnis vivens. Omnis itaque vivens justificare forte potest se, coram se, non coram te. Quomodo coram se? sibi placens, sibi displicens, coram te autem non justificabitur omnis vivens. Quantumlibet rectus mihi videar, producis tu de thesauro tuo regulam, coaptas me ad eam, et pravus invenior.*

Gregor.[2] *Moral. ult.: Si autem de his divinitus districte discutimur, quis inter ista remanet salutis locus, quando et mala nostra pura mala sunt; et bona quæ nos habere credimus, pura bona esse nequaquam possunt?* Beda[3] *in explicatione Ps.* xxiv.: *Ne memineris delicta, sed potius memento mei, Domine, ut miserearis secundum misericordiam tuam, id est, te condignam, non secundum iram me condignam; tu dico ad quem pertinet, qui solus misereris, solus videris, solus peccata dimittis; et hoc non facias propter merita mea, sed propter bonitatem, id est, suavitatem tuam. Et in Ps.* xxxi., *Beati quorum remissæ sunt iniquitates, &c.: instruit videlicet, ut nemo vel libertatem arbitrii vel merita sua sufficere sibi ad beatitudinem credat, sed sola gratia Dei se salvari posse intelligat.* Alcuinus[4] *in Ps.* l.: *Sordidare me potui, sed emundare nequeo, nisi tu, Domine Jesu, unctí sanguinis tui aspersione, mundum me facias. Et in Ps.* cxlii.: *Ad meum cum respicio, nihil aliud in me nisi*

[1] August. in Psalm. cxlii. [Tom. IV. col. 1592.]
[2] Gregor. Moral. [Lib. XXXV. cap. 20. Tom. I. col. 1168.]
[3] Beda in Psalm. xxiv. [Tom. VIII. col. 427. Col. Agr. 1612.]
Id. in Psalm. xxxi. [col. 461.]
[4] Alcuin. in Psalm. l. [col. 65, E. Lut. Par. 1617.]
Id. in Psalm. cxlii. [col. 78, C.]

peccatum invenio, tota liberatio mea tua est justitia. Item, Dei miseratione in nomine Salvatoris, non nostris meritis, vivificati sumus.

Radulphus Ardens[1], *Homil. super Evangelium Dominicæ quartæ Adventus: Quid ergo dicemus, fratres, nisi vel quantumcunque bonum fecerimus, semper nos indignos dicamus? Nec hoc dicamus solo ore, quasi mentiendo ex humilitate, sed mente credamus, ore confiteamur. Juxta quod ipsa Veritas admonet, dicens: Cum omnia feceritis quæ præcepta sunt vobis, dicite, Servi inutiles sumus; quod debuimus facere non fecimus. Et Homil. super Evang. Dominicæ Septuagesimæ: Sicut Deus est liber ad promittendum, ita est liber ad reddendum, præsertim cum tam merita quam præmia sint gratia sua. Nihil enim aliud quam gratiam suam coronat in nobis Deus, qui si vellet in nobis agere districte, non justificaretur in conspectu ejus omnis vivens. Unde Apostolus qui plus omnibus laboravit, dicit: Existimo quod non sunt condignæ passiones hujus temporis, &c.*

Gerson[2], *de Consolat. Theolog.* Lib. IV. Pros. 1. *Quis gloriabitur se mundum cor habere? &c. Quis non constitutus sub judiciis Dei terribilis in consiliis suis super filios hominum trepidaverit? Hinc afflictus Job, Verebar omnia opera mea, &c. Et iterum, Si voluerit mecum contendere, non potero unum respondere pro mille: cui conformis est oratio prophetica, Non intres in judicium cum servo tuo, Domine, quia non justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens; et rursus, Si iniquitates observaveris Domine, Domine quis sustinebit? Porro quid Esaias se cum cæteris involvens sibique vilescens protulerit legimus, Omnes justitiæ nostræ tanquam pannus menstruatæ. Quis igitur justitias suas velut gloriabundus ostentaverit Deo, plus quam pannum confusionis suæ mulier viro?*

Gabriel Biel[3], writing upon the Canon of the Mass, fol.

[1] [Radulphus Ardens was a native of Poitiers, and flourished in the beginning of the 12th century. See Cave's "Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria," Vol. II. p. 180. The title of the Work is as follows: "Homiliæ in Epistolas et Evangelia totius anni; cura Claudii Fremy." 8vo. Antverp. 1571, 1573.]

[2] Gerson, de Consolatione Theologiæ, Lib. IV. prosa 1. [Tom. III. col. 53. Par. 1606.]

[3] Gabriel Biel, de Canonis Missæ Explicatione, Lect. 82. [fol. 218. Lugd. 1542.]

209. Lect. 82. allegeth and approveth this saying of Bernard, Serm. v. *De Dedicatione Ecclesiæ: Nonnunquam de anima mea cogitans, videor mihi in ea, fateor, velut duo contraria invenire: si ipsam prout in se est, et ex se intueor, nihil de ea verius sentire possum, quam ad nihilum esse redactam, cum sit onerata peccatis, obfusa tenebris, irretita illecebris, pruriens concupiscentiis, obnoxia passionibus, et impleta illusionibus, prona semper ad malum, et in vitium omne proclivis, &c. nimirum si ipsæ quoque justitiæ nostræ omnes ad lumen veritatis inspectæ, velut pannus menstruatæ inveniuntur, injustitiæ quales deinceps reputabuntur? Si lumen quod in nobis est tenebræ sunt, ipsæ tenebræ quantæ erunt? Facile cuique est, si sua plenius universa et sine dissimulatione vestiget, et judicet sine acceptione personæ, attestari per omnia apostolicæ veritati, et libere proclamare, Qui se putat aliquid esse cum nihil sit, ipse se seducit*[1]. *Quid est homo quia magnificas eum? ait fidelis et devota confessio, aut quid apponis erga eum cor tuum*[2]*? Quid? sine dubio vanitati similis factus est homo: ad nihilum redactus est homo; nihil est homo; Quomodo tamen penitus nihil est, quem magnificat Deus? Quomodo nihil erga quem oppositum est cor divinum? Tanquam nihil reputatur homo in judicio veritatis tuæ, sed non sic in affectu pietatis tuæ: nimirum vocas ea quæ non sunt, sicut ea quæ sunt: et non sunt, ergo quia vocas ea quæ non sunt; et sunt, quia vocas: licet enim non sunt quantum apud se, apud te sunt, utique juxta Apostolum; Non ex operibus, sed ex vocante. Sic nimirum consolaris in tua pietate, quem in veritate tua humiliasti; ut magnifice dilatetur in tuis qui merito angustiatur in suis: siquidem universæ viæ Domini misericordia et veritas requirentibus testamentum tuum et testimonia tua.* Pupperus Gocchianus, *de Libertate Christ.* Part III. c. 12: *Christus sic operatur justificationem in sanctis suis, quamdiu sunt in hac vita, ut tamen semper in iis sit aliquid adjiciendum quod petentibus benigne adjiciat, et confitentibus misericorditer ignoscat.* And the same Gocchianus hath many things against the merit of works, as I will farther shew, when I come to speak of merit.

But to leave particular men, it is evident that the Church of God taught so as we now do, by those questions whereof I spake before, which were wont to be proposed to men that

[1] Gal. vi. [3.] [2] Job vii. [17.]

were ready to die. Casper Ulenbergius saith, Our fathers throughout the Christian world, even till our time, by those questions by them used, and the answers which they taught men to make to them, lead as it were by the hand the simpler sort to the knowledge of Christ, and the attaining of eternal salvation. And because those questions and answers contain and comprise, in a brief sort, the whole sum of the doctrine of salvation, and the very marrow and kernel of Christianity, as the same Ulenbergius rightly noteth, I will set them down together, as they are found in the book entitled, *De Arte bene Moriendi*[1]. "*Primo quæratur sic: Frater, lætaris quod in fide Christi morieris? respondeat, Etiam. Frater, pœnitet te non tam bene vixisse sicut debuisses? respondeat, Etiam. Frater, habes emendandi animum si spatium vivendi haberes? respondeat, Etiam. Frater, credis te non posse nisi per mortem Christi salvari? respondeat, Etiam. Agis ei gratias ex toto corde de hoc? respondeat, Etiam. Age ergo dum est in te anima tua ei semper gratias, et in hac ejus morte te totum contege, in hac sola morte fiduciam tuam constitue, in nulla alia re fiduciam habe, huic morti te totum committe, hac sola te totum contege, totum immisce te, in hac morte totum confige, in hac morte te totum involve, et si Dominus Deus te voluerit judicare, dic, Domine, mortem Domini mei Jesu Christi objicio inter te et me et judicium tuum: aliter tecum non contendo. Si dixerit quod mereris damnationem, dic, Mortem Domini mei Jesu Christi objicio inte te et me et mala merita mea, ipsumque dignissimæ passionis meritum offero pro merito quod ego habere debuissem, et, heu! non habeo: dicatur iterum, Domine, mortem Domini mei Jesu Christi pono inter me et iram tuam: deinde dicat ter, In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum.*"

And as this was the doctrine of the Church even till our days, so in Luther's time, and after, many that joined not with him in the thorough reformation of the Church, yet concurred with him in this point. Pope Adrian the Sixth[2]: *Non sine magna temeritate, et damnabili elatione animi, quis innititur propriis meritis, aut præparationi per con-*

[1] De Arte Bene Moriendi. [8vo. Par. 1494. Usually attributed to Richard Hampole. See Tanner, Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 375. Lond. 1748.]

[2] Adrian, in iv. Sent. de Sacram. Euchar. [fol. 29. Rom. 1527.]

fessionem oris, cordis compunctionem, aut alias tanquam ex iis dignus sit, venerabile Sacramentum Eucharistiæ sumere; sunt enim merita nostra et præparatio velut baculus arundineus, cui dum quis innixus fuerit, confringitur, et perforat manum innitentis, et quasi pannus menstruatæ sunt omnes justitiæ nostræ, ut habetur Esa. lxiv.: *Jugiter enim supra pannum bonæ vitæ, quem justitiæ operibus teximus, stillamus saniem diversorum criminum. Quæ igitur ex iis poterit esse fiducia ad Deum, qui neminem diligit nisi ex toto corde conversum? Recte igitur suasit Salvator, Cum feceritis omnia quæ præcepta sunt vobis, dicite, Servi inutiles sumus; quæ debuimus facere fecimus,* Luc. xvi., *&c. Restat igitur ut nemo confidat in se homine, quia sic recedit cor ejus a Deo.* Hierem. xvii. *Maledictus qui confidit in homine, et ponit carnem brachium suum, &c. sed pro digna præparatione, diffidat de omni sua industria, et cum Daniele non in suis justificationibus proferat preces suas, sed in miserationibus Domini multis et magnis nimis,* Dan. ix. *sic habitabit in adjutorio altissimi, et in protectione Dei cœli commorabitur: quia ad neminem Deus aspicit, nisi ad pauperculum, id est, humilem spiritu, qui se non effert in cogitatione velut taurus, sed parva de se sentiens, totum projicit in Deum.* Es. ult., *Ad quem aspiciam nisi ad pauperculum?*

The Enchiridion[1] of Christian institution, published in the provincial council of Colen, hath these words: *Scimus quandam esse plenam et absolutam justitiam, seu charitatem, quam in hac vita nemo assequitur, sed tantum in futura, quando videbimus facie ad faciem, et cognoscemus sicuti cogniti sumus: sed alia minor est huic vitæ competens, qua ex fide vivimus et ambulamus. Hæc etsi omnes motus terrenæ cupiditatis nondum omnino absorbeat atque consumat, consensum tamen prohibet ac extinguit, ac insuper facit, ut magis ac magis in bono proficere pergamus: quæ etsi a perfectione justitia longe adhuc absit, ea tamen imperfectio justificationem nostram non removatur, nec accusationi seu damnationi legis subjacet, saltem in iis qui sunt in Christo Jesu. Nam qui Christo (in quo lex quod accusaret nihil invenit) per fidem concorpores facti sunt, legis imperium beneficio Christi evaserunt: adeo ut, si lex imperfectionem eorum accusare pergat, respondere possint: Quid nobis*

[1] Enchiridion Institutionis Christianæ. [fol. 168. Colon. 1537.]

tecum est lex? non tui sed alterius sumus. Tu quæ es quæ judicas servos alienos? Domino nostro stamus aut cadimus, huic sic visum est ex gratuita misericordia nos indignos assumere, et quicquid in nobis imperfectionis est condonare: quid ad te? Quid nobis alienum invides beneficium? Recepit nos ille in membra sua, scuto suæ bonæ voluntatis protexit nos, sua justitia nos induit. Quamobrem si nos impetere pergas, eum tibi opponemus cui per fidem inhærescimus: in eo certe non habes quicquam, proinde nec in nobis, qui de corpore ejus per gratuitam misericordiam facti sumus. Et ibid. paulo ante[1]*: Per fidem donum justificationis tunc demum accipis, cum perterrefactus ac concussus in pœnitentia, rursus erigeris per fidem, credens tibi remissa esse peccata propter meritum Christi, qui in se credentibus remissionem peccatorum pollicitus est: et cum simul sentis te jam alio affectu quam prius rapi, hoc est, eo affectu quo peccata quæ prius delectabant, jam ex animo odis, et ad faciendum bonum, carnis infirmitati fortiter repugnans, intus accenderis, tametsi is affectus nondum sit in bono perfectus et absolutus. Hanc enim imperfectionem quam viribus tuis supplere non potes, supplebis ex fide in Christum, credens justitiam Christi (cujus membrum factus es) tuum imperfectum suppleturam, si tamen perpetuo pro viribus quas tibi Dominus suppeditaverit, coneris eam quam accepisti gratiam promovere, et præteritorum oblitus, non respiciens iterum retro, in anteriora te extendere annitaris.*

Martinus Eisengreinius[2] allegeth and alloweth this of the council of Colen, and sundry other passages of learned and renowned men, in the latter ages of the Church before our time, tending to the same purpose; as namely those things I formerly cited out of Anselm and *Hortulus Animæ:* to these he addeth Thaulerus[3], a famous preacher amongst the

[1] Ibid. [fol. 167.]

[2] Martinus Eisengreinius, de Certitudine Gratiæ, p. 500. [Col. Agr. 1569.]

[3] [Nihil omnino quibuslibet bonis operibus suis, quæ se meminit peregisse, innitetur, sed firma fiducia in dignissima Salvatoris nostri merita, profundissimumque immensæ misericordiæ illius pelagus, et dirissima vulnera ipsius, cum universis peccatis et negligentiis suis sese immerget, inclinabit, atque demittet. Nam vel minimum Salvatoris vulnus ad delenda omnia omnium peccata abunde sufficeret.—Joann. Thauleri Notabilis ad felicem mortem Præparatio II. Opp. p. 842. Colon. 1603.]

Dominicans, at Colen, more than two hundred years since; who, prescribing how the pastors should comfort the sick, hath these words: *Morti jam vicinus prorsus nihil suis bonis operibus confidere debet, firma fiducia in meritum Christi Salvatoris, et in abyssum maris ejus misericordiæ, in cruenta vulnera ejus, cum omnibus suis peccatis se totum immergat: minutissima Christi vulnera omne peccatum mortalium obnubilare ac tegere possunt.*

And with him he joineth Ludovicus Berus[1], who in his book *De Mortis Periculo*, writeth thus: "The devil is wont to tempt men that are ready to die; but let the sick man reject all those temptations, and let him invocate God, and say thus: *Averte faciem tuam a peccatis meis, et respice in faciem Christi tui Jesu Salvatoris nostri. Tentator: Scelera tua superant arenam maris. Ægrotus: Copiosior est Domini misericordia. Tentator: Quomodo speras justitiæ præmium tu totus injustus? Ægrotus: Justitia mea Christus est. Tentator: Tu sceleribus opertus quomodo migrabis in requiem? Ægrotus: Cum latrone qui audivit in cruce, Hodie eris mecum in paradiso. Tentator: Unde ista fiducia qui nihil boni feceris? Ægrotus: Quia bonum habeo Dominum, exorabilem Judicem, gratiosum Advocatum, Christum Jesum omnipotentem Salvatorem. Tentator: Detraheris in tartara. Ægrotus: Caput meum in cælo est.*"

Hosius[2] hath these words: *Non gloriamur de meritis nostris, non habemus in illis fiduciam nostram collocatam; de hoc solo gloriamur, in hoc solo confidimus, quod membra sumus illius corporis tui, quod pro nobis passum, crucifixum, et mortuum, abunde pro peccatis totius mundi satisfecit. Quamobrem si merita requiris, ecce proferimus tibi merita corporis tui, quod cum de nostro sit, nostra sunt et illius merita: proferimus tibi meritum passionis tuæ, meritum crucis tuæ, meritum mortis tuæ: hæc sunt merita nostra, quæ tu, clementissime Domine, nobiscum pro immensa benignitate tua communicare dignatus es: secundum hæc merita abs te judicari postulamus, his meritis freti, coram tribunali tuo nos intrepidi sistimus: nostra sunt quia nostri sunt capitis: nostra sunt, quia nostri sunt corporis, a*

[1] Eisengreinius, ut supr. p. 463.

[2] Hosius, in Confutatione Prolegomenon Brentii, Lib. v. in fine. [fol. 309. Antv. 1571.]

quo nos nefario schismate nunquam præcidimus: hæc merita interponimus inter nos et judicium tuum; aliter tecum judicio contendere nolumus: de quo solenniter protestamur. These words of Hosius, Eisengreinius saith[1], are worthy to be written in letters of gold.

Albertus Pighius[2] writeth thus: *In hominibus duplex considerari potest justitia, sicut duplex invenitur regula cui conformari debeant: altera qua justi sunt coram hominibus, aut inter homines, nempe respondentes legibus quibus constat justum inter homines; ut neminem afficientes injuria, imo benevolentia, humilitatis, charitatisque officiis prosequentes proximos, omnibus in omni ordine reddentes quod suum est. Altera est justitia qua justi sunt coram Deo. Quod tamen trifariam fere intelligere possumus: vel quod nostra justitia, cum divina conferatur: sic non justificatur in conspectu ejus ulla creatura, ut cujus puritate, merito inquinantur omnia: vel intelligitur homo justificari coram Deo, hoc est, coram tribunali divini judicii, dum regulæ divinæ justitiæ, qua parte ipsum respicit, exacte respondet: regula est lex: illam dupliciter intelligere possumus vel in sua illa absoluta perfectione; ut cum præcipitur ut diligamus Deum, ex tota anima, tota mente, totis viribus; vel prout illa ipsa divinæ justitiæ lex et regula nos respiciens, nostræ infirmitati aptata condescendit et convenit. Si hoc modo intelligas, ex voluntatis humanæ inconstantia et inclinatione quadam ad carnis sui hospitis amica et desideria, quæ ab illa lege divinæ justitiæ nos deflectere, et ad se attrahere ac sollicitare nunquam cessat, adhuc invenire non est justum quenquam coram Deo inter filios Adæ; sed verum reperietur etiam de hac ipsa quamvis imperfecta justitia, quod non justificabitur in conspectu Dei omnis vivens; siquidem justitia hæc est ad suam regulam, etiam nostræ infirmitati attemperatam, exacta correspondentia et commensuratio in actionibus nostris omnibus. Totum enim universumque hominem denominans justitiæ hæc, secundum omnes ejus partes et omnes singularum partium actiones, ut illi regulæ suæ correspondeat, et in officio suo constet necesse est, cuicunque hæc justitia convenit. Neque enim qui partem unam aliquam legis servaverit, prævaricator in cæteris, hic justus*

[1] Eisengreinius, p. 475.

[2] Albertus Pighius, de Fide et Justificatione. [Controversiarum in Comitiis Ratisponensibus Explicatio, Controv. ii. Colon. 1545.]

est. Imo: Quicunque (inquit Jacobus) totam legem servaverit, offendit autem in uno, factus est omnium reus. Si dixerimus quoniam peccatum non habemus, &c. Christus omnes nos, neminem quantumvis justum excipiens, docuit orare: Dimitte nobis debita, &c. Aversatur Deus omnem injustitiam. Constat ergo quæ de nobis omnibus foret sententia, si Deus voluisset districto nobiscum judicio agere; si non misericordissime nobis succurrisset in Filio; et nostra justitia vacuos, ejus involvisset justitia. Quod verissime intellexit ille, qui ait: Si iniquitates observaveris Domine, Domine quis sustinebit? Ne intres in judicium, &c. In Christi autem obedientia quod nostra collocatur justitia; inde est, quod nobis illi incorporatis, ac si nostra esset, accepta ea fertur: ita ut ea ipsa etiam nos justi habeamur. Et velut ille quondam Jacob, cum nativitate primogenitus non esset, sub habitu fratris occultatus, atque ejus veste indutus quæ odorem optimum spirabat, seipsum insinuavit patri, ut sub aliena persona benedictionem primogenituræ acciperet; ita et nos, sub Christi primogeniti fratris nostri preciosa puritate delitescere, bono ejus odore fragrare, ejus perfectione vitia nostra sepeliri et obtegi, atque ita nos piissimo Patri ingerere, ut justitia benedictionem ab eodem assequamur necesse est. This of Pighius is acknowledged by our adversaries, and they are wont to allege his example to shew how dangerous it is to read the writings of Protestants, seeing a man so well grounded as he was, was drawn into this opinion by reading of Calvin.

The most reverend canons of the metropolitical Church of Colein, in their *Antididagma*[1], opposed against the book of reformation of religion, intended by their archbishop Hermannus, follow the same opinion that Pighius doth: their words are these: *Justificamur a Deo justitia duplici, tanquam per causas formales et essentiales. Quarum una et prior est consummata Christi justitia: non quidem quomodo extra nos in ipso est, sed sicut et quando eadem nobis (dum tamen fide apprehenditur), ad justitiam imputatur. Aliter vero justificamur formaliter per justitiam inhærentem. Cui tamen inhærenti justitiæ (quod sit imperfecta) non innitimur principaliter: sed ea tanquam interiori quodam experimento certificamur, nobis (qui talem renovationem spiritus nostri*

[1] Antididagma Coloniense. [fol. 13. b. Colon. 1544.]

in nobis sentimus et experimur), remissionem peccatorum factam, et Christi consummatam justitiam nobis imputari, atque ita Christum per fidem in nobis habitare. Non ignoramus nos nulli alii merito præterquam solius Christi, neque item ulli alii justitiæ quam justitiæ Christi, sine qua omnino nulla est justitia, tanquam fundamento fidei nostræ inniti debere. Quanquam oporteat nos interim, interna illius renovationis quæ fit per charitatem, quam Spiritus Sanctus in corda nostra diffundit, tanquam arrabonis, aut certe experientiæ impetratæ remissionis peccatorum, et imputationis justitiæ Christi, rationem habere.

The book[1] commended to Charles the Fifth, as opening a way for the composing of the controversies in religion then moved, and by him offered and recommended to the divines appointed of both sides, in the assembly at Ratisbon, for to confer about the composing of the differences in religion, clearly containeth the same doctrine that the most reverend Canons of Colein delivered before. For, in the fifth Article of the same book, the authors and composers of it, amongst other good things communicated to us in our justification, reckon the imputation of Christ's righteousness, and say that we are said to be justified by faith, that is, accepted and reconciled unto God, in that it apprehendeth mercy, and the righteousness that is imputed to us, for Christ's sake and his merit, and not

[1] "Hominis mens certo credens omnibus quæ tradita sunt a Deo, ... accipit Spiritum Sanctum, remissionem peccatorum, imputationem justitiæ, et innumerabilia bona.

"Fides viva est quæ et apprehendit misericordiam in Christo, ac credit justitiam quæ est in Christo sibi gratis imputari. Ita quod fides quidem justificans est illa fides quæ est efficax per charitatem; sed interim hoc verum est, quod hac fide eatenus justificamur, id est, acceptamur et reconciliamur Deo, quatenus apprehendit misericordiam et justitiam quæ nobis imputatur propter Christum et ejus meritum, non propter dignitatem seu perfectionem justitiæ nobis in Christo communicatæ.

"Anima fidelis inhærenti non innititur, sed soli justitiæ Christi nobis donatæ, sine qua omnino nulla esse necesse potest justitia.

"Qui vere pœnitent, semper fide certissima statuant se propter Mediatorem Christum Deo placere, quia Christus est propitiator, pontifex, et interpellator pro nobis, quem Pater donavit nobis, et omnia bona cum illo."—Acta Colloquii Ratisponensis, A.D. 1541. Liber Cæsareæ propositus ad rationem concordiæ ineundam, art. 5. Apud Goldast. Constit. Imper. Tom. II. [p. 186. Francof. 1615.]

for the dignity and perfection of the righteousness which is communicated unto us in Christ; and farther they say, that the faithful soul doth not rely upon that righteousness that is inherent in it, but upon the only righteousness of Christ given unto us, without which there neither is nor can be any righteousness. And they add hereunto, that they that truly repent of their sins, should most firmly and with great assurance of faith, resolve, that they please God for Christ's sake, who is a Mediator between God and them, because he is a worker of propitiation, a High Priest, and an Intercessor for us, whom the Father hath given unto us, and all good things together with him. And therefore though they say not, as the Canons of Colen, that Christ's righteousness is the formal cause of our justification; yet Vega[1] thinketh they followed the same opinion, because, besides inherent righteousness, they affirm that another righteousness, namely that of Christ, is communicated to us, by which especially we are made righteous, and upon which only we must rely.

The *Interim*[2] published by Charles the Fifth, with the assent of the imperial States, delivereth the same, touching justification, that the former authors have done. And the divines of both sides, in the conference at Ratisbon, agreed in the same explication of the Article of Justification that we have hitherto delivered.

A great contention there is and hath been, Whether the righteousness of Christ, imputed to us, be the formal cause of our justification; and whether we be formally justified by his imputed righteousness, or not? But Andreas Vega[3] supposeth,

[1] "Authores libelli oblati a Cæsare comitiis Ratisponensibus, licet non utantur verbo formaliter, neque dicant justitiam Christi causam formalem nostræ justificationis, sicut Colonienses, tamen eandem cum illis videntur secuti sententiam."—Vega, de Justificatione, Lib. VII. cap. 21. [p. 178.]

[2] ["Cum homo plenam justitiæ inhærentis perfectionem non consequatur, certe Christus, qui factus est nobis sapientia, justitia, sanctificatio, et redemptio, a Deo, per communicationem justitiæ suæ, justitiam hominis de illa participantis inhærentem, ut efficit, ita auget, ut de die in diem renovetur, donec in æterna patria plene perficiatur."—Caroli V. Imper. Aug. Interim, sive Declaratio Religionis, &c. A. D. 1548. apud Goldast. Const. Imp. Tom. I. p. 521.]

[3] "Adeo profecto videtur mihi hoc absurdum et absonum, ut neque ab ipsis qui contrarium asseverant crediderim id posse intelligi, ut

that it is a mere logomachy, and verbal contention; which his conjecture, I think, will be found more than probable. For, as I have already shewed, in the justification of a sinner three things are implied; first, to be free from dislike, disfavour, and punishment, as if he had never offended: secondly, to be respected, favoured, and endeared unto God, in such sort as righteous men are wont to be, as if he had done all righteousness. And thirdly, to have the grant of the gift of righteousness, to keep from evil and incline him to good, in the time to come. All these denominations are respective, and a man may be so denominated from something without. For one man is reconciled to another, in that he no longer intendeth evil unto him: and one man is dear unto another, and we are dear unto God formally, by that love whereby we are beloved of him. And because that which giveth satisfaction to God, and that which maketh him well pleased towards us, is that for which formally, or in respect whereof, God willeth our good and not evil; by both these we may be said, though in a different sort, to be formally justified. Wherefore, having sufficiently cleared the point of controversy, touching the first justifying and reconciling of a sinner to God, and made it appear that the Church ever believed as we now do, it remaineth that we speak of the second justification.

The second justification[1] consisteth in the remission of such sins as the justified man daily, through infirmity, falleth into; and the progress and going on in well-doing, and the daily prevailing against sin, whereby the kingdom of sin is weakened, and the kingdom of grace and righteousness is confirmed and more strongly established in us. Touching the second justification, there is no difference between us and them that so delivered the doctrine of the first justification, as I have before expressed; but between the Romanists and us there are sundry things controverted. For first, many of them deny the venial sins into which the regenerate do fall to be properly

eorum verba sonant, sed contentionem esse prorsus inter nos et illos de nomine magis quam de re."—Andreas Vega, de Justificatione, Lib. VII. cap. 23. [p. 183.]

[1] 1 Joh. i. [8, 9.] "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, &c., but if we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to remit unto us our sins, and to cleanse us from all iniquity:" this perpetual washing away of sins, Christ signified *lotione pedum*.

sins, and therefore think not aright of the remission of them; secondly, they imagine that sundry external observations *ex opere operato* give grace, and remit those sins; whereas in truth, and in the opinion of others, they avail no otherwise than they stir up devotion, and raise in us good motions and desires, to purge out the remains of sin, and to seek the remission of it; thirdly, they make the good works of men justified, to deserve increase of grace and the reward of eternal life, of condignity. But I will shew, in that which followeth, that the doctrine of merit was never admitted in the Church, neither before nor after Luther's time. In this justification, men are justified merely by faith, as in the first, so far forth as it importeth remission of sins: but in that it importeth an increase, confirmation, and growth in that good that is begun in us, our working of virtue and good endeavours causing the same, may be said to justify, that is, to make us more just, inherently, than before, and more strongly inclined to good: in which sense St John saith, *Qui justus est justificetur adhuc.*

The third kind of justification, which is said to be the restoring of men once justified, and afterwards fallen from grace, to the state of grace again, is merely imaginary: for they that are called according to purpose, and so justified, do never totally nor finally fall from God.

The sins which men run into, I have elsewhere shewed to be of two sorts; inhabiting only, or reigning: the former, in the judgment of our adversaries themselves, do stand with grace and the state of justification. Sins regnant are (as Theodoret[1] writing upon the sixth to the Romans, and after him others, do rightly note) of two sorts; for either they reign as a tyrant, or as a king: a king reigneth with the love and liking of his subjects, who wish nothing more than to live under him, and think there is no happiness but in his slavery; a tyrant, with dislike. They that are justified and called according to purpose, never have sin reigning in them as a king; but sometimes, as a tyrant, they have. For though David[2] and Peter were strangely transported with the violent

[1] ["Βασιλεία τυραννίδος διαφέρει ταύτῃ, τῷ τὴν μὲν τυραννίδα ἀκόντων γίνεσθαι τῶν ὑπηκόων, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν βουλομένων τῶν ἀρχομένων. παραινεῖ τοίνυν μηκέτι δυναστείᾳ τῆς ἁμαρτίας συντίθεσθαι."—Theodoret, in Rom. vi. Tom. III. p. 63. Halæ, 1771.]

[2] "Sed dicunt, Si David peccando charitatem amisit, quomodo

passions of fear and lust, yet who will ever think that these lost all their former good affections towards God, and thought it their happiness to be subject to his enemies? Nay it is clearly delivered concerning Peter, by Theophylact and sundry others, that though the leaves were shaken off, yet the root remained unmarred.

Justification likewise, as I have shewed in the same place, importeth two things; an interest, right, and title to the kingdom of heaven; and a claim to it by virtue and force of the same right and title: the one of these may cease and be suspended, when the other remaineth. If a man that hath much due unto him upon good assurances, do some act for which he is excommunicated or outlawed, he looseth not the title and right he had to the things due unto him upon those assurances; but if the same things be detained, all prosecution of his right is suspended, and all actual claim ceaseth, during the time he continueth in that estate. So, in like manner, if a man called according to purpose and justified, who can never finally fall from God, fall into grievous sin, and such as is in some sort regnant, as David did, he loseth not the right and title he formerly had; but the actual claim to that whereto he hath title, is suspended. So that he falleth not totally from justification, but so only, as for the present to have no actual claim to any thing by virtue of it. The remission of his original sin, the right to heaven obtained in baptism, the force and virtue of repentance of former sins, and the right to the rewards of actions of virtue formerly done, remain still; neither needeth he newly to seek remission of sins formerly remitted, but of this only; and the remission of the other will be revived again, and he may make claim to all those things he had formerly right unto, by virtue of the former right. This is clearly delivered by Alexander of Ales[1], p. 4. q. 12. memb. 4.

ergo verum est, quod scriptum est de ipso, quod Spiritus Domini non recedebat a David, ab eo die et deinceps? Si enim charitas recessit, quomodo Spiritus Domini remansit? Quasi vero Spiritus Domini secundum multa alia remanere non potuerit, etiamsi secundum donum charitatis recesserit. Nonne et in illis sive cum illis remanet, quos cadentes custodit ne pereant: quos tamen stantes non custodit ne cadant? Justus cum ceciderit non collidetur: quia Dominus supponit manum suam."—Hugo de Sancto Victore, de Sacramentis Fidei, Lib. II. part. 13. cap. 12. [Tom. III. p. 493. Mogunt. 1617.]

[1] "Respondeo quod (secundum quod communis tenet opinio et

Art. 6, Scotus[1], Durandus[2], and the rest of the Schoolmen. So that the elect and chosen of God once justified, never falling totally from justification, are never to be newly justified again: but the daily and lighter sins they run into, stand with the right they have to the favours of God, and eternal happiness, and the actual claim to the same by that right. The more grievous deprive them of the claim only, and not of the right; and when they are justified and acquitted from these, by particular repentance, they are restored to their former claim only, having never lost their right; so that they cannot properly be said to be newly justified, but only to be justified from such particular sins as they newly run into.

Having spoken of justification and the nature of it, as it is considered in itself; it remaineth that we come to speak of the things required in men, for the disposing and fitting of them that they may be capable of this grace. There were, amongst the Schoolmen, as Stapleton[3] telleth us, and after

veritas est, ut existimo) opera, quæ aliquando fuerunt viva, quia in charitate et ex charitate facta, et ob hoc digna vita æterna, postea adveniente peccato mortificantur, non sunt digna remuneratione propter indignitatem ipsius qui lapsus est; si gratia adveniente resurgit, quæ ipsum facit dignum vita æterna, et ipsa opera fiunt digna remuneratione, quod est, ipsa opera vivificari."—Alex. ab Ales, Summa iv. Quæst. 12. Membr. 4. Art. 6. [Tom. IV. p. 451. Col. Agr. part. 1622.]

[1] "Bona opera, mortificata per peccatum mortale, post in resurgente a peccato reviviscent."—Scotus, in iv. Sent. dist. 22. Quæst. 1. Art. 2. [Tom. IX. p. 457. Lugd. 1639.]

[2] "Pœnitentia quæ tollit peccatum, vivificat merita mortificata per ipsum."—Durandus, in iv. Sent. dist. 22. Quæst. 1. [p. 800. Lugd. 1587.]

[3] "Huc etiam afferunt alii, quod scholastici docent, præparationem ad gratiam esse in homine ante gratiam, et hominem facere quod in se est ad susceptionem gratiæ, itemque mereri de congruo primam gratiam.... Sensus illius propositionis est, quod ante habituale donum gratiæ anima infusum, homo præparatur ad illud acceptandum, non per aliqua opera moralia aut bona, ut putant nos dicere protestantes, illa enim tantummodo disponunt materiam, nec habent immediatum ordinem ad gratiam, sed per liberum arbitrium suum a Deo motum immediate, ut probatiores scholastici docent, ita sane, ut si vel Deus non præveniat ac moveat, vel liberum arbitrium monente Deo non moveatur nec assentiat, præparatio ad gratiam Christi prædictam, quæ sola est propria præparatio et de qua loquuntur scholastici, non fiat. Meritum autem de congruo respectu primæ gratiæ jam

them, in the beginning of these controversies in religion, who extenuating the corruption of nature, taught unadvisedly, that men, without and before the motions of grace, may do certain moral good works, in such sort, as thereby to fit themselves for the receipt of the grace of justification, and to merit it *ex congruo;* who, to express this their false conceit, were wont to say, *Facienti quod in se est, Deum non denegare gratiam;* that is, That God will not fail to give grace to such as do the uttermost that lieth in them. But the same Stapleton telleth us, that the more sound and judicious ever taught, that there is no power nor will in man to dispose and fit himself for the receipt of this grace, unless he be moved by preventing grace, stirring, inciting, and inclining him to turn to God; and that the merit of congruence hath been long since hissed out of all schools.

Touching these preparations wrought in men by preventing grace; first, it is agreed between those of the Church of Rome and those of the reformed religion, that faith to believe, in general, the truth of things revealed, and contained in Scripture, is necessary in the first place, and before all other things. Secondly, that, in particular, there must be a viewing of the things there found; that the consideration of man's original state there described, the fall, corruption of nature, and manifold sinful evils into which each man is plunged, together with the apprehension of God's displeasure against the same, is necessarily required. Thirdly, a fear and sorrow growing out of the discerning of this unhappy condition wherein we are. Fourthly, an inquiry by what means we may escape out of these evils. Fifthly, faith to believe, that God, most inclinable to relieve us rather than man should utterly perish, sent his own Son into the world, to suffer the punishment of sin, to satisfy his justice, to bring grace, and dissolve the works of the devil; that so all, that in sense of former evils fly to him for mercy and deliverance, may escape and be saved. Sixthly, having found so happy means of escape, a flying unto God in earnest desire to be received to mercy for Christ's sake, to be freed from the guilt of sin, to be reconciled to God, and to have grace to decline evil and

olim explosum est, nec probatioribus scholasticis unquam admissum." —Stapleton, de Justificatione, Lib. II. cap. 4. [Tom. II. p. 50. Lut. Par. 1620.]

do good in the time to come. All these things, in the judgment of the divines of both sides, are necessarily required in them that are to be justified.

The most reverend Canons of the Metropolitical Church of Colen, in the book called *Antididagma Coloniense*[1], make the things required in them on whom the benefit of justification is bestowed, to be of two sorts. For there are some that only dispose and prepare us; other, by which we receive the same. Of the former sort is the general persuasion of faith touching the truth of things in Scripture; the particular consideration of things concerning the knowledge of God and ourselves; sorrow, fear, dislike of our present estate, desire to be delivered out of it, to be reconciled to God, and to have grace to decline evil and do good. Of the latter sort is the persuasion of faith whereby we assure ourselves without doubting, that God will not impute our sins unto us that thus penitently turn unto him, but that the course of his mercies, now and ever, shall be turned towards us, for his Son Christ's sake.

This is that special faith they of the reformed religion speak of, and the Romanists seem so much to dislike: whereas yet the best and most judicious amongst them ever did, and still do, admit the same. Andreas Vega, Lib. IX. cap. 7, saith[2], that there hath been a great controversy, about this matter, not only between Catholics and such as they esteem heretics, but even amongst the most learned Catholics of this age, at

[1] ["Utitur Deus et Dominus noster Jesus Christus in operatione justificationis nostræ mediis quibusdam, quibus partim præparamur et disponimur, partim vero justificationem recipimus tanquam causis dispositivis et susceptivis, per fidem verbi Dei operantis in nobis veram contritionem et pœnitentiam, aliaque prævenientis gratiæ opera; justificamur tanquam per causam quandam præparativam et dispositivam: per fidem autem, qua absque dubitatione firmiter confidimus, nobis peccata nostra propter Christum esse dimissa, justificamur tanquam per causam susceptivam."—Antididagma Coloniense, fol. 13, b. Colon. 1544.]

[2] "Enimvero cum extra controversiam fuerit apud catholicos neminem teneri ad certe credendum se esse in gratia, anxie tamen, et inter catholicos, et hæreticos, et inter viros doctissimos, ex catholicis et Romæ, et Tridenti, et Ratisponæ, et aliis multis in locis hoc tempore disputatum est: An sine particulari Dei revelatione possit justus, vel ex scripturis vel aliunde, pervenire in hac vita ad certitudinem aliquam tametsi inevidentem de sua justificatione."—Andreas Vega, Lib. IX. cap. 7. [p. 237.]

Rome, at Trent, at Ratisbon, and in sundry other places; many affirming that a man, without special revelation, may undoubtedly believe, and certainly assure himself, that he is in grace, and hath obtained remission of all his sins. This persuasion, rising as a conclusion out of two propositions[1], the one of faith, the other evident unto us in our own experience, is a persuasion of faith; because, whensoever a conclusion is consequent upon two propositions, the one of faith, the other evident in the light of reason and experience, it is to be believed by faith; or, as John Bacon, *certitudine consequente fidem.* This opinion, as Vega[2] telleth us, Claudius Bellijocensis followed, in his Commentaries upon Timothy: and the most reverend Canons of the Metropolitical Church of Colen, together with the authors of the *Enchiridion* of Christian religion, published in the provincial council of Colen, under Hermannus, so much esteemed (as Cassander[3] telleth us) in Italy and France; the authors of the book offered by Charles the Fifth, to the divines of both sides; and, as some say, Hieron. Angestus.

But, for the better clearing of this point, first, I will pro-

[1] In that God hath promised remission to all that truly turn; and he findeth his heart to be so turned.

[2] "Objiciuntur Joannes Bachonis, Carmelita, Claudius Guillandus in com. ult. c. posterior. ad Timot., et Hieronym. Angestus. Sed ne hos quidem omnes adversariorum partibus pœnitus favisse concedimus. Hieronymus Angestus, ubi hoc dicat, me fugit. Joannes autem Bachonis non dicit cuiquam esse certam suam gratiam certitudine fidei, sed tantum dicit esse certam certitudine sequente fidem."—Vega, Lib. IX. cap. 36. [p. 314.]

"Sed possint se illi aliquo colore utcumque tueri. Certe hanc opinionem tuetur universaliter de omnibus justis Claudius Bellijocensis in Commen. Pauli, in 2. consideratione ultimi cap. 2. ad Timoth. Secuti sunt etiam et docuerunt, non semel hanc sententiam authores Enchiridii doctrinæ Christianæ adjuncti concilio Coloniensi, ubi agunt de Justificatione Hominis. Idemque videntur in eodem titulo insinuare authores Antididagmatis Colon.... Et in artic. 5. libelli Ratisbonæ oblati Imperatori palam, dicunt protestantes oportere ut vere pœnitentes fide certissima statuant se propter Mediatorem Christum Deo placere."—Vega. [Lib. IX. cap. 7. p. 238.]

[3] "Patet in Enchiridio Christianæ religionis in concilio provinciali Coloniensi anno trigesimo sexto edito, qui liber ab omnibus eruditioribus theologis etiam per Italiam et Galliam summopere fuit collaudatus."—Cassander. Consultatio, art. 4. [p. 913, Par. 1616.]

luce the testimonies of such as lived before Luther's time. Secondly, I will make it appear, that the same truth was defended after Luther's time till the council and after. Origen[1], writing upon those words, Rom. viii.: *Ipse Spiritus testimonium perhibet spiritui nostro, &c.*, writeth thus: *Ipse spiritus adoptionis per quem in filium quis adoptatur, reddit testimonium et confirmat spiritum nostrum, quod sumus filii Dei, posteaquam a spiritu servitutis in adoptionis spiritum venerimus, cum jam nihil inest timoris, id est, nihil propter pœnam gerimus, sed propter amorem Patris cuncta perficimus.*

Cyprianus[2], ad Demetrianum, hath these words: *Viget apud vos spei robur et firmitas fidei, et inter ipsas sæculi labentis ruinas erecta mens est, et immobilis virtus, et de Deo suo semper anima secura.* De Cœna Domini: *Anima se sanatam et sanctificatam agnoscens, fletibus se abluit, et lachrymis se baptizat.* De Mortalitate: *Quis hic anxietatis et sollicitudinis locus est? Quis inter hæc trepidus et mœstus est, nisi cui spes et fides deest? Ejus enim est mortem timere, qui ad Christum nolit ire: ejus est ad Christum nolle ire, qui se non credat cum Christo incipere regnare. Scriptum est enim, justum fide vivere; si justus es et fide vivis, si vere in Deum credis, cur non cum Christo futurus, et de Domini pollicitatione securus, quod ad Christum voceris amplecteris?* And again, in the same place: *Deus de hoc mundo recedenti tibi immortalitatem atque æternitatem pollicetur, et tu dubitas? Hoc est Deum omnino non nosse; hoc est Christum, credentium Dominum et magistrum, peccato incredulitatis offendere: hoc est in ecclesia constitutum, idem in domo fidei non habere.*

Ambrose[3], Serm. 5, writeth thus: *Quisquis illi fermento Christi adhæresci, efficitur et ipse fermentum, tam sibi utilis, quam idoneus universis, et de sua certus salute, et de aliorum acquisitione securus.* And St Chrysostome[4], writing

[1] Origen in Rom. viii. [Tom. IV. p. 594, Par. 1733.]

[2] Cyprianus ad Demetrianum. [p. 193. Oxon. 1682.]
Id. de Cœna Domini, [Pseudo-Cyprian. p. 42, Append.]
Id. de Mortalitate. [p. 157.]

[3] Ambrose, Serm. v. [Pseudo-Ambros. Serm. XIII. Tom. II. Append. Col. 408. Par. 1690.]

[4] "Ὅτου δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα μαρτυρῇ ποία λοιπὸν ἀμφιβολία;" Chrysostom. in Rom. viii. [Tom. IX. p. 579. D.]

upon those words, Rom. viii.: *Ipse Spiritus, &c.*, affirmeth, that from the testimony of the Spirit we have such certainty, as leaveth no place for doubting.

Augustine[1], Serm. 28, *De Verbis Domini: O homo, faciem tuam non audebas ad cœlum attollere, oculos tuos in terram dirigebas, et subito accepisti gratiam Christi. Omnia tibi peccata dimissa sunt. Ex malo servo factus es bonus filius. Ideo præsume non de operatione tua, sed de Christi gratia. Non ergo hic arrogantia est, sed fides: prædicare quod acceperis non est superbia sed devotio. Ergo, attolle oculos ad Patrem qui te per lavachrum genuit, ad Patrem qui per Filium te redemit, et dic: Pater noster, &c.* And in his Twenty-second Tract upon John: *Credo promittenti, Salvator loquitur, Veritas pollicetur, ipse dixit mihi, Qui audit verba mea, et credit ei qui misit me, habet vitam æternam, et transitum facit de morte in vitam, et in judicium non veniet: ego audivi verba Domini mei, credidi. Jam infidelis cum essem, factus sum fidelis, sicut ipse monuit; transii a morte ad vitam, ad judicium non venio, non præsumptione mea, sed ipsius promissione.* In Ps. cxlix.: *Est quidam modus in conscientia gloriandi, ut noveris fidem tuam esse sinceram, noveris esse spem tuam certam, noveris charitatem tuam esse sine simulatione.* Serm. 6, *De Verbis Apostoli: Ex ipsa dilectione justitiæ, integra fide, catholica fide, Spiritum Dei nobis inesse cognoscimus.* Tract. 75. *in Joan.: In illo die, inquit, vos cognoscetis quia ego in Patre, et vos in me, et ego in vobis. In quo die, nisi de quo ait, et vos vivetis? Tunc enim erit, ut possimus videre quod credimus; nam et nunc est in nobis, et nos in illo: sed hoc nunc credimus, tunc etiam cognoscemus, quamvis et nunc credendo noverimus, sed tunc contemplando noscemus. De Trinitate,* Lib. XIII. cap. 1: *Non sic videtur fides in corde in quo est, ab eo cujus est, sed eam tenet certissima scientia, clamatque conscientia. Cum itaque propterea credere ju-*

[1] August. Serm. XXVIII. de Verbis Domini. [al. Serm. LXXXIV. Tom. v. Append. col. 152.]
Id. in Joann. Tract. XXII. [Tom. III. part 2, col. 466.]
Id. in Psalm cxlix. [Tom. IV. col. 1688.]
Id. Serm. 6, de Verbis Apostoli. [al. Serm. CLV. Tom. v. col. 748.]
Id. in Joann. Tract. LXXV. [Tom. III. part 2, col. 694.]
Id. de Trinitate. Lib. XIII. Cap. 1. [Tom. VIII. col. 928.]

beamur, quia id quod credere jubemur videre non possumus, ipsam tamen fidem, quando inest in nobis, videmus in nobis; quia et rerum absentium præsens est fides, et rerum quæ foris sunt intus est fides, et rerum quæ non videntur videtur fides. Lib. VIII. cap. 8.[1]: *Qui diligit fratrem, magis novit dilectionem qua diligit quam fratrem quem diligit.* Tractat. 5. *in Epist. Joannis: Nemo interroget hominem; redeat unusquisque ad cor suum, si ibi invenerit charitatem fraternam, securus sit quia transiit a morte ad vitam.* Tractat. *in Psal.* 85: *Dicat unusquisque fidelium, Sanctus sum. Non est ista superbia elati, sed confessio non ingrati. De Bono Perseverantiæ,* cap. 2: *Sicut ergo sanctus cum Deum rogat ut sanctus sit, id utique rogat ut sanctus esse permaneat; ita utique et castus, cum rogat ut castus sit; continens, ut continens sit; justus, ut justus sit; pius, ut pius sit; et cætera quæ contra Pelagianos dona Dei esse defendimus, hoc sine dubio petunt, ut in eis perseverent bonis, quæ se accepisse noverunt.*

Leo[2], in his eighth Sermon on the Epiphany, saith: *Ipsam matrem virtutum omnium charitatem in secretis suæ mentis inquirat: et si in ea dilectionem Dei et proximi toto corde intente repererit, ita ut etiam inimicis suis eadem velit tribui quæ sibi optat impendi, quisquis hujusmodi est, Deum et rectorem et habitatorem sui esse non dubitet.* Gregory[3], Moral. Lib. IX. cap. 17, upon these words of Job: *Etiamsi simplex fuero, hoc ipsum ignorabit anima mea;* writeth thus: *Plerumque si scimus bona quæ agimus, ad elationem ducimur: si nescimus, minime servamus. Quis enim aut de virtutis suæ conscientia non quantulumcunque superbiat? aut quis rursum bonum in se custodiat quod ignorat? Sed contra utraque quid superest, nisi ut recta quæ agimus, sciendo nesciamus: ut hæc et recta æstimemus et minima: quatenus et ad custodiam sensificet animum scientia rectitudinis, et in tumorem non elevet æstimatio minorationis.* And

[1] August. de Trinitate, Lib. VIII. cap. 8. [col. 861.]
Id. in Ps. LXXXV. [Tom. IV. col. 903.]
Id. de Dono Perseverantiæ. Cap. 2. [Tom. X. col. 824.]

[2] Leo, de Epiphania, Serm. VIII. [al. Serm. XXXVIII. Tom. I. col. 42. Ven. 1752.]

[3] Greg. Moral. Lib. IX. cap. 17. [Tom. I. col. 304.] et cap. 27. [col. 314.]

cap. 27, he saith: *Sciendum vero est, quod viri sancti ita incerti sunt ut confidant; atque ita confidunt, ut tamen ex securitate non torpeant.*

Anselm[1], writing upon the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, saith: *Ipse Spiritus divinus testimonium reddit spiritui nostro; id est, recognoscere et intelligere facit spiritum nostrum, quia sumus filii Dei. Et per hoc quod ipse Spiritus Sanctus charitatem nobis infundit, quæ nos facit imitatores esse divinæ bonitatis, ut diligamus inimicos nostros, et benefaciamus his qui oderunt nos, sicut Pater cœlestis solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos, atque pluit super justos et injustos, evidenti testimonio declarat menti nostræ, nos esse filios Dei, cujus bonitatem pro modulo nostro sequimur.* In 2 Cor. xiii.: *Qui fidei sensum in corde habet, hic scit Christum Jesum in se esse, et vos ita scitis eum in vobis esse, nisi forte reprobi estis; hoc est enim reprobum esse, nescire fidem professionis suæ. Et vos cognoscitis, quia per sensum fidei, et per affectum dilectionis, ac strenuitatem rectæ actionis, est Christus in vobis nisi forte reprobi estis, id est, ab eo quod prius cœpistis, retro conversi, et a Deo rejecti.*

Bernardus[2], Epist. 107: *Justus autem quis est, nisi qui amanti se Deo, vicem rependit amoris? Quod non fit nisi revelante Spiritu, per fidem, homini æternum Dei propositum super sua salute futura. Quæ sane revelatio non est aliud quam infusio gratiæ spiritualis, per quam dum facta carnis mortificantur, homo ad regnum præparatur quod caro et sanguis non possident, simul accipiens in uno spiritu et unde se præsumat amatum, et unde redamet ne gratis amatus sit.* In Cantica, Serm. 69: *Prorsus habet ecclesia Dei spirituales suos, qui non modo fideliter, sed et fiducialiter agant in eo, cum Deo quasi cum amico loquentes, testimonium illis perhibente conscientia gloriæ ejus. Da mihi animam nihil amantem præter Deum, et quod propter Deum amandum est: cui vivere Christus non tantum sit, sed et diu jam fuerit: cui studii et otii sit providere Deum*

[1] Anselm in Rom. viii. [Pseudo-Anselm. Tom. II. p. 51, c. Col. Agr. 1612.]

Id. in 2 Cor. xiii. [Tom. II. p. 229, c.]

[2] Bernardus, Epist. cvii. [Tom. I. col. 114.]

Id. in Cantica, Serm. 69. [Tom. I. col. 1510.]

in conspectu suo semper: cui sollicite ambulare cum Domino Deo suo, non dico magna, sed una voluntas sit, et facultas non desit: da mihi, inquam, talem animam, et ego non nego dignam sponsi cura, majestatis respectu, dominantis favore, sollicitudine gubernantis: et si voluerit gloriari, non erit insipiens, tantum ut qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur. And afterwards, *Ex propriis quæ sunt penes Deum, agnoscit nec dubitat se amari quæ amat.* And a little afterwards: *Vides quomodo non solum de amore suo certum te reddat, si quidem tu ames illum: sed etiam de sollicitudine sua quam pro te gerit, si te senserit sollicitum sui.* In Octava Paschæ, Serm. 2[1]: *Sane novum supervenisse spiritum, certissime conversatio nova testatur.*

Idem, Epist. 107: *Ponamus hominem in seculo seculi adhuc et suæ carnis amore retentum: et cum terrestris hominis imaginem portet, incubantem terrenis, nil de cœlestibus cogitantem: quis hunc non videat horrendis circumfusum tenebris, nisi qui in eadem mortis umbra sedet: quippe cui nullum adhuc suæ salutis signum eluxerit, cui necdum in aliquo interna testetur inspiratio, an boni de se quippiam æterna teneat prædestinatio? At vero si superna eum miseratio dignanter quandoque respexerit, immiseritque spiritum compunctionis, quatenus ingemiscat et resipiscat, mutet vitam, domet carnem, amet proximum, clamet ad Deum, proponatque de cætero vivere Deo, non seculo: ex qua deinde superni luminis gratuita visitatione, et subita mutatione dexteræ excelsi, agnoscat se merito quidem non jam iræ sed gratiæ filium, quippe qui paternum erga se divinæ bonitatis experitur affectum, quod se utique hactenus in tantum latuerat, ut non solum nesciret utrumnam dignus foret amore an odio, verumetiam odium magis et non amorem propria conversatio testaretur, erant enim tenebræ adhuc super faciem abyssi: nonne is tibi videtur quasi de abysso profundissima, et tenebrosissima horrendæ ignorantiæ, in aliam quandam quoque trahi abyssum, e regione amœnam et lucidam claritatis æternæ? et tunc demum quasi dividit Deus lucem a tenebris, cum peccator sole illucescente justitiæ, abjectis operibus tenebrarum induitur arma lucis: et is, quem prior vita ac*

[1] Bernard. in Octava Paschæ, Serm. 2. [Tom. I. col. 916.]
Id. Epist. CVII. [col. 113.]

propria conscientia tanquam revera filium gehennæ deputaverat ardoribus sempiternis, ad tantam visitantis se orientis ex alto dignationem respirans, gloriari etiam incipit, præter spem in spe gloriæ filiorum Dei, quam jam nimirum e vicino revelata facie exultans novo in lumine speculatur, et dicit: Signatum est super nos lumen vultûs tui, Domine: dedisti lætitiam in corde meo. O Domine, quid est homo quia innotuisti ei, aut filius hominis quia reputas eum? Jam se, O bone Pater, vermis vilissimus et odio dignissimus sempiterno, tamen confidit amari, quoniam se sentit amare: imo quia se amari præsentit, non redamare confunditur. Jam apparet in lumine tuo, O inaccessibilis Lux, quid boni penes te, etiam cum malus esset, miserum maneret homunculum. Amat proinde non immerito, quia amatus est sine merito. Amat sine fine, quia sine principio se cognoscit amatum. Prodit in lucem ad miseri consolationem, magnum consilium quod ab æterno latuerat in sinu æternitatis, quod nolit videlicet Deus mortem peccatoris, sed magis ut convertatur et vivat. Habes, homo, hujus arcani indicem Spiritum justificantem, eoque ipso testificantem spiritui tuo quod filius Dei et ipse sis. Agnosce consilium Dei in justificatione tui. Confitere et dic: Consilium meum justificationes tuæ. Præsens namque justificatio tui, et divini est consilii revelatio, et quædam ad futuram gloriam præparatio.

Idem[1], *De quatuor modis Orandi. Surge, tolle lectum tuum, &c. Et tu, ergo, si jam surgis desiderio supernorum, si grabatum tollis, corpus scilicet a terrenis elevans voluptatibus, ut jam non feratur anima a concupiscentiis ejus, sed magis ipsa ut dignum est, regat illud, et ferat quo non vult; si demum ambulas quæ retro sunt obliviscens, et ad ea quæ ante sunt te extendens, desiderio et proposito proficiendi, curatum te esse non dubites.* Item[2] *Serm.* 1. *in Annunciatione Beatæ Mariæ. Si credis peccata tua non posse deleri nisi ab eo cui soli peccasti, et in quem peccatum non cadit, bene facis; sed adde adhuc, ut et hoc credas, quia per ipsum tibi peccata donantur. Hoc est testimonium quod perhibet in corde nostro Spiritus Sanctus, dicens: Dimissa sunt tibi peccata tua. Sic*

[1] Bernard. De Quatuor Modis Orandi. [al. de Diversis, Serm. XXV. col. 1141.]

[2] Id. Serm. I. in Annunciatione B. Mariæ. [col. 978.]

enim arbitratur Apostolus, gratis justificari hominem per fidem.

Gulielmus Altisiodorensis[1], in Sent. Lib. 3. Tract. 6: *Quidam dicunt, quod quidam sciunt se non habere charitatem, scilicet qui sunt in actu vel proposito peccandi. Alii dubitant se habere charitatem, cum habent æque fortes rationes ad utramque partem contradictionis. Alii putant se habere charitatem. Alii sciunt se habere charitatem, scilicet qui gustaverunt dulcedinem Dei, et in quibus fere extinctus est fomes, ut Maria Magdalena et Ægyptiaca post multos fletus.* And, a little after, distinguishing two kinds of knowledge properly so named, he saith: By the one we know we are in grace, and not by the other.

The book called *Regimen Animarum*[2] agreeth with Altisiodorensis, making five sorts: some that know they have not; some that doubt; some that think they have: *Quidam qui experiuntur se habere charitatem, ut illi qui gustant divinam dulcedinem, in quibus fomes fere extinctus est, et qui semper vel bona faciunt vel affectant; quidam certi sunt se habere charitatem, ut sunt illi quibus Deus revelavit secreta cœlestia; sic fuit Paulus.*

Pantheologia[3] likewise saith: *Quidam dicunt, quod aliqui sciunt se esse in gratia experimentaliter, sicut illi qui sentiunt dulcedinem divinæ bonitatis, et in oratione gustant quam suavis est Dominus. Alios scire se esse in gratia Dei supernaturaliter, sicut sunt illi qui ita dotati sunt a Deo et perfecti, quod jam non habent rebellionem fomitis, sed habent plenam pacem spiritus, et sentiunt se elevatos in contemplatione divina; sicut fuerunt Paulus et Maria Magdalena.*

Alexander of Ales[4], 3. Part, Quæst. 61, Memb. 7, Art. 3.

[1] Gulielmus Altisiodorensis in Sent. Lib. III. [Tract. 5. Quæst. 5. fol. 150, A. Par. 1500.]

[2] [Apud Martin. Eisengrein. p. 228.]

[3] [Rayner. de Pisis. Pantheologia, sive Summa universæ theologicæ Veritatis]. Part 1. De Gratia. cap. 10. [p. 1002. Ven. 1585.]

[4] "Plures sunt opiniones circa istam quæstionem. Prima opinio est, quod aliquis possit scire per scientiam se non esse in gratia. Item aliquis potest dubitare se esse in gratia... Item aliquis potest opinari se esse in gratia... Item potest aliquis scire experimentaliter se esse in gratia, sicut ille qui sentit dulcedinem divinæ bonitatis in oratione, et gustat quam suavis est Dominus. Item ulterius dicunt quod

first reckoneth the opinion of five sorts of men formerly mentioned, to wit, of men knowing they are not in grace; of men doubting; of men thinking they are; of men experimentally knowing it, as do they *qui sentiunt dulcedinem divinæ bonitatis in oratione, et gustant quam suavis est Dominus;* and, lastly, of men who have knowledge that they are in grace, *qui ita sunt dicati Deo et perfecti, quod jam non habent rebellionem fomitis, sed habent plenam pacem spiritus, et sentiunt concupiscentias carnis in se consopitas, et sentiunt se omnino elevatos in divinam contemplationem; sicut fuit beata Magdalena, et Paulus qui ait,* ad Rom. viii.: *Quis separabit, &c.* And then he distinguisheth contemplative and affective knowledge, that some make a knowledge by science, and a knowledge by experiment, the one an infallible, the other a fallible, medium; and thinketh that we

aliquis potest habere scientiam quod ipse sit in gratia, sicut est in illis qui ita sunt dicati Deo et perfecti quod jam non habeant rebellionem fomitis sed habent plenam pacem spiritus, et sentiunt concupiscentias carnis in se consopitas; et sentiunt se omnino elevatos in divina contemplatione, sicut fuit beata Magdalena et Paulus,... Aliter dici potest quod in anima est duplex scientia, scil. cognitiva et affectiva... Aliter autem dicunt quod duplex est cognitio: quædam est cognitio per scientiam, et hæc est per medium infallibile, et est cognitio per experimentum, et hæc est per medium fallibile. Dicendum ergo quod scientia experimentali potest aliquis scire se esse in gratia."

Ad oppositum, Apoc. 2. "Vincenti dabo manna absconditum, et calculum &c., quod nemo novit, nisi qui accepit. Ergo qui accepit, novit. Sed manna absconditum ibi et calculum non solum accipitur de perceptione divinæ dulcedinis per gloriam in patria, sed etiam per gratiam in via: sed qui accipit, novit: ergo qui accipit, divinam dulcedinem per gratiam novit, ergo novit se habere gratiam per illam, tanquam per experimentum certum. Item gustus bene dispositus non potest nescire dulcedinem sibi conjunctam; ergo anima bene disposita non potest non sentire divinam dulcedinem sibi conjunctam. Sed sensus divinæ dulcedinis est per gratiam; ergo anima bene disposita non potest ignorare quin habeat gratiam; ergo gratia cognoscitur per experimentum, sicut per sensum divinæ dulcedinis. Item, 2 Cor. ult. 'An non cognoscitis vosmetipsos, quia Christus in vobis est, nisi forte reprobi estis.' Hoc dicit Apostolus Corinthiis; ergo aliquis, nisi sit reprobus, cognoscit quod in ipso est Christus; si hoc, recte cognoscit quod habet gratiam, quia Christus non est in nobis nisi per gratiam: ergo habet experimentum quod gratia sit in ipso."—Alexander ab Ales, Summa, part. III. Quæst. 61. Membr. 7. Art. 3. [Tom. III. p. 489. Col. Agr. 1622.]

may know, by certain experiments, that we are in grace; which experiments are, *charitas apud vim rationalem, pax apud irascibilem, lætitia apud concupiscibilem.* That a man may have certain knowledge that he is in grace, he proveth out of Rev. ii.: "To him that overcometh I will give the hidden manna, &c., which no man knoweth but he that receiveth it;" therefore he that receiveth it doth know it; but that hidden manna, &c., is not understood only, of the enjoying of divine sweetness in glory, in heaven, but by grace, in this world; but he that receiveth it knoweth it: therefore he that receiveth the divine sweetness by grace knoweth it; therefore he knoweth he hath grace by it, as by a certain experiment. Besides, the taste that is well affected, cannot but discern the sweetness that is put unto it, therefore if the soul be rightly affected, it cannot but discern the divine sweetness put to it; but the discerning of divine sweetness is by grace, therefore a soul rightly affected cannot but know that it hath grace; therefore grace is experimentally known, as by the sense of divine sweetness. 2 Cor. ult.: "Do ye not know yourselves that Christ Jesus is in you, except you be reprobates?" This the apostle speaketh to the Corinthians, therefore there is some man, who if he be not a reprobate, knoweth that Christ is in him; and if he know this, he knoweth he hath grace, because Christ is not in us but by grace; whence it followeth that he knoweth experimentally that he hath grace.

John Bachon[1], Lib. III. dist. 30, q. 1, saith, expressly, that men may be certain they are in grace, by a certainty following faith, or flowing out of faith. In our age, Cardinal Cajetan[2], Commentar. in Joan. xiv. *Dat Deus etiam hoc, ut sciamus quæ a Deo nobis donata sunt, &c. Cuilibet diligenti ipsum promittit, non quod se manifestabit, sed quod se insinuabit; dictio enim Græca significat velut*

[1] "Quæritur utrum habens charitatem possit se scire habere charitatem, et hoc non cognitione naturali, sed cognitione sequente fidem: Quæritur enim utrum possit cognosci ab habente eam; sed certum est quod nullus potest eam habere nisi fidelis. Tunc arguo sic, Accepta una propositione (in his quæ sunt fidei), possibili et altera de facto, sequitur scientia de facto."—John Bachon. in Sent. Lib. III. Dist. 30. Quæst. 1. [fol. 177, Cremon. 1618.]

[2] Cajetan. in Joann. xiv. [Thomas de Vio Cajetanus in S. Script. Tom. IV. p. 392. Lugd. 1639.]

tacite et clam indicare, quoniam Jesus cuilibet diligenti se, indicat seipsum intus, interna illustratione et inspiratione, diversimode, prout electi experiuntur accipientes manna absconditum quod nemo novit nisi qui accepit. And writing upon these words, 1 Jo. ii.: *In hoc scimus quoniam cognovimus eum*, he[1] saith, *Intendit Johannes ad litteram monstrare, signum infallibile internæ lucis divinæ in nobis esse, si mandata ejus servaverimus.* Roffensis[2] saith, *Sacramenta ideo potissimum sunt instituta, ut per usum illorum citra ullam dubitationem confidamus, gratiam nos esse consecutos, De Sacr. Eucharist.* Lib. I. cap. 6.

The authors of the book offered by Charles the Fifth to the divines appointed for the conference at Ratisbon, in the fifth Article plainly affirm, *Oportere ut vere pœnitentes fide certissima statuant, se propter Mediatorem Christum Deo placere.* The same was agreed unto by the divines of both sides. Cardinal Contarenus, president of the meeting and conference, approved it; and as the same Vega saith[3], many Catholics in the council at Trent, before the publishing of the decree, followed the same opinion as most probable, and sought to confirm it by many arguments. And he reporteth[4], that amongst others, there was one learned man that professed he held the denying of the certainty of grace to be a worse error than that imputed to Luther; for, whereas the Lutherans attribute too much to faith, this opinion derogateth from faith, the sacraments, and the merits and works of virtue.

Yet, in the end, there was a decree passed for the uncer-

[1] Cajetan. in 1 Joann. ii. [Tom. v. p. 390.]

[2] Joannes Fischerus, episc. Roffensis, de Sacramento Eucharistiæ. [col. 769. Wirceburg. 1597.]

[3] "Hanc sententiam multi catholici ante editum decretum de justificatione probabilem censebant Tridenti, et compluribus argumentis suadere illam conabantur."—Vega, de Justificatione. Lib. IX. cap. 7. [p. 238.]

[4] "Miror quendam catholicum tanto affectu parti oppositæ adhæsisse, ut non veritus fuerit dicere pejorem et detestabiliorem esse Lutherana opinione sententiam quæ asserit non posse justos hic assoqui suæ gratiæ certitudinem, omnis metus et formidinis expertem. Cum enim, ait, Lutherani multum tribuant fidei, hæc sententia derogat et fidei, et sacramentis, ac virtutum meritis et operibus."—Id. Lib. IX. cap. 46. [p. 346.]

tainty of grace[1], but in such sort, that who would, held their former opinions still, and made such constructions of the decree as they pleased: as it appeareth by Ambrosius Catharinus[2], in his Apology against Dominicus à Soto, wherein he defendeth an absolute certainty of grace, and a certainty of faith, and yet will not be thought to be touched by the censure of the council.

Martinus Eisengreinius, a man of no small account, hath a whole book in explication and defence of this one decree of the council, and telleth us, the council never meant simply to condemn the certainty of grace, but only that kind of certainty that heretics imagine, which is without all examination of themselves, their estate, the truth of their profession, their dislike of sinful evils, and desire of reconciliation, and grace to decline evil and to do good, to persuade themselves they are justified. And whereas most men conceive the meaning of the council to be, that he is accursed that thinketh it necessary for the attaining of remission of sins, that every man should persuade himself, without any doubting in respect of his own indisposition, that his sins are remitted, and that thus to persuade himself procureth remission; he maketh the meaning of it to be, that whosoever without consideration of his estate, whether he be rightly disposed or otherwise, presumeth of God's grace and favour, is worthily anathematized; but if a man, having examined himself, find a disposition, in dislike of former evils, to return unto God, to seek remission, and grace not to offend in like sort any more, he may, notwithstanding the decree of the council; nay, he ought to, assure himself of remission, and grace; and thereupon bringeth forth a cloud of witnesses for confirmation of

[1] "Si quis dixerit, Omni homini ad remissionem peccatorum assequendam necessarium esse, ut credat certo, et absque ulla hæsitatione, propriæ infirmitatis et indispositionis peccata sibi esse remissa, anathema sit."—Concil. Trident. Session. vi. can. 13. [Labbe, Tom. xx. col. 41. Ven. 1733.]

[2] "Jam illud primum est, utrum S. Synodus in doctrina de justificatione, catholicorum propositionem damnaverit, qui disputarunt pro possibili certitudine gratiæ ex fide et absque speciali et privilegiata revelatione? Tu enim putas S. Synodum hoc damnasse. Nos autem etiam de scientia loquentes contra asserimus."—[Expurgatio Fr. Ambrosii Catharini Politi adversus Apologiam Fratris Dominici à Soto. p. 82. Lugd. 1551.]

the certainty of grace. But whatsoever we think of the construction he maketh of the words of the decree, he resolveth[1], that a man may be as certain that his sins are remitted, and he received to grace, as that twice two are four, twice four eight, and that every whole is greater than his part; or, as a man is resolved touching the things he seeth with his eyes, and handleth with his hands.

Gaspar Casalius[2], a bishop of Portugal, that was present in the council of Trent, writeth largely against that kind of imagined certainty which Eisengreinius saith the council meant to condemn; and then goeth forward; *An non licet homini unquam credere firmiter se esse justum a peccatis, saltem a mortalibus? Quidem in ea forma nunquam licet, ut ex dictis patet, quia est illa fides sive confidentia, et superba et imprudentissima. An licet in alia forma? Utique licet. In qua forma licet? Habendo respectum ad divinas promissiones conditionales, et ad conditiones quas requirunt. Etenim omnes tenemur firmiter credere, fide divina cui non potest subesse falsum, tam de nobis ipsis quam de aliis, omnes Adæ filios, de facto justos esse aut justificari, quotquot habent eas conditiones quas divina promissio, sive divina lex conditionalis, ad id requirit in nobis. Hoc constat, quia omnes tenemur tali fide credere, Deum veracem in omnibus dictis suis pertinentibus ad doctrinam, promissiones, et cunctis aliis: adhibito autem diligenti in nobis de nobis examine, dum quis seipsum probat, et ad judicium rationis ac legis trahit, licet unicuique judicare de se, prudenter tamen procedendo cum examine et discretione, quod eas conditiones requisitas habet, vel non habet. Si enim hoc non liceret nobis, non diceret Paulus,* 1 Cor. ii.: *Probet autem seipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat, et de calice bibat. Nec diceret Apostolus Johannes,* 1 Joh. iv.: *Nolite omni spiritui credere, sed probate spiritus si ex Deo sint, quoniam multi pseudoprophetæ exierunt in mundum. Ecce committitur nobis probatio adhibitis his quæ ad rem ipsam adhiberi debent*

[1] "Quam certo quis sementem faciens credit se et messem facturum, tam certo longeque certius et potest et debet ejusmodi credere sibi remissa esse peccata."—Martin. Eisengrein. p. 162. [et passim.]

[2] Gaspar Casalius, De Quadripartita Justitia. part 1. Lib. II. [fol. 202. Ven. 1599.]

um nostri tum spirituum. Licet ergo nobis judicare de obis bene vel male, prout in nobis invenerimus: dummodo rudenter agamus, cum prudentia intuentes, discurrentes, t concludentes. Mox vero prout quis cum prudentia de e judicaverit, quod conditiones a Deo requisitas habeat, otest etiam judicare de seipso quod justus sit, si certo, erto; si cum formidine, cum formidine; firmæ enim præ-tant divinæ promissiones juxta suas conditiones, et ex arte illarum nullus est defectus nec esse potest.

So that, according to this opinion, a man certainly finding n him the performance of the condition required, may assure imself of his justification and acceptation with God: and his assurance is an act of faith. No man living, saith Vega[1], hould ever draw me to doubt, neither indeed could I doubt if would, of my being in the state of grace, if I might infer it ut of two propositions, the one believed, and the other some ther way evident unto unto me. For there are many propo-itions *de fide*, which can no otherwise be proved to be *de ide*, but because they clearly follow upon things believed and ome proposition evident in the light of nature; as Scotus heweth, that this proposition, The Father differeth really rom the Son, is a proposition of faith, because it is in-erred out of these two, The Father begat and the Son was egotten; and this other, evident in the light of nature, *Omnis generans realiter differt a genito. Qui pertinaciter lubitaret de propositione illata evidenter ex una credita t alia evidenti, esset hæreticus; hic enim cum non posset lubitare de consequentia, nec de evidenti, dubitaret de redita.*

It will be said, that granting such a proposition to be *le fide*, as followeth out of two propositions, whereof one is elieved, and the other some other way evident unto us, yet it

[1] "Verum ipse adduci in hanc sententiam nullatenus possem, eque dubitare, si maxime cuperem, valerem, quin mihi certum esset ex de me esse in gratia, siquidem hoc colligere possem ex una credita et ltera mihi evidenti. Et hoc ita esse sic suadeo. Multæ sunt propo-itiones de fide, quæ non aliter possunt probari esse de fide nisi quia equuntur evidenter ex creditis, cum aliqua saltem propositione evi-enti secundum lumen naturale. Quare et Scotus noster peculiariter stendit hanc propositionem esse de fide, Pater differt realiter a Filio, uia infertur ex ista naturaliter evidenti. Omnis generans realiter iffert a genito, et ex ista de fide, Pater est generans, et Filius est enitus."—Vega, Lib. IX. cap. 36. [p. 320.]

will not follow that we may be certain that we are in the state of grace. Because that cannot be inferred out of two such propositions, seeing one of them must depend on experience and the knowledge of our inward actions, which, as some think, cannot be certainly known by us. Let us see, therefore, whether a man may certainly discern the quality and condition of his soul, and the motions, actions, and desires of the same. There are that think that our inward actions are unknown unto us, and that the nature of the heart is such, as is known only to God; but Saint Paul saith, 1 Cor. ii., that the spirit of a man knoweth the things that are in him. And besides, if we could not know our inward actions, we should not be commanded or forbidden to do such actions, neither should we be required to confess our inward sins, if we could not know them. All which things are absurd and heretical. It is clear, therefore, that we may know and discern our inward actions, that we may know what we do, what we will, and in what sort, and to what end, we will it. We may know, therefore, whether we sorrow for sins because we have thereby displeased God, or for some other reason; whether we esteem the loss of God's favour the greatest evil; whether we would rather regain it, than have all things without it; whether we would not be willing to leave any thing, though never so dear unto us, if we should understand, that we must either leave it, or not come into favour with God.

It is true, saith Vega[1], that we may know all these things; but because there may be some sin that we think not of, through forgetfulness, ignorance, or want of consideration, from which if we depart not, we cannot obtain the favour of God; therefore we cannot certainly know whether we be so disposed, as is required for the receipt of grace. But this is a silly allegation, for Roffensis[2], *adversus Lutherum*, Artic. 14. saith: *Ignoratio peccatorum nihil obstat, quo minus quisquam vere conteri posset, nisi velis cavillum ex vocabulo quærere; neque enim dubito quin Maria Magdalena vere*

[1] "Dispositio non unum aliquem actum comprehendit, sed observationem omnium mandatorum divinorum, et dolorem de omnibus peccatis, et in nullo peccato perseverare, neque per ignorantiam, neque per negligentiam, neque per oblivionem aut inconsiderationem."—Vega, Lib. IX. cap. 47. [p. 353.]

[2] [Joannes Fischerus. Episc. Roffensis. Opp. col. 455. Wirceburg. 1597.]

contrita fuerat, quam si Christus interrogasset an vere fuisset contrita, potuit respondisse, se vere contritam esse, vereque doluisse pro peccatis; nec tamen est credibile quod singula peccata quæ prius in tot vanitatibus suis admisit, integre venerint in ejus memoriam. Sed omittamus hanc quæ singulare pœnitudinis exemplar fuerat: de communibus loquamur peccatoribus. Num aliquot ex his opinaris ad sacramentum absolutionis accedere cum vero dolore? Num eos usque adeo stupidos arbitraris, ut non sentiant an vere et non ficte doleant? Quod si conscientia fuerit eis judex quod vere doleant, cur (te quæso) respondere non licet se vere dolere? Quid huic rei peccatorum obsistit ignoratio, cum pro cunctis dolere possint tam ignoratis quam cognitis? Nam qui damni perpendit immensitatem quod ex peccato conquisivit, is odiet facile peccatum, et detestabitur tam in aliis quam in seipso, neque minus id quod occultum est quam quod est agnitum. So that we may reason thus: If a man sorrow, or sorrow not for sin, or not for the true causes, or not so much as he should; either he may know when he doth right, and when he faileth, or not: if he may, then a man may know when he is in such a disposition as is required in him that is to be justified: if he may not, then he hath no power to sorrow, or to sorrow in this or that sort. For no man hath power to do that act that he knoweth not how to do: neither doth any man know how to do a thing, but he knoweth likewise when he doth the same thing, whether he do so or not. If he have no power to sorrow for sin, or to sorrow so and in such sort as he should, then God hath commanded things impossible to be done; impossible, I say, in respect both of nature and grace.

They will say[1], A man knoweth when he sorroweth rightly for each particular sin, but not when for all in general: but against this, as before, if he know how rightly to sorrow for all, then he knoweth when he doth so; but he knoweth how rightly to sorrow for all. If he know not rightly how to sorrow for all, then he cannot rightly sorrow for all; if he cannot rightly sorrow for all, then either God hath not com-

[1] "Quamvis possit constare nobis de quacunque ignorantia culpabili, non tamen inde consequens est ut possit constare de omnibus, ut sciamus nos nulla laborare ignorantia vincibili."—Vega, Lib. IX. cap. 39. [p. 325.]

manded so to do, or he hath commanded impossibilities: if he have not commanded us in this sort to sorrow for all, then for none, for we cannot rightly sorrow for one, unless we sorrow for all[1]; for if we might, we might have remission of one, and not of another; then we might be in the state of salvation and damnation together.

Vega[2] having debated the matter, alleging the objections and answers of both sides, for and against the certainty of grace, in the end concludeth, that having maturely considered all that is said on either side, he thinketh it more probable, that some spiritual men may so far profit in spiritual exercise and in divine familiarity, that without all rashness they may believe certainly, and without all doubting, that they have found grace and remission of sins with God; and bringeth many excellent proofs of that his saying; as, that the law of friendship requireth so much; for it cannot be that one friend should not pour forth his very soul to another. And that familiarity and exceeding love that the Canticles shew that God beareth towards his Church, and sometimes sheweth to it, make it evident, there are always some to whom God speaketh so familiarly, that they are certain and no way doubt of his love. Besides, the resolution and security with

[1] "If a man may know that he sorroweth rightly for one sin, he is sure he sorroweth for all as much as is necessarily required to justification."

[2] "Mature tamen omnibus hinc inde pensatis, probabilius profecto esse crediderim posse aliquos viros spiritales tantopere in exercitiis spiritalibus et in familiaritate divina proficere, ut absque ulla temeritate possint, certo et absque ulla hæsitatione, credere se invenisse gratiam et remissionem peccatorum suorum apud Deum. Et hoc videtur requirere lex amicitiæ, quam non dubitamus sed certo scimus inter Deum et justos esse. Quis enim verus amicus non aliquando suum pectus effundat in amicum, et certum eum faciat moraliter de sua in eum gratia et amore? Familiaritas item et eximius amor quem Cantica Canticorum indicant Deum habere in Ecclesiam, atque ei nonnunquam ostendere, exigunt revera ut aliqui sint semper viri spiritales in ecclesia quibuscum Deus sic familiariter loquatur, quique certi sint et nihil dubitent de ipsius in eos amore. Illa insuper quies et securitas qua plerique migrant de hac vita, illud ardens desiderium quo charitas cum perfectum fuerit clamat, Cupio dissolvi, &c.... quid aliud sunt quam testimonia apertissima certitudinis moralis quam habebant de sua justitia et gratia apud Deum."—Vega, Lib. IX. cap. 46. [pp. 346—9.]

which many of the saints of God go out of this world, that ardent desire, *quo charitas cum perfecta fuerit, clamat, cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo; illa lætitia qua permulti exultant, dum intelligentes sibi propinquum esse diem mortis, dicunt cum Davide: Lætatus sum in his quæ dicta sunt mihi, In domum Domini ibimus. Alacritas etiam et admiranda constantia martyrum, et despicientia omnium tormentorum*, are a sufficient proof of this; they would never do so that doubted of their estate. Ambrose[1], in Ps. cxviii.: *Videmus in sæculo innocentes lætos ad judicium festinare, disse moras, celeritatem affectare judicii. Beatus itaque ille qui cæleste judicium lætus expectat: scit enim sibi regnum cælorum, angelorum consortium, coronam quoque bonorum repositam esse meritorum.* And Catharinus[2], in his purgation of himself, sheweth the same in the examples of many saints: such confidence Ezechias may be thought to have had, 2 Reg. xii., when he prayed thus: "Remember, Lord, how I have walked before thee," &c., where this his prayer is approved by God's answer, "I have heard thy prayer," &c. The testimony of the Spirit seemeth to require[3], *ut aliquibus saltem viris perfectis et spiritualibus, hoc verum de adoptione in particulari semper contestetur interius: ut quilibet justorum ex eo testimonio vere possit auctor clamare, Abba, Pater; et verbum istud, spiritui nostro, huc videtur nos vocare et inflectere. Cumque illud testimonium, quicquid sit de intelligentia Pauli, dubium non sit, ut et sancti doctores sæpe tradiderunt, persæpe interius exhiberi a Spiritu Sancto, loquente interius familiarissime cum his qui ei toto corde famulantur, consentaneum non est, neque verisimile, quin aliquando ita sese illis aperiat, ut omnem abigat fortitudinem de ipsorum pœnitentia, et eorum justificatione, præsertim cum, teste Paulo, ad hoc detur nobis, ut sciamus quæ nobis a Deo sunt donata.*

This certainty he calleth moral, distinguisheth it from the certainty of faith, that he may avoid the decree of the

[1] Apud Vegam, ibid. [p. 350.]

[2] "Idemque de Hilario, Martino, et Paulino, aliorumque sanctorum exemplis, docte et eleganter ostendit eruditissimus episcopus Catharinus in expurgatione sua."—Vega, ibid.

[3] Vega, ibid.

council of Trent; and yet saith it excludeth all doubt and fear of the being otherwise of that he is thus certain of; and saith, if any man will name this a certainty of faith, he will not strive. The difference he maketh between them is this, that in the one, men are sure and know they neither are nor can be deceived[1]; in the other, they know and are certain that they are not, not that they cannot be, deceived. But this difference cannot stand; for if a man know and be certain that he is not deceived, he must certainly know that no such thing doth now fall out, as doth fall out when men are deceived in apprehensions of this kind, and consequently that, now and things so standing, he cannot be deceived. For example, a man dreaming thinketh he is waking, and undoubtedly persuadeth himself he seeth or doth something, wherein he is deceived, because it is but representation in a dream; but he that is waking knoweth that he waketh, that he seeth that which he thinketh he seeth, that in this persuasion he is not nor cannot be deceived, things so standing.

Amongst the Articles agreed upon in the conference at Ratisbon, 1541, this is one[2]: *Docendum est, ut qui vere pœnitent, semper fide certissima statuant, se propter Mediatorem Christum Deo placere: quia Christus est propitiator, pontifex, et interpellator pro nobis, quem Pater donavit nobis, et omnia bona cum illo. Quoniam autem perfecta rectitudo in hac imbecillitate non est, suntque multæ infirmæ et pavidæ conscientiæ, quæ cum gravi sæpe dubitatione luctantur, nemo est a gratia Christi, propter ejusmodi infirmitatem, excludendus: sed convenit tales diligenter adhortari, ut iis dubitationibus promissiones Christi fortiter opponant, et augeri sibi fidem sedulis precibus orent, juxta illud, Adauge nobis, Domine, fidem.* So that touching this point, it is evident that the Church of God ever taught that which we now teach.

Neither have we departed from the doctrine of the Church, in that we teach that faith only justifieth. For many of the

[1] "Qui moraliter certus est de sua gratia, certus quidem est se non decipi; sed non est certus se non posse in eo assensu decipi: qui vero per fidem certus esset se habere gratiam, certus esset neque decipi se, neque posse decipi in ejusmodi assensu."—Vega, cap. 47. [p. 353.]

[2] Apud Bucer. [Acta colloquii Ratisponæ habiti. Argent. 1542.]

ancient have used this form of words; as Origen[1], *ad Rom.* iii.: *Dicit Apostolus, sufficere solius fidei justificationem, ita ut credens quis tantummodo justificetur, etiamsi nihil ab eo operis fuerit expletum.* Hilar.[2] *Can.* 8. *in Matth.: Fides sola justificat.* Basil.[3] *Homil. de Humilitate: Hæc est perfecta et integra gloriatio in Deo, quando neque ob justitiam suam quis se jactat, sed novit quidem seipsum veræ justitiæ indignum, sola autem fide in Christum justificatum.* Ambros.[4] *ad Rom* iii.: *Justificati sunt gratis, quia nihil operantes, neque vicem reddentes, sola fide justificati sunt dono Dei.* Chrysost.[5] *Homil. de Fide et lege Naturæ: Eum qui operatur opera justitiæ sine fide non potes probare vivum esse: fidem absque operibus possum monstrare, et vixisse, et regnum cælorum assecutam: nullus sine fide vitam habuit, latro autem credidit tantum et justificatus est.* Aug.[6] Lib. I. *contra* 2 *Epistolas Pelag. c.* 21: *Quantælibet fuisse virtutis antiquos prædices justos, non eos salvos fecit nisi fides Mediatoris.* 83. *q. q.* 76.[7] *Si quis cum crediderit mox de hac vita decesserit, justificatio fidei manet cum illo: nec præcedentibus bonis operibus, quia non merito ad illam, sed gratia pervenit; nec consequentibus, quia in hac vita esse non finitur.* Theophylact.[8] *ad Galat.* iii.: *Nunc plane ostendit Apostolus, fidem vel solam justificandi habere in se virtutem.* Bern.[9] *Ser.* 22, *in Cantica: Quisquis pro peccatis compunctus,*

[1] Origen. in Rom. ii. [Tom. IV. p. 516, E.]

[2] Hilar. Can. 8. in Matt. [col. 705, D. Veron. 1730.]

[3] "Αὕτη γὰρ δὴ ἡ τελεία καὶ ὁλόκληρος καύχησις ἐν Θεῷ, ὅτε μήτε ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ τις ἐπαίρεται τῇ ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἔγνω μὲν ἑνδεᾶ ὄντα ἑαυτὸν δικαιοσύνης ἀληθοῦς πίστει δὲ μόνῃ τῇ εἰς Χριστὸν δεδικαιωμένον."—Basil. Homil. de Humilitate. [Tom. II. p. 158, E. Par. 1722.]

[4] Ambros. in Rom. iii. [Pseudo-Ambros. Tom. II. Append. col. 46, D. Par. 1690.]

[5] "Ἄνευ πίστεως τὸν ἐργαζόμενον ἔργα δικαιοσύνης οὐ δύνῃ παραστῆσαι ζήσαντα, ἄνευ δὲ ἔργων τὸν πιστὸν δύναμαι δεῖξαι καὶ ζήσαντα καὶ βασιλείας ἀξιωθέντα. οὐδεὶς ἄνευ πίστεως ἐζήσεν· ὁ δὲ ληστὴς πιστεύσας μόνον ἐδικαιώθη."—[Pseudo-Chrysost. Tom. I. p. 826, D]

[6] August. contra duas Epistolas Pelagianorum, Lib. I. cap. 21. [Tom. X. col. 429.]

[7] Id. de Diversis Quæstionibus octoginta tribus. Quæst. 74. [Tom. VI. col. 67.]

[8] "Ἀποδείκνυσιν ὁ Ἀπόστολος ὅτι ἡ πίστις μόνη δικαίοι."—Theophylact. in Galat. iii. [Tom. II. col. 343. Ven. 1755.]

[9] Bernard. Serm. 22. in Cantica. [Tom. I. col. 1342, D.]

esurit et sitit justitiam, credat in te qui justificas impium, et solam justificatus per fidem, pacem habebit ad te. Et *Ep.* 77[1]: *Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit. Caute non repetiit, Qui vero baptizatus non fuerit, condemnabitur; sed tantum, Qui vero non crediderit, innuens nimirum solam fidem interdum sufficeri ad salutem, et sine illa sufficere nihil.*

Sometimes, by these phrases of speech, they exclude all that may be without supernatural knowledge, all that may be without a true profession. Sometimes, the necessity of good works in act, or external good works. Thirdly, the power of nature without illumination and grace. Fourthly, the power of the law. Fifthly, the sufficiency of anything found in us to make us stand in judgment, to abide the trial, and not to fear condemnation. And, in this sense, faith only is said to justify; that is, the only mercy of God, and merit of Christ, apprehended by faith: and then the meaning of their speech is, that only the persuasion and assured trust, that they have to be accepted of God for Christ's sake, is that that maketh them stand in judgment, without fear of condemnation. And in this sense all the divines formerly alleged, for proof of the insufficiency of all our inherent righteousness, and the trust which we should have in the only mercy of God and merit of Christ, do teach as we do, that faith only justifieth. For neither they nor we exclude, from the work of justification, the action of God as the supreme and highest cause of our justification; for it is he that remitteth sin, and receiveth us to grace: nor the merit of Christ, as that for which God inclineth to shew mercy to us, and to respect us: nor the remission of sins, gracious acceptation, and grant of the gift of righteousness, as that by which we are formally justified: nor those works of preventing grace, whereby, out of the general apprehension of faith, God worketh in us dislike of our former condition, desire to be reconciled to God, to have remission of that is past, and grace hereafter to decline the like evils, and to do contrary good things. For by these we are prepared, disposed, and fitted for justification; without these none are justified. And in this sense, and to imply a necessity of these to be found in us, sometimes the Fathers and others say that we are not justified by faith

[1] Bernard. Ep. 77. [al. Tract. xi. Tom. I. col. 636, A.]

only. And we all agree that it is not our conversion to God, nor the change we find in ourselves, that can any way make us stand in judgment without fear, and look for any good from God, otherwise than in that we find ourselves so disposed and fitted as is necessary for justification; whence we assure ourselves God will in mercy accept us, for Christ's sake.

CHAPTER XII.

OF MERIT.

MERIT, as Cardinal Contarenus rightly noteth, if we speak properly, importeth an action or actions, *quibus actionibus aut earum autori, ab altero justitia postulante, debeatur præmium.* No man can merit anything of God[1]: first, because we are his servants, and owe much more service unto him than bondslaves that are bought with money owe unto their masters; and though no reward were promised, we were bound to obey his commands. Yet if we look on the bounty of God, he deals with us, being bondmen, as with hired servants, recompensing that with a reward which we stood bound in duty to perform. Secondly, because no profit cometh unto God from anything we can do: the good and salvation of our souls he accounteth his gain; and out of his goodness so esteemeth of our good works, as if they were profitable unto him. Thirdly, because though our works were

[1] "Duplici ratione dicere nos possumus servos inutiles. Primo, quia Domino nostro operibus nostris nihil commodamus, nihilque lucrifacimus, secundum illud, 'Si juste egeris, quid donabis ei, aut quid de manu tua accipiet?' Secundo, quia nihil ultra quam debemus et præceptum nobis est, facimus. Itaque dum nosipsos spectamus et quales ex ipsa nostra simus conditione, non habemus quod de meritis gloriemur apud Deum: primum, quod servi simus qui imperata facere teneamur, etiamsi nulla sit merces; deinde, quia in multis offendimus omnes; præterea quia nihil Deo offerimus commodi nostris operibus; postremum, quia etiamsi afferremus, nunquam tamen rependere possemus quantum ab eo bonorum accepimus et accipimus in singulas horas."—Jansenius, in Concordiam Evangelicam, cap. 98. p. 704. [Lugd. 1597.]

profitable unto God, and though we were able to do them of ourselves, yet we could never repay unto him so much good, as we have already, and do daily receive from him: but now it is so, that he first bestoweth on us one gift which he may afterwards reward with another. Fourthly, because in many things we offend all, and so have need of pardon; so far are we from meriting anything at God's hands. Fifthly, because no meritorious act is so great a good as eternal life, and so not equivalent unto it: and therefore so great a reward cannot, in strictness of justice, be due unto it. *Actus secundum se consideratus* (saith Scotus[1]) *absque acceptatione divina secundum strictam justitiam, non fuisset dignus tali præmio ex intrinseca bonitate, quam haberet ex suis principiis, quod patet, quia semper præmium est majus bonum merito, et justitia stricta non reddit melius pro minus bono: ideo bene dicitur quod semper Deus præmiat ultra meritum condignum, universaliter quidem ultra dignitatem actus qui est meritum; quia quod ille actus sit condignum meritum, hoc est, ultra naturam et bonitatem actus intrinsecam, ex mera gratuita acceptatione divina. Et forte adhuc, ultra illud ad quod de communi lege esset actus acceptandus, quandoque Deus præmiat ex mera liberalitate.* And again, Lib. IV. Dist. 49. qu. 6. *De tertio dubio. De præmio quod est æterna beatitudo, dico quod loquendo de stricta justitia, Deus nulli nostrum, propter quæcunque merita, est debitor perfectionis reddendæ tam intensæ quam est beatitudo, propter immoderatum excessum illius perfectionis, ultra illa merita: sed esto quod ex liberalitate sua determinasset, meritis conferre actum tam perfectum tanquam præmium, tali quidem justitia qualis decet eum, scilicet, supererogantis in præmiis; tamen non sequitur ex hoc necessario, quod per illam justitiam sit reddenda perfectio perennis tanquam præmium*[2]*: imo abundans fieret retributio in beatitudine*

[1] Lib. I. Dist. 17. [Quæst. 3. Tom. V. p. 965. Lugd. 1639.]
Id. Lib. IV. Dist. 49. Quæst. 6. [Tom. X. p. 475.]

[2] "Apostolus ad Rom. viii. Æstimo, inquit, quod non sunt condignæ passiones hujus temporis, ad futuram gloriam quæ revelabitur in nobis. Si non sunt condignæ, non ergo ex debito justitiæ, sed ex dono gratiæ, gloria pro illis datur, unde glossa ibidem, passiones hujus temporis non sunt omnes simul condignæ, id est, sufficientes, si districte ageretur nobiscum, ad promerendam vitam æternam."—[Biblia Sacra Vulgata, cum Gloss. Ordin. &c. Tom. VI. col. 107. Lugd. 1589.]

unius momenti. Sixthly, to merit is to make a thing due, that was not due before, whence it followeth that no man can merit eternal life. For they[1] that define merit do say, that no man can merit so great a good as eternal life, *ex condigno*, unless he be first justified, reconciled to God, and made partaker of the divine nature; but whosoever is so justified, reconciled to God, and made partaker of the divine nature, hath right to eternal life, in that he is justified, reconciled, and made partaker of the divine nature. Therefore, seeing to merit is to make that due that was not due before, no man can merit eternal life. And Bellarmine[2] confesseth, that many think eternal life cannot be merited, but only some degrees in the same: and for this reason, as it appeareth by the epistle of Cardinal Contarenus to Cardinal Farnesius, the divines of both sides, in the conference at Ratisbon, thought good to omit and suppress the name of merit: first, for that it might be thought a derogation to the goodness and bounty of God that giveth us freely eternal life, to say that we merit it: and secondly, for that it might be conceived, that it was not due before in respect of free gift, and that our working could merit it, though it were not due to us by gift. Let us see, therefore, what the Church of God hath taught touching merit.

The Author[3] of the answer to Bellarmine's challenge, named by him the Downfall of Popery, article the fifth, chap. 3, page 220, protesteth, that Bellarmine doth greatly wrong

[1] "Altera quæstio tractanda est propter quintam conditionem meriti. Quæritur igitur, Utrum ad meritum vitæ æternæ necessario requiratur ut homo sit justus, et gratus Deo, et in Filium per regenerationem adoptatus?... Nos probabimus gratiam adoptionis ad meritum constituendum requiri variis argumentis, quorum aliqua ostendunt eam gratiam esse necessariam ex parte operum, alia ex parte subjecti."—Bellarm. de Justificatione, Lib. v. cap. 12. [Tom. IV. p. 508.]

"Manent igitur opera bona justorum ex justitia, atque adeo ex condigno mereri vitam æternam."—[Id. cap. 16. p. 516.]

[2] "Quæstio est, Utrum ipsa vita æterna, an gradus tantum in ea præstantiores cadant sub meritum de condigno? Sunt enim qui sentiant vitam æternam sive primum ejus gradum non cadere sub meritum."—Id. cap. 20. [p. 519.]

[3] "Good works done in God's grace are condignely meritorious of eternal life. This is that which Bel impugneth in this article as a point of our faith, and avoucheth it to be defyned by the Councel of

the Romanists, in saying it is a part of their faith, and that it was defined in the Council of Trent, that good works done in God's grace, are condignly meritorious of eternal life; for the Council defined no such thing; and they that hold it, hold it not as a point of faith, but as an opinion only. Whereupon Vega[1], who was one of the divines of the council of Trent, writeth, *De Fide et Operibus, Quæst.* 4, that some noble school-divines, being moved with no light arguments, and using a certain sober and prudent moderation, have denied that there is any condign merit of eternal happiness; and he saith, quest. 5, that Gregory[2], Durand, Marsil, Walden, Burgensis, and Eckius, do deny condign merit. Sotus[3] also, another divine of the said council, Lib. iii.

Trent, but falsely. For the Councel hath no word of condigne merit, but only of true merit, which in plaine tearms Bel himself dare not impugne or deny. 'If any shal say (saith the Councel,) that a justified man, by good works which he doth by the grace of God and merit of Jesus Christ, whose lively member he is, doth not truly deserve increase of grace, eternal life, and consecution thereof, if he depart in grace, and also increase of glory; be he accursed.' Here are good works defyned to be true merit of glory, without determining whether they be condigne merit thereof or no. Whereupon Vega, who &c..... common opinion of divines."—[An Answer to Thomas Bel's late challeng named by him the Downfal of Popery, by S. R. Art. 5. chap. 3, p. 220. 8vo. Doway, 1606.]

[1] "Sunt et aliqui alii nobiles doctores scholastici, qui tametsi beatitudinem operibus ex gratia factis Deum promisisse scirent, tamen non omnino levibus argumentis permoti, medium etiam meriti de digno posuerunt; et, sobrietate quadam et prudenti temperamento usi, respectu beatitudinis dixerunt, non esse meritum de condigno."—Vega, de Fide et Operibus, Quæst. 4. [p. 852.]

[2] "Gregorius Ariminensis in primo, Distinctione 17, quæstione prima, articulo secundo, tenet nullum esse in nobis meritum de condigno respectu beatitudinis, et sanctos viros per bona opera quæ gratis faciunt, non eam mereri de condigno sed tantum ex congruo. Durandus etiam de sancto Portiano, in primo, distinctione 17, quæstione 2; et in secundo, distinctione 27, quæstione 2; et in tertio, distinctione 18, quæstione 2; idem tenet, absolute concedens nullum esse meritum de condigno apud Deum, nisi forsan large accipiendo hunc terminum. Marsilius etiam idem tuetur in secundo. Thomas etiam Waldensis, in insigni illo libro quem edidit de Sacramentalibus, cap. 7, idem defendit. Et Burgensis in Additionibus super Psalmum xxxv. in eadem est sententia. Accedit et horum doctorum sententiæ Joannes Eckius in Centur. de Prædestinatione."—Vega, Quæst. 5. [p. 860.]

[3] "Sunt inter theologos (ut Durandus), qui negent opera, quantum-

De Natura et Gratia, cap. vii.: saith, that there is some difference amongst catholics, about condign merit; and chap. 3, after he had proved condign merit out of the council and otherways, yet concludeth not that it is a point of faith, but only calleth it *conclusionem probatissimam*, a most approved conclusion. And Bellarmine[1], Lib. 5, *de Justificatione*, cap. 16, after he had rehearsed two opinions of catholics, whereof the one seemeth to deny condign merit, the other admitteth it only in a large sense, proposeth and defendeth the third opinion, which defendeth condign merit absolutely, only as *verissimam et communem sententiam theologorum;* most true, and the common opinion of divines. This confession might suffice to prove, that the Church never admitted of the doctrine of merit of condignity, as any point of her faith, in the days of our fathers, seeing even since these differences grew that are now afoot, between those of the Reformation and the stiff maintainers of all confusions formerly found in the state of the Church and religion, there are many found, amongst the enemies of reformation, that reject the merit of condignity. Yet, for the better satisfaction of the reader, I will more fully and at large set down the opinions of them that opposed against the doctrine of merit, properly so named, before Luther's time.

Gregorius Ariminensis[2], besides the reason formerly

cunque præcedente gratia, esse simpliciter et proprie merita de condigno, sed tantum largo modo dictum meritum. Ubi videtur taxare S. Thomam, qui contrarium apparet sentire."—Sotus, de Natura et Gratia, Lib. III. cap. 7. [fol. 227, a. Par. 1549.]

"Est ergo conclusio probatissima, quod licet homo peccator, nec sibi primam, nec alteri ullam, gratiam mereri valeat, homo tamen justus per gratiam et auxilium Dei, et sibi de condigno mereri potest, cum augmentum gratiæ tum etiam gloriam alteri, vero de congruo."—Id. cap. 8. fol. 235, b.]

[1] "Catholici omnes agnoscunt opera bona justorum esse meritoria vitæ æternæ, sed tamen aliqui censent non esse utendum his verbis de condigno et de congruo. Alii volunt opera bona justorum esse meritoria de condigno, largo modo, ita ut hoc condignum, respectu condigni proprie sumpti, possit dici congruum; respectu congrui proprie sumpti, possit dici condignum. Communis autem sententia theologorum admittit simpliciter meritum de condigno. Quæ sententia verissima est."—Bellarm. de Justificatione, Lib. v. cap. 16. [Tom. IV. p. 514.]

[2] Greg. Ariminens. in Sent. Lib. I. Dist. 17. Quæst. 1. [fol. 78, a. Patav. 1502.]

alleged, that no act of man, though done in and out of the habit of charity, is so great a good as eternal life, and equivalent to it, and consequently that so great a reward as eternal life cannot be due unto it *ex debito justitiæ*, hath sundry other reasons for proof of the same. *Intelligendum est*, saith he, *etiam ipsa hominis bona merita esse Dei munera, quibus cum vita æterna redditur, quid aliud nisi gratia pro gratia redditur? hæc Augustinus. Idem antecedens probatur ratione: Nam constat quod animæ carenti charitate simul et gloria: Deus quantum ad neutram est illi debitor: et si dat charitatem, gratis donat. Nunc autem nullus diceret, quod ex eo quod Deus donat aliquod munus alicui, fiat ei alterius muneris debitor. Ergo non ex eo quod Deus gratis dat charitatem, debetur consequenter ipsi animæ gloria, sive beatitudo æterna, etsi dicatur quod non ideo debetur alicui vita æterna, quia habet charitatem, aut quia data est charitas illi, sed quia secundum acceptam charitatem operatur. Contra, quod omnes operationes nostræ secundum charitatem factæ, et omnia merita nostra sunt Dei dona, ut dicit Augustinus*[1] 13. *de Trinitate, cap.* 10. *et autoritate ejusdem præallegata, et per consequens, non ex illis est Deus debitor alterius præmii. Ad quartum dicendum, quod cum sit justitia unicuique reddere quod suum est, id est, sibi debitum, secundum sententiam Augustini*[2] 1. *De Libero Arbitrio, sic vita æterna juste meritorie redditur operanti. Et dicitur corona justitiæ, sicut ei debita est, pro talibus operibus meritoriis. Eis autem non est simpliciter debita, nec ex natura ipsorum, sed solum ex gratuita ordinatione Dei, qui ex abundantia misericordiæ suæ, statuit tales actus vita æterna præmiare: propter quam statutam gratiæ legem, sibi debita dicitur et juste retribui, et secundum hanc considerationem, posset etiam dici stipendium bonorum operum vita æterna. Ad quem intellectum loquitur etiam Augustinus*[3] *in Lib. de Gratia et Lib. Arbit. et tamen simpliciter gratis donatur, et ut ibi dicit Augustinus, Gratia pro gratia redditur. Unde et glossa super illud Apostoli* 2 *ad Tim.* iv.: *Bonum certamen certavi, cursum consummavi, fidem servavi: in*

[1] August. de Trinitate, Lib. XIII. cap. 10. [Tom. VIII. col. 936.]
[2] Id. de Libero Arbitrio, Lib. I. [cap. 13. Tom. I. col. 580.]
[3] Id. de Gratia et Lib. Arbitr. [Tom. X. col. 725, sqq.]

reliquo reposita est mihi corona justitiæ, quam reddet mihi Dominus in illa die, justus Judex, &c. Dicit, quod vita æterna est gratia pro gratia. Et ideo, sicut notat Augustinus[1] *super eisdem verbis* 1. *Lib. ad Simplicianum, quamvis Apostolus dixerit, reddet, quasi jam sit ex debito, cum tamen ascendit in altum, scilicet Christus, captivavit captivitatem; non reddidit, sed dedit, dona hominibus, volens per hoc Augustinus innuere, quod cum æterna vita datur justis, non tam redditur quam donatur. Ex eodem sensu intelligendæ sunt glossæ, cum justus dicitur retribuendo bona pro bonis, et misericors retribuendo bona pro malis, non quia non sit utrobique misericordia, sed quia magis apparet misericordia in dando bona pro malis; et in dando bona pro bonis, generaliter loquendo, videtur quædam justitia ratione conformitatis meriti ad præmium, in hac generali ratione, quia utrumque bonum est; in hac tamen speciali retributione utique misericordia est; unde in glossa prius allegata sequitur immediate, et ipsa tamen justitia, qua retribuuntur bona pro bonis, non est sine misericordia. Huic etiam concordat commune dictum doctorum dicentium, quod Deus præmiat ultra condignum: ergo vita æterna non debetur ex condigno meritis nostris.*

Durandus[2] clearly and fully agreeth with Scotus and Ariminensis, distinguishing merit of condignity, making it to be of two sorts: *Quoddam est meritum de condigno large sumpto, pro quadam dignitate quam Deus ex ordinatione requirit in operibus nostris, ad hoc ut remunerentur vita æterna; et hæc dignitas est in nobis per gratiam et charitatem habitualem. Aliud est meritum de condigno stricte et proprie accepto, et tale meritum est actio voluntaria, propter quam alicui merces debetur ex justitia, sic quod si non reddatur, ille ad quem pertinet reddere injuste facit, et est simpliciter et proprie injustus, et tale meritum de condigno invenitur inter homines, sed non est hominis ad Deum. Quod patet, quia quod redditur potius ex liberalitate dantis, quam ex debito operis, non cadit sub merito de condigno stricte sumpto; sed quicquid a Deo accipimus, sive sit gratia, sive sit gloria, sive bonum temporale vel spirituale,*

[1] August. ad Simplician. Lib. I. [Tom. VI. col. 90.]

[2] Durandus in iii. Sent. Dist. 27. Quæst. 2. [fol. 153, a. Par. 1550.] Item. Lib. I. Dist. 17. Quæst. 2. [fol. 47, b.]

præcedente in nobis propter hoc quocunque bono opere: potius et principalius accipimus ex liberalitate Dei, quam reddatur ex debito operis; ergo nihil penitus cadit sub merito de condigno sic accepto. Facilius et minus est reddere æquivalens ejus quod quis accepit ab alio, quam eum constituere debitorem, sed nullus potest reddere Deo æquivalens; Deo et parentibus nemo potest reddere æquivalens, secundum philosophum; ergo multo minus est possibile, quod ex quocunque nostro opere Deus fiat nobis debitor: All that we are and have, whether good actions, good habits, or good use of things, it is all from the goodness of God; *ex dono gratuito nullus obligatur ad dandum amplius, sed potius recipiens magis obligatur danti, ideo ex bonis habitibus, et ex bonis actibus sive usibus, nobis a Deo datis, Deus non obligatur nobis ex aliquo debito justitiæ, ad aliquid amplius dandum, ita quod si non dederit sit injustus, sed potius nos sumus Deo obligati: et sentire seu dicere oppositum, est temerarium seu blasphemum. Ex hoc quod Deus dat quædam, non obligatur ad dandum alia, ita ut non dando sit injustus; et si quid pro bonis operibus nostris nobis datur vel redditur, potius et principalius est ex liberalitate Dei dantis, quam ex debito nostri operis. Quod si quis dicat quod, quamvis Deus non constituatur nobis debitor ex aliquo nostro opere, constituitur tamen debitor ex sua promissione; non valet propter duo. Primum est, quia promissio divina in Scripturis sanctis, non sonat in aliquam obligationem, sed insinuat meram dispositionem liberalitatis divinæ; secundum est, quia quod redditur, non ex debito præcedentis operis, sed ex promissione præcedente, non quidem redditur ex merito operis de condigno, sed solum vel principaliter ex promisso. Sicut reddere justum pretium pro re accepta ab aliquo est actus justitiæ, ita recompensare mercedem vel præmium laboris nostri operis, est actus justitiæ. Et ideo in illis in quibus est simpliciter justum, etiam simpliciter ratio meriti et præmii seu mercedis; in quibus autem non est simpliciter justum, sed secundum quid, in his non est simpliciter ratio meriti, sed secundum quid: inter Deum autem et hominem, non potest esse justum simpliciter, sicut nec æquale, sed solum justum secundum quid, scilicet dominativum, quia totum bonum quod est hominis, est Dei et a Deo, et multo amplius quam actiones servi sint sui Domini in humanis, propter*

quod meritum hominis apud Deum, non potest esse meritum simpliciter de condigno, sed solum secundum præsuppositionem divinæ ordinationis, ita scilicet ut homo id consequatur a Deo per suam operationem quasi præmium, ad quod Deus ei virtutem operandi deputavit. Et supra dicit, maximam esse inæqualitatem inter opus nostrum et vitam æternam, nec valere quod quidam dicunt, quod sit quædam æqualitas secundum quod ex gratia Spiritus Sancti procedit, et quod valor ejus attenditur secundum virtutem Spiritus Sancti moventis nos in vitam æternam. Bellar.[1] de Justific. Lib. v. cap. xvi.: *Durandus videtur omnino velle merita nostra ex gratia Dei procedentia, et posita promissione, adhuc non esse talia ut iis ex justitia debeatur merces, sed ex sola Dei liberalitate.*

Thomas Waldensis[2], Tom. III. De Sacramentalibus, cap. 7, confuting this saying imputed to Wickliffe, *Confidat homo in merito proprio, quia ad mensuram illius Deus necessario præmiabit,* allegeth out of Augustine: *Deus non inveniret aliquid in hominibus nisi ad interitum, si cum iis ageret per pondera meritorum. Super illud* Ps. xciv.: *Præoccupemus faciem ejus in confessione. Quomodo distinguis vota quæ reddis Deo, ut eum laudes, te accuses, quia illius est misericordia ut peccata nostra dimittat: nam si vellet pro meritis agere, non inveniret nisi quos damnaret; hæc Augustinus. Et cum illud objiceretur,* 2 Tim. iv.: *Bonum certamen certavi, cursum consummavi, &c.: quamvis bona opera recoluit, tamen non in eis confidit, qui soli Deo gloriam dedit. Et cum omnia faceret, Non autem ego, inquit, sed gratia Dei mecum. Hanc item normam observat Psalmista cum dicit: Retribuet mihi Dominus secundum justitiam meam, et secundum innocentiam meam super me: sed his verbis præmisit; quoniam voluit me. Gratiam ergo voluntatis ejus præsumens, descendit ad innocentiam actionis. Et Cassiodorus: Dicit apostolus, De reliquo reposita est mihi corona justitiæ, &c.: non quod suis aliquid meritis humilis applicabat, sed quia præmissis beneficiis Domini, jam deberi posse præmium confidebat. Hoc non erat in meritis confidere, sed in beneficiis Domini.* Et supra: *Nec hoc dico quin accepta gratia fiduciam præstet orandi, sed omnino non oportet ut fiduciam in ea*

[1] Bellarm. de Justificatione, Lib. v. cap. 16. [Tom. IV. p. 515.]

[2] Thomas Waldensis, de Sacramentalibus, cap. 7. Tom. III. [fol. 24. Ven. 1571.]

constituat quisquam impetrandi. Hoc solum conferunt hæc prima dona, ab ea misericordia quæ tribuit hæc, ut speremus et ampliora. And he addeth: *Quantum mea sapit modicitas, hæc ipsa determinatio scripturarum, quam sic ex Apostolo et Psalmista annotant sancti Patres, congruentius jungeretur locutionibus de meritis hominum, quam absolute diceretur quod homo ex meritis est dignus regno cœlorum, aut hac gratia, vel illa gloria: quamvis quidam scholastici invenerunt, ad hoc dicendum, terminos de condigno et congruo. At Chrysostomus dicit, Quid dignum facimus in hoc seculo, ut participes Domini nostri in regnis cœlestibus fieri mereamur? Ideo juste dicit Apostolus, Existimo quod non sunt condignæ passiones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam. Reputo igitur saniorem theologum, fideliorem catholicum, et scripturis sanctis magis concordem, qui tale meritum simpliciter abnegat, et cum modificatione Apostoli et scripturarum, concedit quia simpliciter quis non meretur regnum cœlorum, sed ex gratia Dei, aut voluntate largitoris. Sic enim dicit Apostolus, Non quod sufficientes simus existimare aliquid a nobis, sed sufficientia nostra ex Deo est,* 2 Cor. iii.: *Hæc locutio crebra esset in ore peritorum fidelium, ut Pelagianis qui gratiam Dei tacent vel abnegant, et in meritis hominum omnino confidunt, ex parte gratiæ Dei inveniremur esse discordes, sicut omnes sancti priores usque ad recentes scholasticos, et communis scripsit Ecclesia. Unde in oratione Canonis ad Deum: Non æstimator meriti, sed veniæ, quæsumus, Largitor, admitte, &c. Feria quarta Passionis: Ut qui de meritorum qualitate diffidimus, non judicium tuum, sed misericordiam consequi mereamur. Et in secreta oratione Dominicæ secundæ Adventus: Ubi nulla suppetunt suffragia meritorum, tuæ nobis indulgentiæ succurre præsidiis. Meritum nostrum in articulo minime Deus attendit, sive rationem congrui, vel condigni, sed gratiam suam, aut voluntatem suam, aut misericordiam suam.*

Paulus Burgensis[1], in Additione in Psalm xxxv.: *Manifestum quod misericordia Dei maxime relucet in cœlo, ubi beati misericordiam Dei plene consequuntur; ut in* Matt. v. *cujus ratio est, nam gloriam cœlestem nullus de condigno*

[1] Paulus Burgensis, in Additione ad Psalm. xxxv. [Biblia Sacra cum Glossa Ordinaria, postillis Nicol. de Lyra, et Additionibus Pauli Burgensis, Tom. III. col. 680. Lugd. 1589.]

secundum legem communem meretur. Unde Apostolus ad Rom. viii.: *Non sunt condignæ passiones, &c.* Cassander[1] saith, he found it thus written, by a certain schoolman, in an old manuscript: *Nota quod cum dicitur, Deus pro bonis meritis dabit vitam æternam: pro, primo notat signum, vel viam, vel occasionem aliquam: sed si dicatur, Propter bona merita dabit vitam æternam, propter, notat causam efficientem. Ideo non recipitur a quibusdam, sed hanc recipiunt, pro bonis meritis, et consimiles earum, assignantes differentiam inter pro et propter.* Thomas Bradwardine[2], *in Summa contra Pelagianos, disputat meritum non esse causam æterni præmii, cumque scriptura et doctores confirment, Deum præmiaturum bonos propter merita sua bona, propter non significare causam proprie, sed improprie, vel causam cognoscendi, vel ordinem, vel denique dispositionem subjecti.* Bernard[3], *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio: Merita nostra sunt via regni, non causa regnandi.* Cameracensis[4] in 4, Quæst. 1, Artic. 1: *Quia causa est illud ad cujus esse sequitur aliquid, dupliciter potest aliquid dici causa: uno modo, proprie, quando ad præsentiam esse unius, virtute ejus ex natura rei sequitur esse alterius, et sic ignis est causa caloris; alio modo, improprie, quando ad præsentiam esse unius sequitur esse alterius, non tamen virtute ejus, nec ex natura rei, sed ex sola voluntate alterius; et sic actus meritorius dicitur causa, respectu præmii: subdit autem, causa sine qua non, non debet simpliciter et absolute dici causa, quia proprie non est causa.* And the same Cameracensis proveth at large, that there is no condign meriting of eternal life.

Manipulus Curatorum[5], *fol.* 129: *Quare melius dicimus, Adveniat regnum tuum, quam dicamus, adveniamus in regnum tuum? dico, quod ad denotandum, quod gloria Paradisi non habetur ex propriis meritis, sed ex mera gratia Dei, juxta verbum Apostoli dicentis: Non ex operibus*

[1] Cassandr. Epist. 19. [p. 1109. Par. 1616.]

[2] Bradwardine, de Causa Dei, sive Summa contra Pelagianos. [p. 346. Lond. 1618.]

[3] Bernard. de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio. [cap. 14. Tom. I. col. 630.]

[4] Petrus de Alyaco Cameracensis, in iv. Sent. Quæst. 1. Art. 1. [fol. 236.]

[5] Manipulus Curatorum. [Autore Guidone de Monte-Rocherii, fol. 191. a. Lovan. 1552.]

justitiæ quæ fecimus nos, sed secundum misericordiam salvos nos fecit. Non autem dicimus, adveniamus, quia, ut dictum est, ex meritis nostris non possumus ad illud venire. Nemo potest venire ad me, nisi Pater meus traxerit illum: ut dicitur Joan. Stephanus Brulepher[1], L. 1, d. 17, following the opinion of Scotus, layeth down two propositions: the first: *Nullus actus elicitus ex charitate, et secundum inclinationem charitatis, quantumcunque bonus sit, est dignus vita æterna ex natura rei: probatur, Non sunt condignæ passiones, &c.* Christus in Evangelio, *Cum feceritis omnia, &c. Sed si homo faceret actus ex natura rei dignos æterno præmio, non esset servus inutilus:* the second, *Omnis actus elicitus ab habente charitatem, et secundum inclinationem charitatis, solum est dignus vita æterna, propter passivam acceptationem Dei. Quid sit autem acceptare, Scotus explicat ipse dicens, Acceptare est velle aliquem, secundum dispositionem quam nunc habet, esse dignum tali præmio, quem prius non voluit esse dignum; verbi gratia, sit aliquis gravis peccator, non modo non dignus cœlesti præmio, verumetiam dignissimus qui sempiterno supplicio afficiatur; convertatur is ad Deum, studeat eum placere jejuniis, orationibus, eleemosynis; quamvis hæc omnia natura sua non sint ejusmodi ut sint cœlesti præmio digna, tamen secundum has dispositiones acceptat Deus hominem ex gratuita sua bonitate, et vult esse dignum tali præmio.*

Anselm[2]: *Si homo mille annis serviret Deo etiam ferventissime, non mereretur ex condigno dimidium diem esse in regno cœlorum. L. de Mensurat. Crucis.* Simon de Cassia[3]: *Neminem Deus nisi per misericordiam salvat, nec reprobat nisi justo judicio.* Drogo[4], *L. de Sacramento Dominicæ Passionis: Terra mentis nostræ est velut chaos quoddam, confusione teterrimum et involutum, ignorans tam finem suum quam principium, et naturæ suæ modum, nisi quod a summo Creatore de nihilo mirabiliter factam se credit, et*

[1] Citatus ab Hosio, Confess. Cathol. cap. 73. [fol. 141, b. Antv. 1571.]

[2] Anselm. de Mensuratione Crucis. [cap. 1. p. 495. Par. 1721.]

[3] Simon de Cassia, apud Hos. ibid. [fol. 146, a.]

[4] Drogo, de Sacramento Dominicæ Passionis, Serm. i. [Tom. XII. p. 340. Max. Bibl. Vet. Patr. De La Bigne. Lugd. 1677.]

post hanc vitam, vel ad inferos pro suis meritis, vel ad cœlos pro misericordia sui Autoris, transferendam. Rogerus Benedictinus[1], *scribens vitam Brunonis archiepiscopi Colon. ante annos* 500, *sic orditur: Sapientiæ nimirum est scire, unde sit donum quod quis accipit, ne a se sibi hoc esse, aut a Deo quidem sed sibi debitum putet; si enim quærimus quid nobis debeatur, nihil inveniemus nisi supplicium, misericordia autem Dei prærogavit nobis gratiam, ut haberet quibus redderet gratiam pro gratia, et hoc jam esset debitum, quia Deus voluit, non quia homo meruit; Quid enim habes, ait apostolus, quod non accepisti? si autem accepisti, quid gloriaris quasi non acceperis?* Bernard[2]: *Sufficit ad meritum, scire quod non sufficiunt merita; in Cantica, Ser.* 68. *Et Serm.* 61: *Meum proinde meritum miseratio Domini: non plane sum meriti inops, quamdiu ille miserationum non fuerit; quod si misericordiæ Domini multæ, multis nihilominus ego in meritis sum; quid enim si multorum sim mihi conscius delictorum? nempe ubi abundavit delictum, superabundavit et gratia. Et si misericordiæ Domini ab æterno, et usque in æternum, ego quoque misericordias Domini in æternum cantabo. Numquid justitias meas? Domine, memorabor justitiæ tuæ solius: ipsa est enim et mea, nempe factus es mihi tu justitia a Deo. Et Ser.* 68: *Merita habere cures, habita donata noveris, fructum speraveris Dei misericordiam, et omne periculum evasisti, paupertatis, ingratitudinis, præsumptionis.* Haimo[3] *in Ps.* cxxxi.: *Nemo debet de suis meritis præsumere, sed omnem salvationem ex Christi meritis expectare.* Hier.[4] *in Es.* lxiv.: *Si nostra confideremus merita, desperandum est, si tuam autem clementiam qui flagellas omnem filium quem recipis, audemus preces fundere, Tu enim Pater noster es.* Orig. *in* iv. *ad Rom.*[5]: *Cum considero sermonis eminentiam, quod dicit, operanti secundum debitum reddi, vix mihi suadeo quod possit ullum opus esse quod ex debito remunerationem Dei deposcat.*

[1] Rogerus vel Rothgerus, in vita S. Brunonis. cap. i. Apud Surium, de Sanctorum Historiis, in Octobr. 11. [Tom. v. p. 702. Col. Agr. 1574.]

[2] Bernard. in Cant. Serm. 68. [Tom. i. col. 1509]; et Serm. 61. [col. 1479]; et Serm. 68. [ubi supr.]

[3] Haimo in Psalm. cxxxi. [p. 305. Frib. 1533.]

[4] Hieron. in Es. lxiv. [Tom. iv. col. 765, A.]

[5] Origen. in Rom. iv. [Tom. iv. p. 522, D.]

Theodoret[1], *explicans illud, Væ qui accepit super eum opprobrium, Hominum, inquit, salus ex sola Dei misericordia pendet; neque enim hanc adipiscimur præmium et mercedem justitiæ, sed Dei bonitatis donum est. Explicans illud Psalmi* xxiii.: *Hic accipiet benedictionem a Domino, ingeniose admodum misericordiam cum benedictione conjunxit. Etenim quæ existimantur remunerationes, propter solam divinam benignitatem hominibus præbentur. Omnes enim hominum justitiæ nihil sunt ad dona quæ a Deo nobis suppeditata sunt, nedum ad futura munera, quæ omnem humanam cogitationem transcendunt.* Basil.[2] *in Psal. explicans illud, Propter nomen tuum propitiaberis peccato meo; Ego te, inquit, oro ut propitius sis peccatis meis, non propter exactam meam pœnitentiam, sed propter benignitatis nomen quod habes; explicans illum Psal.* cxlii.[3], *locum Exaudi me in justitia tua; quid facis, O homo? infra dicis, Non justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens, et si iniquitates observaveris, &c.: et hic secundum justitiam exaudiri petis? quid est igitur quod dicit? justitiam hic benignitatem Dei dicit, et hoc multis in locis videri potest, et valde merito. Apud homines enim justitia misericordia caret, apud Deum vero non ita, sed immixta est misericordia, atque ita immixta, ut ipsa justitia benignitas vocetur.* Chrysost. *in Psal.* iv.: *Etiamsi innumerabilia recte fecerimus, a misericordia et clementia audimur; etiamsi ad ipsum fastigium virtutis pervenerimus, servamur a misericordia.* Ambros. *in Psal.* cxviii.[4]: *Semper homo etiamsi sanctus et justus sic debet orare, ut exaudiat eum se-*

[1] "Ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρία μόνης ἤρτηται τῆς θείας φιλανθρωπίας· οὔτε γὰρ μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης ταύτην καρπούμεθα, ἀλλὰ τῆς θείας ἐστὶν ἀγαθότητος δῶρον."—Theodoret. in Sophon. ult. [Tom. II. p. 1579. Halæ. 1770.]

"Κομιδῇ δὲ προσφυῶς τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην τῇ εὐλογίᾳ συνέταξε· καὶ γὰρ αἱ νομιζομέναι ἀντιδόσεις διὰ μόνην τὴν θείαν φιλανθρωπίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρέχονται· πᾶσαι γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων αἱ δικαιοσύναι οὐδὲν πρὸς τὰς ἤδη δεδομένας ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ δωρεὰς ἀποχρῶσι, μήπου γε δὴ πρὸς τὰς ἐσομένας, αἱ καὶ λογισμὸν ἀνθρώπων ὑπερβαίνουσιν."—Id. in Psalm. xxiii. [Tom. II. p. 752.]

[2] [Pseudo-Basil. in Psalm xxiv. Tom. III. p. 54. Per Wolfgang. Musculum. Bas. 1565.]

[3] Id. in Psalm. cxlii. [p. 341.]

[4] Ambrose in Psalm. cxviii. [Tom. I. col. 1218, E. Par. 1686.]

cundum misericordiam suam, non secundum meritum virtutis alicujus.

Hitherto I have sufficiently proved, that both the latter Schoolmen and the more ancient Fathers, rejected the merit of condignity; I will only add the testimony of a great learned man that lived immediately before Luther's time, and the opinion of some of the best learned after his time, and so conclude this point. Gocchianus, Part 3, c. 6: *Aquinas, scripto tertio in Sent., d.* 18, *dicit actum charitate informatum, mereri vitam æternam ex condigno, quia inter hujusmodi meritum et præmium, invenitur æqualitas secundum rectam æstimationem, et hujusmodi meritum innititur divinæ justitiæ. Contra, Paulus Rom.* iv.: *Si Abraham ex operibus, &c.: ubi dicit Glossa, Aug. in Lib. de Spiritu et Littera, quod actus hominis quantumvis sit informatus charitate, tamen non potest esse tam perfectæ justitiæ, ut ex debito mereatur præmium beatitudinis æternæ, et examplificat de apostolis: In multis offendimus omnes: et iterum: Si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, &c. Quis vestrum habens servum, &c.: docet suos quod ex operibus justitiæ de fide formata procedentibus, non debet expectari præmium æternæ beatitudinis ex debito justitiæ, tanquam fecissent Deum sibi debitorem per hujusmodi:* 1. *Quia nihil utilitatis Deo ex nostris operibus accrescit.* 2. *Quia quicquid facere possumus, ex debito servitutis debuimus; attende servum tam in agro quam domo laborantem, et tamen a Domino suo ex debito justitiæ nec gratias merentem: ut ex præmissis advertere potes, homo per quoscunque actus suos qualitercunque factos, mereri non potest, quia omnium operum suorum quæ facere potest debitor est; et ideo ecclesia in fide Christi fundata innititur meritis Christi, et per ea se credit et sperat salvari, ipse enim meruit nobis a peccatis et a diabolo liberationem, vitæ justificationem et glorificationem, ut in omnibus honorificetur Deus.* 3. *Ostendit idem Esaias: Facti sumus ut immundi omnes nos, et quasi pannus menstruatæ universæ justitiæ nostræ; Quæ ergo proportio nostrorum bonorum operum quæ tam erunt judici abominabilia, et æternæ beatitudinis quæ tantæ pulchritudinis et dulcedinis perfectione abundat?*

Anno 1541. In the time of Charles the Fifth, and by his appointment, there was a conference between six learned

divines at Ratisbon, for the composing of the differences in religion; whereof three were chosen for the Roman, and three for the reformed part; at which conference Cardinal Contarenus was present. At this conference the collocutors of both sides agreed in all the points that concern justification, composed the differences touching the same, and offered the form of their agreement to the Emperor and the imperial States. In this agreement they left out the matter of merit; which when some disliked, and there wanted not in Rome that took exception to their so doing, Cardinal Contarenus writeth to Cardinal Farnesius, and sheweth at large, that there is no merit properly so named, out of the grounds of philosophy and divinity; and strongly proveth that there is no merit of eternal life; because if there be, then either men merit it before or after justification: not before, then enemies, &c.; not after, because to merit is to make that due that was not due before, whereas the happiness of eternal life is due to the justified by the right of his justification: so that the works of the justified do not make the same newly due.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF WORKS OF SUPEREROGATION AND COUNSELS OF PERFECTION.

THE papists imagine certain degrees of moral goodness: the lowest whereof whoso attaineth not, doth sin, as not doing that the precept requireth; the higher, such as men are counselled unto if they will be perfect, though not by any precept urged thereunto; they that attain to such height of virtue, are said by them to do works of supererogation. But Gerson[1] sheweth that these men err, in that they discern

[1] "Ex præmissis apparet quomodo consilia evangelica faciunt ad perfectionem vitæ spiritalis, faciunt enim sicut instrumenta promoventia vel expedientia vel manuducentia ad illam, aut sicut removentia prohibens.

"Si consilia ad perfectionem vitæ Christianæ facere dinoscuntur, non tamen essentialiter hominem perficiunt in vita Christiana."—Gerson de Consiliis Evangelicis et Statu Perfectionis. [Tom. III. col. 339. 343. Par. 1606.]

t between the matter of precepts and counsels, imagining
at the precept requireth the inferior degrees of virtue, and
counsels the more high and excellent; whereas the
ecept requireth all the actions of virtue in the best sort
y can be performed, and the counsels are conversant in
other matter, namely, in shewing us the means whereby
st easily, if all things be answerable in the parties, men
y attain to the height of virtue. Hereunto agreeth Jan-
ius[1], alleging the authority of Aquinas, *Secunda secundæ,*
est. 184, Artic. III., who affirmeth that the perfection of
ristian life consisteth essentially in keeping the command-
nts; and of another who saith, that watchings, fastings,
kedness, and forsaking all, are not Christian perfections,
t the instruments of perfection; not the ends of Christian
cipline, but the means whereby men do oftentimes attain
the height of virtue: so that as Gerson[2] and Paluda-
s[3] do shew, some men, at sometime, and in some state
things, may attain to as great height of perfection,
ing in marriage, and possessing much, as they that live
gle and give away all they have: but the conceit[4] of

[1] "Divus Thomas, Secunda Secundæ, Quæst. 184. Art. 3. dicit per-
tionem vitæ Christianæ per se quidem et essentialiter consistere in
servatione præceptorum, non quorumlibet, sed illorum duorum quæ
culiariter dicuntur præcepta dilectionis. Et in collationibus Patrum
it Abbas Moyses: Jejunia, vigiliæ, meditatio scripturarum, nuditas,
privatio omnium facultatum, non perfectio, sed perfectionis sunt
trumenta, quia non in istis consistit disciplinæ illius finis, sed per illa
venitur ad finem."—Jansenius in Concordiam Evangelicam, cap.
). [p. 713. Lugd. 1597.]

[2] "Multi sunt perfecti et fuerunt in vita spirituali, qui non in
tu perfectionis. Patet de multis conjugatis qui sunt et fuerunt
fecti in vita Christiana, nec tamen habent statum perfectionis quo-
m status conjugalis non dicitur status perfectionis."—Gerson. [ubi
pra, col. 346.]

[3] "Alii melius dicunt, quod in statu naturæ lapsæ quo prosperitas
rahit ab amore cœlestium, magis eligenda est adversitas quam pros-
itas omni Christiano ad instar Christi et apostolorum. Philosophus
it quod bona fortuna confert ad felicitatem; præterea non ponit
minem perfecte felicem sine prole, cum tamen eligenda sit virginitas
pter Christum, et similiter paupertas, quamvis divitiæ sint instru-
nta virtutum."—Petrus de Palude in iii. Sent. Dist. 34. Quæst. 3.
l. 213, a. Par. 1517.]

[4] "Dicimus inter baptismum et professionem religionis esse quan-

the Jesuits' is, that the entering into a monastical life, wherein are implied the vows of single life and voluntary poverty, is essential to so great merit and acceptation with God, that it is a kind of baptism freeing from all temporal punishments otherwise due for precedent sins.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF ELECTION AND REPROBATION DEPENDING ON THE FORESIGHT OF SOMETHING IN THE PARTIES ELECTED OR REJECTED.

WHY these or these men are predestinated or reprobated, Ariminensis[1] saith, some yield a positive reason, to wit, works, or the well using of free will; others a privative, to wit, the not resisting against grace: against these opinions he opposeth these conclusions; the first, that no man is predestinated for that God foresaw he would use the liberty of his will aright; the second, that no man is predestinated because God foresaw he would not resist against his grace; the third, that whom God did predestinate, he did freely, and only

dam similitudinem, quod sicut in baptismo remittuntur perfecte omnia peccata, quoad culpam et pœnam, ita in professione religiosa, quando debita intentione suscipitur, hic creditur remitti omnis pœna temporalis pro qua alioqui satisfaciendum esset."—Bellarm. de Monachis, Lib. II. cap. 6. [Tom. II. p. 180.]

[1] "Secundum autem hunc intellectum doctorum volentius reddere causam quare isti vel illi sunt prædestinati vel reprobati; quidam rediderunt eam positivam, dicentes, quod propter bona opera vel usum bonum liberi arbitrii, quem Deus præscivit aliquos habituros, prædestinavit eos; et per malum usum futurum in aliis eos reprobavit. Demum alii dixerunt quod prædestinationis nulla est in prædestinatis causa positiva, sed privativa tantum, scil. absentia finalis obicis per culpam originalem vel actualem respectu gratiæ Dei. Mihi vero videtur, quod ex dictis sacræ scripturæ et scriptorum sequuntur hæ conclusiones: Prima, quod nullus est prædestinatus propter bonum usum liberi arbitrii quem Deus scivit illum habiturum qualitercunque consideretur bonitas ejus. Secunda, quod nullus est prædestinatus quod prædestinatus finaliter fore sine obice habituali gratiæ. Tertia, quod quemcunque Deus prædestinavit gratis tantummodo et misericorditer prædestinavit."—Greg. Arimin. in i. Sent. Dist. 40. Quæst. 1. Art. 2. [fol. 141. Patav. 1502.]

of mercy predestinate them, according to the good pleasure of his will. See the diverse opinions, touching predestination, formerly found in the Roman Church, in Cameracensis[1].

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

DURANDUS[2] denieth matrimony to be a sacrament properly so named, and of the same nature with the rest, or to give grace. Canus saith[3], the divines speak uncertainly of the matter and form of matrimony, and that they do not certainly resolve whether it give grace or not. Alexander of Hales saith[4], that there are only four which are, in any sort,

[1] Petrus de Alyaco Cameracensis in i. Sent. Quæst. 12. [passim. fol. 174, b. sq.]

[2] "Patet matrimonium non esse sacramentum univoce cum prædictis. Matrimonium non confert gratiam non habenti."—Durandus, de Sancto Portiano in iv. Sent. Dist. 26. Quæst. 3. [fol. 317. Par. 1550.]

[3] "In materia et forma hujus sacramenti statuenda sunt inconstantes et varii: nam cum quærunt, An matrimonium conferat gratiam? non definiunt theologi."—Melchior Canus, Loc. Theolog. Lib. VIII. cap. 5. [p. 392. Colon. Agripp. 1605.]

[4] "Sacramenta novæ legis digniora sunt sacramentis veteris legis in quantum hujusmodi, et per digniorem sunt instituta, sc. per Christum, vel apostolos auctoritate ipsius et doctrina. Sed instituit duo per seipsum, sc. sacramentum Baptismi quod est maximæ necessitatis et efficaciæ, et sacramentum Eucharistiæ quod similiter propter quotidianam infirmitatem est maxime necessarium tanquam reparativum quotidianæ infirmitatis. Sacramentum vero Confirmationis et extremæ Unctionis dedit per apostolos."—Alex. ab Ales. Summa. Part. iv. Quæst. 5. Membr. 2. Art. 1. [Tom. IV. p. 86. Col. Agr. 1622.]

"In quatuor quæ sunt proprie dicta sacramenta novæ legis est forma instituta a Domino vel ecclesia. Dominus institutionem formæ voluit nobis dare per seipsum in illis principalibus sacramentis novæ legis, quia ista totum hominem uniunt in corpore ecclesiæ secundum unitatem fidei et charitatis cum digne suscipiuntur. Ratione ergo hujus principalitatis forma verborum a Domino Jesu Christo per seipsum insinuatur. Præterea, Baptisma maxime liberat a malo, Eucharistia maxime designat meritum in bono, propter quod convenienter hæc instituta sunt a Christo per seipsum, formam vero in aliis quæ non ita videntur esse principalia per ministros ecclesiæ voluit ordinari.

properly to be said sacraments of the new law; that the other three supposed sacraments had their being long before, but received some addition by Christ manifested in the flesh; that amongst them which began with the new covenant, only Baptism and the Eucharist were instituted immediately by Christ, received their forms from him, and flowed out of his wounded side; whence it cometh, that water is the matter of Baptism, and bread and wine of the Eucharist, without any other consecration but that which they receive from the words of sacramental form: but the matter of the other two supposed sacraments requireth consecration and hallowing, before it can be the matter of those sacraments; so that though the words of form be pronounced, they have no virtue of sacraments but from precedent consecration: whereby it appeareth, that they take their force from the prayers of the Church, by the ministry whereof they were appointed, and not from the words of form, as the other do. Hence also it cometh, that they are variable, both in their matter and form. "The Apostles," saith Alexander of Hales, "confirmed with the only imposition of their hands, without any certain form of words or outward matter or element, but afterward it was otherwise ordained, both in respect of the one and the other: the forms of Baptism and the Eucharist, being appointed by Christ, are kept inviolably without all change; but touching the words of form to be used in any other of the supposed sacraments, there is no certainty, but they are diversely and doubtfully delivered." The reason whereof is, because they are of human devising. By this which hath been said, it may appear that the other pretended sacraments are not of the same nature with Baptism and the Eucharist, as even Bellarmine[1] himself is forced

Vicinatur autem institutio horum tempori passionis, quia de latere Christi in passione fluxerunt sanguis et aqua in significationem istorum duorum sacramentorum."—Id. Quæst. 5. Membr. 3. Art. 2. [p. 92.]

"Secus est de sacramentis quorum formæ sunt institutæ ab ore Domini, et de his quæ ab humana providentia instituta sunt. Quæ enim ab homine ordinata sunt, ab homine possunt mutari, quæ autem a Deo instituta sunt non nisi dictante Deo debent mutari atque variari." —Id. Quæst. 9. Membr. 2. Art. 2. [p. 202.]

[1] "Res illa sacra quam sacramenta novæ legis significant triplex est: gratia justificans quæ ut præsens demonstratur; passio Christi quæ est causa gratiæ, et ut præterita commemoratur; et vita æterna quæ est effectus gratiæ, et ut futura præfiguratur. Ita docet S. Thomas 3 part.

confess: "The sacred or holy things," saith he, "which ie sacraments of the new law signify, are threefold; the race of justification, the passion of Christ, and eternal life; Thomas teacheth; touching Baptism and the Eucharist, the ing is most evident; concerning the other it is not so rtain."

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE BEING OF ONE BODY IN MANY PLACES AT THE SAME TIME.

THE possibility of the being of one body in many places at the same time, was ever denied by many worthy embers of the Church; and consequently the local presence f Christ's body in the sacrament, whether definitive or circumscriptive, was likewise rejected as a thing impossible. "To ffirm," saith Aquinas[1], "that one body may be locally in is place, and yet also in another, at the same time, implieth contradiction: and therefore the power of God extendeth ot to the effecting of any such thing. Scotus[2] confesseth, hat Egidius, Godfredus de Font, Alanus and Henricus, are of he same opinion with Thomas. Durandus saith[3], that which present in one place, definitively or circumscriptively, cannot in any such sort be in many places at the same time. Whereupon he pronounceth, that the body of Christ is no therwise in the sacrament, but by reason of a certain habi-

uæst 60. Art. 3. et omnes alii doctores. Ac de Baptismo quidem et ucharistia res notissima est. De aliis sacramentis non est ita notum." -Bellarm. de Sacramentis in Genere. Lib. I. cap. 9. [Tom. III. p. 12.]

[1] "Ponere quod corpus sit localiter in hoc loco, et tamen sit in lio loco, est ponere contradictoria esse simul: unde secundum præissa hoc a Deo fieri non potest."—Aquinas. Quodlibetales Quæstiones, ib. III. Quæst. 1. Art. 2. [fol. 129, a. Ven. 1594.]

[2] Scotus, in iv. Sent. Dist. 10. Quæst. 2. [vid. Tom. VIII. p. 511, assim. Lugd. 1639.]

[3] "Quod est præsens loco diffinitive vel circumscriptive, non potest lis modis esse simul in pluribus locis. Corporis Christi substantia otest divina virtute habere talem habitudinem vel ordinem ad species anis in ipsum conversi, ut ipsa est eis realiter præsens."—Durandus in r. Sent. Dist. 11. Quæst. 1. [fol. 274, b.]

tudinary union between it and the sacramental elements: whence it was wont to be said, that Christ's body is *personaliter in verbo, localiter in cœlo, sacramentaliter in eucharistia:* "personally in the eternal Word, locally in heaven, sacramentally in the Eucharist." The first that taught otherwise, and brought in the local presence was Scotus, whom Occam[1] followed, though he deny not but the former opinion had great favourers.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

THE conversion of the bread and wine into Christ's body and blood, all of us, saith Cajetan[2], do teach in words, but in deed many deny it, thinking nothing less. These are diversely divided one from another: for some, by the conversion that is in the sacrament, understand nothing but identity of place, that is, that the bread is therefore said to be made

[1] "Teneo quod idem corpus potest esse in diversis locis diffinitive, sed corpus Christi coexistit principaliter toti hostiæ et cuilibet parti, igitur eodem modo et multo magis potest esse præsens distinctis locis ita quod totum toti et pars parti, et hoc est esse circumscriptive in loco."—Occham in Sent. Lib. IV. Quæst. 4. [Lugd. 1495.]

[2] "Verum novitatem conversionis licet omnes voce affirment, secundum rem tamen multi negaverunt, putantes se non negare illam. Et hi multifariam sunt divisi, dum quidam intelligunt conversionis nomine identitatem loci, ut hac ratione dicatur panem fieri corpus Christi, quia ubi est panis ibi est et corpus Christi, ut Magister Sent. refert et reprobat: quidam vero conversionis nomine intelligunt successionis ordinem, ut magister idem refert, ut hac ratione dicant panem converti in corpus Christi quia corpus Christi est post consecrationem sub accidentibus sub quibus erat panis, quem panem annihilari aut solvi in præjacentem materiam dicebant, et hanc opinionem quoad substantiam sequitur Scotus. Dixi autem, secundum substantiam, quia in modo opiniandi cautior est Scotus, ponens panem per accidens redigi in nihil, et conversionem vocat adductivam Christi corporis ad hoc, quia sit præsens accidentibus panis. Quidam autem conversionis nomen et rem partialiter tamen admittunt, de quorum numero est Durandus."—Cajetan. in Summ. Aquin. Part. III. Quæst. 75. Art. 1. [Tom. IV. fol. 236. Ven. 1594.]

he body of Christ, because where the bread is, the body of hrist becomes present also: others understand by the word onversion, nothing else but the order of succession, that is, hat the body succeedeth, and is under the veils of those ccidents under which the bread, which they think to be nnihilated, was before. This opinion in substance Scotus llowеth, though in the manner of his speech he seemeth to ecline it. Some admit both the word and thing, but yet not holly, but only in part, as Durandus. Bonaventura[1] saith, hat some seeing the accidents to remain both in their being nd operation, think the matter of the sacramental element till remaineth: other, the form; but that the more catholic r general opinion is, that the whole substance of the elements turned into Christ's body and blood. We see, he maketh he doctrine of transubstantiation to be but an opinion. Ockam[2] saith, there are three opinions of transubstantiation, of

[1] "Opinio aliquorum fuit quod non totus panis convertitur secundum substantiam, sed aliqua pars essentialis remanet: constat enim quod accidentia remanent secundum esse et operationem. Quia videtur quod remaneant secundum esse, fuerunt qui dicerent quod remaneret etiam materia quæ illa sustinet, et transit forma. Sed hoc nihil est, quia materia non est nata sustinere accidentia, nec esse in actu nisi cum forma. Alii videntes quod accidentia habent operationem, et omnis operatio ortum habet a forma substantiali, dixerunt quod transit materia et remanet forma. Sed hoc iterum nihil est, quia forma non operatur nisi in materia. Et propterea relicta prima opinione quæ tollit conversionem materiæ, relicta alia quæ tollit conversionem formæ, magis catholicam tenemus quod totus panis in corpus Christi convertitur; et optimo modo ista conversio transubstantiatio dicitur."—Bonaventura, in Sent. Lib. IV. Dist. 11. Quæst. 2. [Tom. v. p. 138. Rom. 1596.]

[2] "In materia ista est triplex opinio. Quarum prima est hæc quæ ponit, quod in consecratione hostiæ, panis qui subjectus est accidentibus istius hostiæ, transubstantiatur in corpus Christi ad istum intellectum, quod talis transubstantiatio est quodam modo transsumptio et conversio panis in corpus Christi; qua transsumptione facta non est ibi panis, sed accidentia, quæ prius fuerunt in pane tanquam in subjecto, postea existunt sine subjecto.

"Secunda opinio ponit, non ut ipse panis aliquo modo convertatur in corpus Christi ex quo prius fuit secundum se, aut secundum quambet ejus partem, sed ad istum intellectum quod talis transubstantiatio nihil aliud est quam panem desinere esse, et verum corpus Christi sub accidentibus hostiæ existere vel consistere.

"Tertia opinio est, quæ adhuc ponit quod panis hostiæ transub-

which the first supposeth a conversion of the sacramental elements; the second an annihilation; the third affirmeth the bread to be in such sort transubstantiated into the body of Christ, that it is no way changed in substance, or substantially converted into Christ's body, or doth cease to be; but only that the body of Christ in every part of it becomes present in every part of the bread. This opinion, he saith, the Master of Sentences mentioneth, not much disliking it; yet is it not commonly holden. Cameracensis[1] saith, that the more common opinion is, that the substance of bread doth not remain, but wholly ceaseth; and that though this opinion be not evidently deduced from the Scriptures, nor concluded out of any determination of the universal Church, for aught he can see, yet he is resolved to follow it. Waldensis[2] saith, he found in a certain old book of Decrees, that in the year

stantiatur in corpus Christi, non quod aliquo modo mutetur vel convertatur in corpus Christi, sed ad istum intellectum quod ista transubstantiatio in corpus Christi nihil aliud est quam quod corpus Christi, virtute verborum, sacramentaliter secundum se totum et quamlibet sui partem, coexistit cuilibet sui parti panis, et tunc secundum istam opinionem accidentia hostiæ non existunt sine subjecto post consecrationem. Et istam opinionem tangit Magister in quarto, nec istam multum reprobat."—Ockam. Centilogii Conclusio 39. [Lugd. 1495.]

[1] "Communior opinio est, quod substantia panis non remanet, sed simpliciter desinit esse. Cujus possibilitas patet: quia non est Deo impossibile quod illa substantia subito desinat esse; quamvis non esset possibile creata virtute: et licet ita esse non sequatur evidenter ex scriptura, nec etiam videre meo ex determinatione ecclesiæ, quia tamen magis favet ei et communi opinioni sanctorum et doctorum, immo tenco eam."—Petrus de Alyaco Cameracensis in iv. Sent. Quæst. 6. [fol. 265, b.]

[2] "Anno ab incarnatione sempiterni principii MLXXIX., mense Februarii, Indictione secunda, pontificatus vero domini Gregorii Papæ Septimi 6 anno, convenerunt finitimi et diversarum provinciarum archiepiscopi, episcopi, religiosæque personæ, ut sanctam synodum celebrarent. Omnibus igitur in ecclesiam Salvatoris congregatis, habitus est sermo de corpore et sanguine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, multis hæc, nonnullis illa sentientibus. Maxima siquidem pars panem et vinum per sacræ orationis verba et sacerdotis consecrationem, Spiritu Sancto invisibiliter operante, converti substantialiter in corpus Dominicum de Virgine natum. Verum ubi res cœpit agi, prius etiam quam tertia die ventum foret, in synodum defecit contra veritatem niti pars altera."—Thomas Waldensis, de Sacram. Euchar. cap. 43. [Tom. II. fol. 74. Ven. 1571.]

1049, there was a meeting of archbishops, bishops, and other religious persons in a Synod, and that when they were come together, they began to speak of the body and blood of Christ, some saying one thing, some another; but that before the third day of meeting, they that denied the substantial conversion of the sacramental elements were silent. But in the same book he reporteth[1], out of Christopolitanus Zacharias his book intituled *Quatuor Unum*, that there were some, perhaps many, but hardly to be discerned and noted, that thought still, as Berengarius did, whom they then condemned, and yet condemned him with the rest, in this respect only disliking him, for that refusing the form of words the Church used, with the nakedness of his manner of speaking he gave offence, not following the use of the Scriptures, which everywhere call things that are signs by the names of things signified, especially in the matter of sacraments, the more lively to express their virtue and efficacy: these men ceased not to charge others secretly, that they knew not the nature of figurative speeches, and therefore not without gross error, killing the soul, took signs for the things whereof they are signs; scorning not a little the folly of them that say, the

[1] "In libro suo Quatuor Unum, tractans hunc textum, 'Hoc facite in meam commemorationem,' Chrysopolitanus suggerit Zacharias: Sunt (inquiens) nonnulli, imo forsan multi, sed vix notari possunt, qui cum damnato Berengario idem sentiunt; tamen eundem cum ecclesia damnant. In hoc videlicet damnat eum, quia formam verborum ecclesiæ abjiciens, nuditate sermonum scandalum movebat. Non sequebatur videlicet usum scripturarum, quæ passim res significantes tanquam significatas appellant, præsertim in sacramentis, ut eorum virtutes exprimant; aliis vero latenter imponunt, quod non intelligunt tropos, et figuratas locutiones; ideoque miserabili morte animæ signa pro rebus accipiunt. Illud quoque maxime arrident, quod panis et vini species quidam dicunt in aëre apparere: quidam vero sensus compertos falli post conversionem panis et vini in carnem et sanguinem Christi.

"Sequitur Guimundus: alii vero non quidem jam Berengariani, sed acerrime Berengario repugnantes, argumentis ejus tamen et quibusdam verbis Domini paulisper offensi, solebant olim putare quod panis et vinum ex parte mutentur, et ex parte remaneant. Aliis vero irrationabilem istorum sensum longe horrentibus, et eadem verba Domini quibus isti moventur non satis apte intelligentibus, videbantur panem et vinum ex toto quidem mutari, sed cum indigni accedunt ad communicandum, carnem Domini et sanguinem in panem et vinum reverti." —Waldensis, cap. 19. [fol. 36.]

appearing accidents of bread and wine, after the conversion, do hang in the air, or that the senses are deceived. In the same place he saith, that Guitmundus reporteth some other that were not of the faction of Berengarius, but with great vehemency, contrary and opposite unto him, to have been of opinion, that the bread and wine in part are changed, and in part remain: these supposed so much only to be changed, as is to serve for the communicating of the worthy receivers: others thought the whole to be changed, but that when unworthy men come to communicate, the body and blood of Christ cease to be present, and the substances of bread and wine return and are there present to be received by them. But that it may yet more clearly appear that the opinion of transubstantiation never passed currently in the Church, let us add another testimony of the same Waldensis[1], who saith, that some supposed the conversion that is in the sacrament to be, in that the bread and wine are assumpted into the unity of Christ's person; some thought it to be by way of impanation; and some by way of figurative or tropical appellation. The first and second of these opinions found the better entertainment in some men's minds, because they grant the essential presence of Christ's body, and yet deny not the presence of the bread still remaining to sustain the appearing accidents. These opinions he reports to have been very acceptable to many, not without sighs, wishing the Church had decreed that men should follow one of them: whereupon John Paris

[1] "Primi conversionem istam per viam identificationis suppositorum efficiunt. Secundi per viam impanationis. Tertii per viam appellationis figuralis et tropicæ; cum quibus currit Witcleff. Primi tamen et secundi majorem favorem in quorundam mentibus obtinent, quia ponunt Christi corpus præsens secundum suam essentiam; et quia ponunt panem adesse propter sustentificationem accidentium, multis grati sunt voventibus et quasi suspirantibus quod sic ecclesia decrevisset, quæ fuisset ut putabant via lenis.

"Et credi potest deliquisse Joannem Parys in verbo, quoniam scripsit in tractatu suo determinato, hanc viam impanationis ad tantum placuisse doctori Guidoni nostri ordinis fratrum Carmelitarum, tunc quidem lectori sacri palatii, ut si foret papa ipsa decerneret eligendam. Verum tamen quia hæc jam via movet quosdam nostri temporis homines, ita ut quasi optent corde licitam eis fore tenendam, et decretum ecclesiæ pro parte illa fore desiderant, idcirco conabor ostendere quam frustra nituntur contra ictum fulminis."—Waldensis. [cap. 64. fol. 109.]

riteth, that this way of impanation so pleased Guido the Car-
elite, sometime reader of the holy palace, that he professed,
f he had been pope, he would have prescribed and com-
anded the embracing of it. Neither was it less pleasing to
any in Waldensis' time, who, as he saith, did as it were
ish in their hearts it were free from them to defend it, and
hat a decree in the Church were passed in the favour of it.

CHAPTER XVIII.

TOUCHING ORAL MANDUCATION.

ALEXANDER of Hales[1] and Bonaventura[2] do teach, that no man can eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood, ithout faith: and that the eating of Christ is mystical, not orporal, Bonaventura sheweth; for that whereas there are hree things implied in corporal eating, to wit, a mastication r chewing, a trajection into the stomach and belly, and a onversion of the thing eaten into the substance of the eater; his latter, which is most essential in eating, cannot agree nto the body of Christ, which is not turned into our sub-tance, but rather, in mystical sort, turneth us into itself. It ppeareth by that of Waldensis cited before, that many hought the wicked do not eat the flesh of Christ, seeing hey supposed so much only of the bread to be turned into he body of Christ, as is to be received by the believers; or,

[1] "Moderni fideles manducant spiritualiter credendo, secundum uod dicit August., Crede et manducasti."—Alex. ab Ales, Summa. Part iv. Quæst. 11. Membr. 2. Art. 2. [Tom. iv. p. 381.]

[2] "Ad illud quod objicitur, quod corpus Christi verum manducatur, licendum quod in manducatione tria sunt; masticatio, in ventrem tra-ectio, et incorporatio; et hæc tria respondent tribus quæ sunt in acramento: masticatio namque est specierum tantum, incorporatio st quantum ad corpus Christi mysticum; in ventrem trajectio est non olum specierum sed etiam corporis Christi veri, quod ibi est quamdiu st species panis; non ergo dicitur corpus Christi verum vere mandu-ari corporaliter, quia corporaliter masticatur; sicut enim non frangitur, ic nec masticatur."—Bonaventura in Sent. Lib. iv. Dist. 12. Part 1. Art. 3. Quæst. 1. [Tom. v. p. 161.]

if all be turned, that yet the body of Christ ceaseth to be in the Sacrament when a wicked man is to receive it, and that the bread returneth again.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF THE REAL SACRIFICE OF CHRIST'S BODY ON THE ALTAR, AS A PROPITIATORY SACRIFICE FOR THE QUICK AND DEAD.

TOUCHING the real sacrificing of Christ's body on the altar, the Church never taught any such thing as the Romanists now teach, as appeareth by these testimonies following. "Although," saith Biel[1], "Christ were once offered when he appeared in our flesh, he is offered, notwithstanding, daily, hidden under the veils of bread and wine, not touching any of those things which import punishment or suffering (for Christ is not daily wounded, he suffereth not, he dieth not); but for two other causes, the consecration and receiving of the holy Eucharist may be named a sacrifice and oblation: first, because it is a representation and memorial of the true sacrifice and holy oblation made on the altar of the cross; secondly, because it maketh us partakers of the effects of the same. Now the resemblances of things, as Augustine noteth, writing to Simplicianus, are called by the names of those things whereof they are resemblances; as we are wont to say, when we behold a painted table or wall, This is Cicero,

[1] "Quamvis semel oblatus est Christus in aperta carnis effigie, offertur nihilominus quotidie in altari, velatus in panis vinique specie. Non quidem quantum ad ea quæ pœnam important; non enim Christus quotidie vulneratur, patitur, et moritur: sed ex aliis duabus causis Eucharistiæ consecratio et sumptio sacrificium dicitur et oblatio; tum quia illius sacrificii veri et immolationis sanctæ factæ in cruce repræsentativa est, et memoriale, tum quia similium effectuum operativa et principium causale. Solent autem, ait beatus Augustianus ad Simplicianum, imagines illarum rerum nominibus appellari quarum sunt imagines; sicut cum intuentes tabulam aut parietem pictam, dicimus: Ille Cicero est: ille Sallustius. Celebratio autem hujus sacrificii imago quædam est passionis Christi repræsentativa, quæ est vera ejus immolatio, ideo et ipsa immolatio nominatur."—Biel. Expositio Missæ, Lect. 85. [fol. 183, b. Lugd. 1514.]

this Sallustius. Whereof seeing the celebration of this sacrifice is a lively resemblance of the passion of Christ which is the true sacrificing of him, it may rightly be named the sacrificing of him." "Peter Lombard, Thomas, and the other Schoolmen," saith Bellarmine[1], "were not careful of that which is now in question, touching the daily renewed real sacrificing of Christ, but only sought to shew how the sacrifice of the mass may be called an offering of Christ, that is, a slaying of him; and therefore, proposing the question, Whether the Eucharist be a sacrifice? they answer, for the most part, that it may be said to be an offering or sacrifice, because it hath a resemblance of the true and real offering which was on the altar of the cross, and because it communicateth unto us the effects of the true and real killing of Christ."

CHAPTER XX.

OF REMISSION OF SINS AFTER THIS LIFE.

THAT remission of sins after this life was not taught nor believed, in former times, by the Church, appeareth by the judgment of these divines who teach the contrary. "The prayers of the living," saith Durandus[2], "may be

[1] "Longobardus, Sanctus Thomas, et alii scholastici non fuerunt solliciti de eo quod nunc est in controversia, sed solum qua ratione sacrificium Missæ possit dici Christi immolatio, id est, occisio; et ideo fere respondere solent, dici immolationem quia est repræsentatio immolationis, vel quia habet effectum similem cum ipsa vera et reali Christi occisione."—Bellarm. de Euchar. Lib. v. (sive de Missa, Lib. I.) cap. 15. [Tom. III. p. 403. Ven. 1721.]

[2] "Sciendum est quod suffragia vivorum valere defunctis, potest intelligi dupliciter. Uno modo quantum ad remissionem culpæ: alio modo quantum ad diminutionem vel totalem solutionem pœnæ. In primo modo suffragia vivorum non possunt prodesse defunctis, quia culpa in qua aliquis decedit vel est mortalis vel venialis: si sit mortalis, decedens in ea non est capax remissionis, talis enim cum sit simpliciter damnatus, obstinatus est in malo ita ut non sit capax reversionis ad Deum. Si vero culpa sit venialis, decedens in ea non indiget juvari, quia talis dimissio culpæ consistit in reordinatione voluntatis per quam bene displicet quod male placuit, talis autem reordi-

understood to benefit the dead two ways: either in respect of remitting the fault, or diminishing or taking away the punishment: in the first sort, the prayers of the living cannot profit the dead, because either the sin wherein they depart out of this life is mortal or venial: if it be mortal, he that so departeth is not capable of remission; if venial, he needs no help, because such remission of sin consisteth in the ordering the will aright again, whereby men rightly dislike that they ill affected before: now the wills of them that depart hence in grace, and yet with venial sin, so soon as they are out of the body are brought into due order; because, as weight and lightness carry the things that are heavy or light, if there be no impediment, to their own places; so grace and charity carry men going hence, to the possessing of eternal happiness, so that all things hindering or staying from the present enjoying thereof are bitter and unpleasant. Now because not only punishments for mortal sins formerly committed, but also venial sins, if any be found in him that dieth in a state of grace, hinder from such desired enjoying, therefore they must needs be disliked; in which dislike the will is re-ordered again, which, in the liking of that it should not, was disordered," &c. "The merits," saith Scotus[1], "of him that dieth in charity,

natio voluntatis est in decedentibus in gratia cum peccato veniali statim ut de corpore recesserunt, quia sicut gravitas et levitas inclinant ad determinatum locum, sic finalis charitas inclinat ad beatitudinem; sed decedentes in solo veniali habent finalem charitatem, ergo statim ut decesserunt inclinantur per eam ad finalem beatitudinem, propter quod et ejus dilatio est eis tristabilis et pœnosa, ergo et causa dilationis; sed causa dilationis est non solum pœna debita pro mortalibus prius commissis, sed etiam culpa venialis si quam tunc habeat; ergo omnis talis culpa displicet in qua displicentia reordinatur voluntas quæ in complacentia fuit deordinata."—Durandus in Sent. Lib. IV. Dist. 45. Quæst. 1. [fol. 349, a.]

[1] "Opera istius qui moritur in charitate, etsi post mortem non referantur ab ipso ad veniale in quo moritur dimittendum, nec etiam ipse habeat aliquem actum novum meritorium per quem delcatur veniale, tamen illa opera possunt esse a Deo relata ad remissionem istius venialis post mortem. Et hoc isto modo, quia causa impedibilis, dum est impedita, non ponit effectum; dum vero est non impedita, ponit; sed merita istius morientis in charitate essent causa sufficiens deletionis venialium istius; sunt autem impedita dum iste vivit, si semper actu manet in peccato veniali; post mortem vero non sunt impedita, quia tunc non contrahit actum peccati venialis, igitur per

are a sufficient cause of the remission of venial sins; neither is this cause hindered from working the proper effect thereof in him that dieth, as it often is in him that liveth; for in him that liveth there is a stop and hinderance, so long as he remaineth actually in sin: but after death there is no stop, because then a man committeth no sin, and therefore by such merits sins are remitted: whence it followeth, that in the instant of death, all venial sins are remitted, to men dying in a state of grace." Alexander of Hales[1] maketh grace to be of three sorts: the first, that which is given in baptism; the second, that which is found in men repenting of sin committed after baptism; and the third, that which is in men departing hence, which he calleth final grace; "This last," he saith, "taketh away all sinfulness out of the soul, because when the soul parteth from the body, all proneness to ill and all perturbations which were found in it by reason of the conjunction with the flesh do cease, the powers thereof are quieted, and perfectly subjected to grace, and by that means all venial sins removed; so that no venial sin is remitted after this life,

illa delebuntur venialia post hanc vitam. In instanti mortis remittuntur venialia, quia tunc non manet actus peccati venialis, et per consequens tunc cessat impedimentum."—Scotus in iv. Sent. Dist. 21. Quæst. 1. [Tom. IX. p. 421. Lugd. 1639.]

[1] "Triplex est gratia, scilicet baptismalis, pœnitentialis, et finalis. Prima dominatur in anima ex virtute sacramenti, et omnino omne genus peccati tollit; secunda ex subjectione et conformitate liberi arbitrii ad gratiam, et hæc tollit omne mortale, non autem omne veniale; tertia ex perfecta subjectione et conformitate omnium virium animæ ad ipsam gratiam, et hæc tollit omne veniale. Cum enim anima jam separatur a carne, jam pronitates et perturbationes quæ inerant animæ ex carne recedunt, et potentiæ animæ tranquillantur et gratiæ subjiciuntur; ac per hoc venialia delentur; sive sint in parte rationali, sive sensuali. Et ita nullum veniale dimittitur post hanc vitam, sed in illo instanti in quo dici potest, Hæc finalis gratia dominium sibi vendicat et omnem expellit culpam.—Aliter respondent quidam subtilius intuentes, dicentes quod Magister in Sententiis et alii, qui dicunt quod veniale deletur post hanc vitam, intelligi potest sic; idem instans est quod continuat tempus vitæ, et post vitam; et ita illud instans est instans temporis post vitam sicut temporis vitæ; in quo secundum hunc modum videtur, quod recipitur gratia major remoto prohibente, et per consequens deletur venialis culpa, et pœna solvitur in purgatorio."—Alex. ab Ales, Summa, Part. iv. Quæst. 15. Membr. 3. Art. 3. [Tom. IV. p. 494.]

but in that instant wherein grace may be said to be final grace, it hath full dominion and absolute command, and expelleth all sin." Whereas, therefore, the Master of Sentences and others do say, that some venial sins are remitted after this life, we must so understand their sayings, that therefore they are said to be remitted after this life, because it being the same moment or instant that doth continuate the time of life, and that after life, (so that the last instant of life is the first after life), they being remitted and taken away in the very moment of dissolution, are said to be remitted after this life: for otherwise, the wills of men after death are unchangeable, and there is no more place left for merit. Hereunto Gregory seemeth to agree[1], saying that the very fear that is found in men dying, doth purge their souls going out of their body from the lesser sins. Seeing therefore, as Bernard[2] saith, if all sin be perfectly taken away, which is the cause, the effect must needs cease, which is punishment: it followeth, that seeing after death there is no sin found in men dying in state of grace, there remaineth no punishment, and consequently no purgatory.

[1] "Plerumque de culpis minimis ipse solus pavor egredientes justorum animas purgat."—Greg. Dialog. Lib. IV. cap. 46. [Tom. II. col. 453. Par. 1705.]

[2] "Sane ubi prorsus de medio factum fuerit omne peccatum, causa quidem omnino sublata, nec ipse quoque deinceps manebit effectus."—Bernard. in Psalm. 'Qui habitat.' Serm. X. [Tom. I. col. 862.]

CHAPTER XXI.

OF PURGATORY.

TOUCHING purgatory, whether they that are to be purged be purged by material[1] fire, or by some other means, it is doubtful: likewise, touching the place[2], the Roman Church hath defined nothing. Whereupon some think that souls are purged where they sinned, some in one place, some in another: neither is there any more certainty touching the continuance[3] of sinful souls in their purgation. Dominicus à Soto[4] thinketh, that no man continueth in this purgation ten

[1] "Communis sententia theologorum est, verum et proprium esse ignem, et ejusdem speciei cum nostro elementari. Quæ sententia non est quidem de fide, quia nusquam ab ecclesia definita est. Immo in concilio Florentino Græci aperte professi fuerant, se non ponere ignem in purgatorio, et tamen in definitione, facta sessione ultima, definitur Purgatorium esse, nulla mentione ignis habita. Tamen est sententia probabilissima." — Bellarm. de Purgatorio, Lib. II. cap. 11. [Tom. II. p. 324.]

[2] "Sequitur quæstio: 'Ubi sit purgatorium?' De qua quæstione nihil ecclesia definivit: sunt autem multæ opiniones.

"Prima quorundam qui putant ibi animas purgari ubi peccaverunt, id est, variis in locis."—Id. cap. 6. [p. 318.]

[3] "Jam vero de tempore quo purgatorium permanebit duo sunt errores extremi. Prima est Origenis, qui extendit tempora purgatorii ultra diem resurrectionis. Alter error est Lutheri, qui e contrario nimis breve efficit purgatorium.

[4] "Præter hos errores fuit opinio Dominici à Soto, in iv. Sent. Dist. 19. Qu. 3. Art. 2. neminem in purgatorio manere ad decem annos; et ratio ejus est, quia si hic in terris, aliquibus pœnis brevi tempore liberari possumus ab omni pœna, quare non multo citius in purgatorio, cum illæ pœnæ sint pœnæ in infinitum graviores et intensiores istis? Præterea hic sunt prolixæ pœnæ, quia non possunt esse multum intensæ, nam subjectum destruerent; ut post hanc vitam possunt esse intensissimæ, quia subjectum est incorruptibile: ergo credibile est, Deum illas animas ad gloriam anhelantes brevissimo tempore per intensissimas pœnas purgare.

"Sed istæ rationes non concludunt. Ad primam dici potest, hic esse tempus misericordiæ, illic justitiæ. Ad secundam dico, Deum posse compensare extensionem intensione, sed nolle: alioqui sequeretur, animas non manere in purgatorio ad unam horam, quia potest Deus augendo intensionem reddere pœnas decem annorum ad unam horam."—Bellarm. ib. cap. 9. [p. 324.]

years. His reason is, for that seeing men may pacify God's wrath by very short penance in this life, where they can neither endure any great extremity, nor are perfectly apprehensive of smart and grief, therefore much sooner in the other, where they may endure greater extremity, and are more apprehensive of it; so that the extremity of their passion may countervail long continuance in pain. This of Soto if we grant to be true, saith Bellarmine, no soul needs stay in purging one hour: neither indeed can he prove that any doth, by Scripture, or Fathers, or any resolution of the Church, but only because they use to pray for men departed, a long time after their death; which doth no more prove that they need prayers so long as they are prayed for, than pardons for thousands of years prove purgatory to continue so long; and by certain visions, which sometimes he regardeth not[1]. For howsoever sundry visions reported by Beda, Dionysius Carthusianus, and in the first book of the Life of Bernard, import that the souls of men in purgatory are tormented by devils, yet he thinketh that the children of God, overcoming Satan in the last conflict, and being secure of their future state for ever, are never molested by Satan any more. Thus then we see, that notwithstanding any thing defined in the Church, the souls of men may be purged from all the dross of sinful remainders, and freed from all punishments in the very moment of dissolution, which is that we say. Hereupon, John Bacon[2] saith, there be some who think that

[1] "De dubio, an in purgatorio torqueantur animæ a dæmonibus, res est omnino incerta; nam quod non torqueantur a dæmonibus, nec ab angelis, sed a solo igne, docent Scholastici ut S. Thomas; et rationem reddunt, quia omnes animæ purgatorii in ultimo conflictu diabolum superarunt, ideo non decet justitiam divinam ut sinat eas ab hoste devicto vexari.

"Ex altera parte, quod a dæmonibus torqueantur animæ purgatorii, docent multæ revelationes, ut illa B. Fursæi apud Bedam, et apud Dionysium Carthusianum, et in Lib. I. vitæ B. Bernardi, Maneat igitur et hoc inter secreta quæ suo tempore nobis aperientur."—Bellarm. id. cap. 13. [p. 325.]

[2] "Quæritur, Utrum ex canone Bibliæ possit haberi quod locus aliquis sit purgatorius post hanc vitam? Et videtur aliquibus quod sic. Patet, quia Lib. I. Macha. cap. 2. dicitur, Sancta igitur et salubris cogitatio est pro defunctis orare ut a peccatis solvantur. Ipsi fungantur, igitur, &c. Item 1 ad Cor. iii.: Si cujus opus arserit, detrimentum patietur, ipse autem salvus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem, igitur, &c. Item, in

purgatory after this life cannot be proved by the authority of the Scripture; and that these do say, the books of Maccabees are not canonical; and that the apostle, 1 Cor. iii., speaketh of that fire that shall purge the elements of the world in the last day: and touching that saying of Christ, of "sin that shall never be remitted in this world, nor that to come," they say it proveth not the remission of any sins in the other world, but that this form of speaking is used, only for the better enforcing of that he intendeth to deliver; as if a man should say to a barren woman, Thou shalt never bear child, neither in this world, nor in that which is to come.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF THE SAINTS HEARING OF OUR PRAYERS.

THAT the saints do hear our prayers, or are acquainted with our particular wants, was never resolved in the Church of God. Biel[1] saith, that the saints, by that natural

Evangelio dicitur, Quod si quis dixerit blasphemiam in Spiritum Sanctum, non remittetur hic nec in futuro. Ad quæstionem dicunt aliqui quod non. Ad primam auctoritatem dicunt, quod libri Machab. non sunt de canone Bibliæ. Ad secundum, quod Apostolus loquitur ibi de igne conflagrationis, quo ardebit mundus in die judicii. Ad tertium, tantum dicitur ad majorem gravitatem peccati blasphemiæ. Sicut si diceretur sterili, Non paries hic nec in futuro; non sequitur, igitur utrobique est parturitio, sed dicitur forte ad majorem vilifactionem sterilis."—Joann. Bachon. in iv. Sent. Dist. 45. [p. 568. Cremon. 1618.]

[1] "Sancti in patria qui de sacro in cœlis sunt naturali cognitione, puta vespertina, quæ est cognitio rerum in proprio genere, nullas orationes nostrum in terra consistentium, neque mentales neque vocales, cognoscunt, propter immoderatam distantiam inter nos et ipsos. Et de hoc potest accipi illud Aug. Esa. lxiii. in Glosa Interli.: 'Abraam nescivit nos.' Mortui enim sancti nesciunt quid agant vivi, etiam ipsorum filii. Accipitur hæc Glosa de verbis Augustini in libro, De Cura pro Mortuis agenda, ubi dicit: 'Si tanti patriarchæ quid erga populum ab eis procreatum ageretur ignoraverunt, quomodo mortui vivorum rebus atque actibus cognoscendis adjuvandisque miscentur? De cognitione autem matutina an illa videant orationes nostras, nunc videndum. Et dico primum; non est de ratione beatitudinis essentialis, ut nostras orationes aut alia facta nostra matutina cognitione videant in

or evening knowledge, whereby they see and know things as they are in themselves, do not know or discern our prayers, neither mental nor vocal, by reason of the immoderate distance between them and us: and touching that morning knowledge whereby they see things in the eternal Word, it no way pertaining to their essential felicity to see and know our desires; and it being uncertain whether it appertain to their accidental happiness, he saith, it is not certain; but that it may seem probable, that God revealeth unto them all those suits which men present unto them. The Master of Sentences[1] saith, It is not incredible that the souls of the saints that delight in the secrets of God's countenance, in beholding the same, see things that are done in the world below. Hugo de Sancto Victore[2] leaveth it doubtful whether the saints do hear our prayers or not, and rejecteth that saying of Gregory brought to prove that they do, *Qui videt videntem omnia, videt omnia.* The interlineal Gloss upon Esay lxiii., saith Augustine, was of opinion, that the dead, though saints, know not what the living, though they be their own children, do here in this world. Which appeareth to be true by his own words, pronouncing that if so great patriarchs as was Abraham, knew not what befel to the people that came of them, it is no way likely that the dead do intermeddle with the affairs of the living, either to know them, or to further and set them forward: whereupon he concludes, that, for aught is known to the contrary, the saints remaining only in

verbo. Probatur, quia illud quod nihil est objecti beatifici non est necesse in beatitudine intueri, sed orationes nostræ et quælibet creatura non sunt objecti beatifici. Utrum autem videre nostras orationes pertineat ad eorum beatitudinem accidentalem, non per omnia certum est."—Biel. Expositio Canonis Missæ. Lect. 31. [fol. 48. Lugd. 1514.]

[1] "Non est incredibile animas sanctorum quæ in abscondito faciei Dei veri luminis illustratione lætantur, in ipsius contemplatione ea quæ foris aguntur intelligere quantum illis ad gaudium vel nobis ad auxilium pertinet."—Petrus Lombard. Sentent. Lib. IV. Dist. 45. [fol. 207, b. Colon. 1513.]

[2] "Multi in quæstionem adducunt, An preces supplicantium audiunt? Difficile est de hujusmodi judicare. Ego amplius judicare non presumo, nisi hoc solum, quoniam tantum vident quantum illi placitum est quem vident et in quo vident. Inveniuntur tamen quidam sanctorum Patrum quædam ita dixisse, quasi nihil sit creaturis quod non videant qui vident omnia videntem."—Hugo a Sto Victore. De Sacram. Lib. II. Part 16. cap. 11. [Tom. III. p. 150. Mogunt. 1617.]

heaven, and praying for us only in general, God, by the ministry of angels, or immediately by Himself, without their particular intermeddling, giveth us the things we have need of. Willihelmus Altisiodorensis[1] saith that many do think, that neither we do properly pray to the saints, nor they pray for us in particular, but that improperly only we may be said to pray to them, in that we desire God that the favour which they find with him, resting from their labours, and their works being gone after them, may procure us their brethren acceptation likewise, whom they have left behind them in the warfare of this world. Whereupon the prayers are, *Adjuvent nos eorum merita, &c.* In the margent he saith that this was a common opinion in his time.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF THE SUPERSTITION AND IDOLATRY COMMITTED FORMERLY IN THE WORSHIPPING OF IMAGES.

THAT many in the Roman Church did see the abuse and superstition that was in the use of images, appeareth by Picus Mirandula[2], his Apology of his conclusion proposed in Rome, that neither the cross, nor any other image is to be worshipped with divine worship: by Durandus[3], blaming many things in the practice of the Church at that time, and by Gerson[4], disliking the honour then given to images, their number and fashion, as being occasions of idolatry in the

[1] "Multi quod nec nos oramus sanctos nec ipsi orant pro nobis nisi improprie, ideo scilicet quod oramus Deum ut sanctorum merita nos juvent: unde, 'Adjuvent nos eorum merita.' (Opinio communis)."—Guillelmus Altisiodorensis in iv. Sent. Lib. III. [Tract. 7. cap. 3. Quæst. 6. fol. 175. Par. 1500.]

[2] "Nec crux nec ulla imago adoranda est latria."—Joan. Pic. Mirandula. Apologia. [Tom. I. p. 104. Basil. 1601.]

[3] "Ex his et similibus auctoritatibus reprobatur nimius imaginum usus."—Durandus, Rationale Divin. Offic. Lib. I. [p. 12. Matrit. 1775.]

[4] "Judicate si tanta imaginum et picturarum in ecclesiis varietas expediat, et an plures simplices nonnunquam ad idololatriam pervertant."—Gerson. Declaratio Defectuum Virorum Eccles. [Tom. I. col. 208. Par. 1606.]

simple; which to be true, the words of Augustine[1] are proof sufficient, who demandeth who it is, or where he may be found, that adoreth or prayeth, beholding an image, as the manner was in the Roman Church, and is not in such sort affected, that he persuadeth himself it heareth him, and is able and ready to grant him the things he desireth and seeketh in his prayer.

CHAPTER XXIV.

OF ABSOLUTION.

ABSOLUTION is now supposed, by those of the Church of Rome, to be a sacramental act, giving grace *ex opere operato*, and so remitting sin, both *quoad culpam et pœnam:* but in the primitive Church it was nothing else but a restoring of men formerly put from the sacrament, and cast out of the Church, to the Church's peace, and use of the sacraments again; as appeareth by Cyprian's Epistles. Neither was absolution given in those times, until penance were first performed. Amongst the ancient, saith Lindan[2], absolution was seldom given, but after penance performed; only in time of persecution, pestilence, war, or dangerous sickness of the party, the manner was sometimes to give absolution presently at the suit of the penitent, and to require of him the performance of penance afterward, if he escaped those dangers. Hence in time it came that ordinarily they gave absolution first, and then imposed penance to be performed afterward. Now because they could not conceive from what this absolution should free them, not being formerly subjected to any censure of the Church, some began to think that it freeth them from the stain of sin, and the punishments due unto the same, thereby making it a sacramental act; yet so, as many

[1] "Quis autem adorat vel orat intuens simulacrum, qui non sic afficitur, ut ab eo se exaudiri putet, ab eo sibi præstari quod desiderat speret?"—August. in Psalm. cxiii. [Tom. IV. col. 1262.]

[2] "Apud veteres absolutio nisi satisfactione purgatis fere non impartiebatur."—Lindanus, Panoplia Evangelica, Lib. IV. cap. 70. [p. 388. Col. Agr. 1575.]

retained a right persuasion still. The priest, saith Alexander of Hales[1], is a mediator between God and man: to God he ascendeth, as an inferior, by way of petition and as a suitor; to man he descendeth, as a commander and judge. In the first sort, he obtaineth for men by his prayer, and procureth acceptation with God; in the second, he reconcileth them to the Church, his prayer obtaineth grace, his absolution presupposeth it, so that the keys of the Church extend to the remission of sin, by way of request obtaining it, not by way of authority giving it.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF INDULGENCES AND PARDONS.

TOUCHING indulgences or pardons, they were originally nothing else but the releasing of some part of that penance that had been enjoined, as appeareth by the whole course of antiquity. Whereupon it was a long time the opinion of many in the Roman Church, that indulgences are of force, only *in judicio Ecclesiæ*, not *in judicio Dei;* and that they free men only from enjoined penance; which the form of them was wont to import, it being ever added, in those relaxations, *ab injunctis pœnitentiis;* and Cajetan[2]

[1] "Alii dicunt quod habens clavem per potestatem clavis mediator est Dei ad hominem et hominis ad Deum. Unde per ipsum peccator ascendit ad Deum; et sic est sacerdos os peccatoris, sive loquens de peccatore; et per ipsum descendit Deus ad hominem, et sic est sacerdos os Dei, eo quod separat pretiosum a vili. Secundum quod ascendit, habet se per modum inferioris et supplicantis; secundum quod descendit, per modum superioris et judicantis. Secundum primum modum potest gratiam impetrare, et hoc est idoneus; secundum secundum modum potest ecclesiæ reconciliare."—Alex. ab Ales, Summa. Part. ii. Quæst. 21. Membr. 1. [Tom. IV. p. 615.] Bonaventura. in Sent. Lib. IV. Dist. 18. Part 1. Art. 2. Quæst. 1. [Tom. V. p. 273.]

[2] "Ex his testibus non solum habetur quod indulgentiarum gratia antiqua est in Christi ecclesia, et non nova adinventio, sed habentur clare quatuor. Primo, quod dare indulgentiam alicui est illum absolvere. Secundo, quod ista absolutio spectat ad forum pœnitentiale. Tertio, quod ista absolutio est a pœnitentiis injunctis. Quarto, quod

sheweth the same, affirming that an indulgence is principally an act of jurisdiction, and the freeing from enjoined penance. That which bred another conceit in the Roman Church, in later times, was an error in practice: for whereas, anciently, they never remitted any part of the penance they had enjoined, but out of the consideration of the extraordinary signs of repentance appearing in the penitent, arguing that to be performed, in shorter time than was expected, which was intended; in later times they granted these relaxations and remissions in favour, when there was no inducement in respect of any thing appearing in the parties. Now, because to free them from these penitential exercises tending to the prevention of God's judgments, before so much was performed as was necessary for the turning away of his displeasure, might seem hurtful rather than beneficial to them to whom such favours were shewed, in that they were left to God's judgments, into whose hands it is fearful to fall, they began to bethink them, how they might supply the defects of penitential conversion unto God in those they thus pardoned, and not leave them to the danger of his future judgment. This they could not otherwise devise to do, but by casting the overplus of other men's satisfactions upon them, and relieving them out of the treasury of the Church, which groweth, as they suppose, out of the satisfactory sufferings of Christ and his saints, *multis tamen doctoribus adversantibus*, as Cajetan[1] noteth; where he sheweth that Durandus teacheth, that the saints had no superfluous merits, not rewarded in themselves. "Touching

quandoque sunt indiscretæ."—Thomas de Vio Cajetanus. Opusc. Tom. 1. Tract. 15. cap. 1.

"Indulgentia, quia actus est judicis, ad aliquod forum spectat; liquet autem quod non contentiosi est fori; pœnitentialis igitur erit. Et hinc patet qualitas judicis, forum enim pœnitentiale ad ecclesiasticum tantum judicem spectat."—Id. cap. 2.

"Thesaurus ecclesiæ, quo sunt recondita merita Christi et sanctorum quatenus satisfactoria sunt non pro seipsis, distribuitur per indulgentias in Christi fideles, ita quod pœnitentiæ nostræ compensantur per pœnas Christi et sanctorum."—Id. cap. 3. [fol. 46, 47. Ven. 1594.]

[1] "De thesauro quæsitum, (scil. Quorum sint hujusmodi superfluæ satisfactiones:) dubitandi ratio est, quia dicitur quod sunt Christi et sanctorum, multis tamen doctoribus adversantibus. Durandus Christi quidem superflua merita in thesauro hoc affirmat, de sanctorum vero superfluis meritis dubitat."—Id. Tract. 8. Quæst. 3. [fol. 41.]

indulgences," Durandus[1] saith, "little can be said of any certainty, or as undoubtedly true, seeing the scripture speaketh not expressly of them, neither the Fathers, as Augustine, Hilary, Ambrose, Hierome, and the rest;" so that in speaking of them, we must follow the common course. Touching the force of these pardons, how uncertainly and unconstantly their greatest doctors dispute, it is not unknown; for Bonaventura noteth[2], that many were of opinion that pardons have no other use, nor have any further force or virtue but only to remit certain days' penance, if the cause, in respect whereof they be granted, be equivalent unto the penance which was to have been performed; so making them to be but only a commutation of penance, and not a relaxation or remission. Gerson[3] saith, The judicial and public power of the keys extendeth not itself principally, or directly, to the diminishing or taking away of any punishments, but such as itself inflicted, or might have inflicted, as are the punishments of excommunication, irregularity, and other disablings to perform civil or ecclesiastical acts. And in another place he saith[4], The grant-

[1] "De indulgentiis pauca dici possunt per certitudinem, quia nec Scriptura expresse de eis loquitur. Sancti etiam, ut Ambrosius, Hilarius, Augustinus, Hieronymus, minime loquuntur de indulgentiis."—Durandus, in iv. Sent. Dist. 20. Quæst. 3. [fol. 304.]

[2] "Quidam, distinguentes forum Dei et forum ecclesiæ, dixerunt hujusmodi relaxiones non fieri nec intelligi quantum ad forum Dei, sed quantum ad forum ecclesiæ. Hoc autem sic intelligunt: Sacri canones pro mortalibus peccatis graves et diuturnas pœnitentias taxant, ut pro uno mortali septennium vel amplius, quæ pœna adeo gravis est quod vix aut nunquam possit quis facere, et pauci invenirentur qui vellent. Ideo constituerunt rectores ecclesiæ pœnitentias secundum arbitrium imponi, et de residuo relaxationes constituerunt fieri, quæ dispensatio quædam relaxatio non indebite appellatur."—Bonaventura, in iv. Sent. Dist. 20. Part 2. Art. 1. Quæst. 2. Tom. v. p. 310.]

[3] "Potestas clavium judicialis et publica non extendit se principaliter et directe ad diminutionem pœnæ nisi illius quam inflixit aut infligere potuit, cujusmodi sunt pœnæ excommunicationum et quarumcunque irregularitatum, inhabilitationum circa legitimos actus ecclesiasticos aut civiles."—Gerson. de Indulgentiis. Consid. 2. [Tom. II. col. 350. Par. 1606.]

[4] "Indulgentiarum concessio non extendit se ad pœnas ex corruptione naturæ contractas per peccatum originale. Certum est enim quod papa non absolvit a siti, a fame, ab infirmitatibus, et a morte. Extendit igitur se hujusmodi absolutio ad pœnas supradictas et infli-

ing of indulgences extendeth not itself to punishments following the corruption of nature, and flowing from original sin; for it is certain that the Pope doth not absolve and free men from thirst, hunger, infirmities, and death; so that such absolutions extend only to the punishments above mentioned, and such as may be inflicted by the just judgment and prescription of him that imposeth penance for actual sins. Whether the power of the keys extend only to such as are on earth, or to to them also that are in purgatory, the opinions, he saith, of men are contrary and uncertain: but howsoever, this he pronounceth confidently, that only Christ[1] can give such pardons for thousands of days and years, as many popes assume to themselves power to grant.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OF THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE POPE'S JUDGMENT.

TOUCHING the infallibility of the Pope's judgment, it was so far from being a thing resolved of in the Church of God before our time, that Stapleton[2] confesseth, it is yet no matter of faith, but of opinion only; because so many famous

gendas justo pœnitentialis satisfactionis judicio pro peccatis actualibus vel hic vel in purgatorio, quoniam in inferno nulla est redemptio. Utrum vero claves ecclesiæ se possint extendere non solum super terram sed sub terra in purgatorio, maxime quoad remissionem pœnæ aut venialis culpæ, aut excommunicationis prius latæ, dum viveret reus nunc existens in purgatorio, sunt opiniones ad utramque partem probabiles."—Gerson. De Indulgentiis, Consid. 11. [col. 351.]

[1] "Solus Papa Christus potest illam tot dierum et annorum mille millium indulgentiam concedere, qualis posita reperitur in diversis concessionibus summorum pontificum."—Ibid. Consid. 8.

[2] "Hæc media veritas est nunc apud catholicos certa et recepta, etsi non de fide. De fide tamen contrarium opinari, saltem quoad possibile, non videtur hæreticum esse, propter multos catholicos qui contrarium sustinuerunt, ut olim quidem, Gerson, Occham, et Almainus, scholastici; et omnes fere Parisienses; denique et alii omnes qui concilium supra papam esse asseruerunt; hodie vero Alfonsus de Castro, Durandus, et Adrianus."—Stapleton, Controvers. iii. Qu. 4. [Tom. I. p. 706. Lut. Par. 1620.]

nd renowned divines have ever holden the contrary, as erson, Almaine, Occam, almost all the Parisians, all they hat thought the Council to be above the Pope, Adrianus extus, Durandus, Alfonsus à Castro, and many more.

CHAPTER XXVII.

OF THE POWER OF THE POPE IN DISPOSING THE AFFAIRS OF PRINCES AND THEIR STATES.

LASTLY, touching the power of the Pope, in disposing the affairs of princes and their states, there were ever many orthy men that opposed themselves against his unjust and ntichristian claims. There are some, saith Waldensis[1], that rr, supposing that the root of all terrene power dependeth n such sort of the pope, that it is derived unto princes by ommission from him; and that if they abuse the same, he ay take the disposing of such affairs as belong unto them, nto his own hands. This they endeavour to prove, because he ecclesiastical power is more eminent and excellent than he power of princes; but this their proof is too weak; for et us run through all examples of things which are different n degree of excellency, and one of them more worthy than nother, we shall see that the sun is better than the moon; et the power and virtue of moistening that is in the moon, s not imparted to it from the sun: the soul is more excellent han the body; yet the body was before the soul came into t, and in it many works of sense are performed which the pirit by itself cannot perform: gold is better than lead; yet loth it not give being unto it: so that though it were granted hat episcopal dignity is more high and eminent than the uthority of princes, yet the first spring of regal power is in he king from God, and not from the Pope. There is, saith

[1] "Delinquunt quidam dicentes quod radix potestatis terrenæ in antum dependet a papa, ut ex commissione ejus executio derivetur in rincipem; et principe deviante, potest summus sacerdos temporale llud administrare negocium: quia dicit quod spiritualis potestas ter- enam potestatem habet instituere ut sit."—Waldens. Doctrinal. idei. Lib. II. Art. 3. Quæst. 78. [Tom. I. p. 392.]

Waldensis[1], one Doctor Adam, a cardinal, who, in a dialogue between a bishop and a king, endeavoureth altogether to derive the authority of kings from the papal power, both in the being and exercise of it, and reserveth only a power of execution to princes, at the command of the high bishop: this error he condemneth, and saith, that howsoever the solemnities of the oath, unction, crowning, and the like, are performed to kings by bishops, yet hath not kingly dignity her beginning from priesthood, but by the ministry of priests kings receive it from God, and are put in possession of it. Fawning and deceitful flattery, saith Gerson[2], whispereth in the ears of ecclesiastical persons, especially of the pope, in shameless manner saying unto them, O sacred Clergy, how great, how great, is the height and sublimity of thy ecclesiastical power! How is all secular authority, compared there-

[1] "A quibusdam conceptus est doctor Adam, cardinalis, dicere in dialogo regis et episcopi ubi omnino regiam potestatem a papali derivare conatur, secundum esse, et exercitium etiam in particularibus omnibus politiæ civilis, et solis reservat legibus executivam potentiam ad summi imperium sacerdotis.

"Quanquam ministerio episcoporum solemnitates adhibentur regibus unctionis jurisjurandi, fidei, et coronæ, non tamen habet regia illa dignitas ortum a sacerdotio, quanquam per ministerium sacerdotis hoc habet a Deo."—Waldens. Doc. Fid. [p. 390.]

[2] "Consurgit ex adverso blandiens et subdola adulatio, et ad aures ecclesiasticorum, præcipue summi pontificis, insusurrans: O quanta est, quanta sublimitas ecclesiasticæ potestatis tuæ! O sacer clere, quam nihil est secularis auctoritas tuæ comparata! Quoniam sicut Christo collata est omnis potestas in cœlo et in terra, sic eam Christus omnem Petro suisque successoribus dereliquit. Unde et nec Constantinus quicquam Silvestro papæ contulit quod non esset prius suum, sed reddidit injuste detentum. Porro sicut non est potestas nisi a Deo, sic nec aliqua temporalis vel ecclesiastica, imperialis vel regalis, nisi a papa, in cujus femore scripsit Christus: 'Rex regum, Dominus dominantium.' De cujus potestate disputare instar sacrilegii est; cui neque quisquam dicere potest, Cur ita facis? Sic etiam temporalia omnia, si ecclesiastica bona atque dominia mutaverit, diripuerit, distraxerit, mentior, si non inveniuntur hæc scripta ab illis etiam qui sapientes sunt in oculis suis: si præterea non inveniuntur fuisse per aliquos summos pontifices hæc credita.... Fallor si non ante celebrationem hujus sacrosanctæ Constantiensis synodi sic occupaverat mentes plurimorum literarum magis quam literatorum ista traditio, ut oppositorum dogmatizator fuisset de hæretica pravitate vel notatus vel damnatus."—Gerson. De Potestate Ecclesiastica. Consid. 12. [Tom. I. col. 134.]

to, altogether nothing! For, as all power in heaven and th was given to Christ, so Christ left it all to Peter and successors: so that Constantine the emperor gave nothing Pope Sylvester that was not his before, but only restored t which had been unjustly detained: besides, as there is power but of God, so is there none, whether temporal or lesiastical, imperial or regal, but from the pope, in whose gh Christ hath written, 'King of kings, and Lord of lords:' whose power to dispute is sacrilegious boldness, to whom man may say, Sir, why do you so? though he alter, over- n, waste, and confound all states, rules, dominions, and sessions of men, whether civil, or ecclesiastical. Let me be ged a liar, saith he, if these things be not found written them that seem wise in their own eyes, and if some popes have not given credit to such lying and flattering words.

Nay, I am greatly deceived, if before the holding of the sacred Synod of Constance, this tradition did not so far forth possess the minds of very many men, rather literal than literate, that whosoever should have taught the contrary, should have been noted and condemned for heresy.

THE FOURTH BOOK:

OF THE

PRIVILEGES OF THE CHURCH.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE DIVERS KINDS OF THE PRIVILEGES OF THE CHURCH; AND OF THE DIFFERENT ACCEPTIONS OF THE NAME OF THE CHURCH.

NOW it remaineth, that we proceed to the other parts of our first general division, to wit, The privileges that pertain to the Church; and the diverse and different degrees, orders, and callings, of them to whom the government of it is committed. The privileges that pertain to the Church are of two sorts: the first, proper to the best and most essential parts of it, to wit, the elect and chosen of God; as are the promises and assurances of everlasting love and happiness: the second, such as are communicable unto others, not partaking in that highest degree of unity the parts of the Church have amongst themselves, or with Christ their Head. These are specially four: the first, the possession of the rich treasure of heavenly truth; whence it is called by Irenæus[1], *Depositorium Dives;* and by the Apostle[2], "the pillar and ground of truth:" the second is, the office of teaching and witnessing the same truth: the third, the authority to judge of such differences as arise amongst men, concerning any part of it: the fourth is, power to make laws, for the better guiding and governing of them that profess this truth.

Touching the first, that we may the better understand in what degree and sort, and upon what assurances, the Church is possessed of the knowledge and profession of the truth revealed in Christ; we must observe the diverse acceptions of the name of Church, for accordingly more or less in this

[1] "Cum apostoli, quasi in depositorium dives, plenissime in eam [Ecclesiam] contulerint omnia quæ sint veritatis; uti omnis quicunque velit, sumat ex ea potum vitæ."—Irenæi adversus Hæreses. Lib. III. cap. 4. Oxon. 1702.

[2] 1 Tim. iii. 15.

kind is attributed to it, and verified of it. The Romanists make the Church to be of three sorts. For there is (as they say,) *Ecclesia virtualis, repræsentativa, et essentialis.* By the name of virtual Church, they understand the bishop of Rome, who, being by Christ's appointment (as they suppose) chief pastor of the whole Church, hath in himself, eminently and virtually, as great certainty of truth, and infallibility of judgment, as is in the whole Church; upon whom dependeth all that certainty of truth that is found in it. By the name of representative Church, they understand the assembly of bishops in a general council, representing the whole body of the Church from the several parts whereof they come. By the name of the essential Church, they understand the whole multitude of the believers.

This essential Church either comprehendeth all the faithful that are and have been since Christ appeared in the flesh; or, all that are and have been since the apostles' time; or, only those that now presently live in the world.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE DIFFERENT DEGREES OF INFALLIBILITY FOUND IN THE CHURCH.

IF we speak of the Church, as it comprehendeth the whole number of believers that are and have been since Christ appeared in the flesh, it is absolutely free from all error and ignorance of divine things that are to be known by revelation, *Quid enim latuit Petrum, &c.* For, as Tertullian[1] saith rightly and aptly to this purpose, "What was hidden and concealed from Peter, upon whom Christ promised to build his Church, and to whom he gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven; from John, the disciple he so dearly loved, which

[1] "Latuit aliquid Petrum ædificandæ ecclesiæ petram dictum claves regni cœlorum consecutum et solvendi et alligandi in cœlis et in terris potestatem. Latuit et Joannem aliquid dilectissimum Domino pectori ejus incubantem, cui soli Dominus Judam traditorem demonstravit, quem loco suo filium Mariæ demandavit?"—Tertull. Lib. de Præscript. adv. Hæret. cap. 22. Par. 1582.

leaned on his breast at the mystical supper; and the rest of that blessed company, that should after be manifested to succeeding generations?" so that touching the Church, taken in this sort, there is no question, but it is absolutely led into the knowledge of all truth, without any mixture of ignorance, error, or danger of being deceived.

Let us come, therefore, to the second acception of the name of the Church, as it comprehendeth only all those believers that are and have been since the apostles' time. The whole Church, taken in this sort, may be ignorant in sundry things, which, though they be contained within the compass of revealed truth, yet are not, of necessity, to be expressly known by all that will be saved: but that the whole Church, in this sort conceived, should err in any thing of this nature it is impossible; seeing error, which is an aberration, declining, or swerving from the truth once delivered, necessarily implieth a kind of particularity and novelty.

Neither only is the whole Church (comprehending all the believers that are, and have been since the apostles' time,) freed from error in matter of faith; but we think it impossible also that any error whatsoever should be found in all the pastors and guides of the Church, thus generally taken. Secondly, though there may be some question, whether any error may be found in all them whose writings now remain; yet because they have all written of nothing but that which is absolutely necessary to be known, for the attaining of everlasting salvation, and that was ever generally received, it is not possible they should all be convinced of error. Thirdly, though all, whose writings remain, have not written of a thing; yet if all that mention it do constantly consent in it, and their consent be strengthened by universal practice, we dare not charge them with error. Yea, though their consent be not strengthened by such practice, if it be concerning things expressed in the Word of truth, or by necessary and evident deduction to be demonstrated from thence, we think no error can be found in all them that speak of things of that nature, if in every age of the Church some be found to have written of them. But in things that cannot be clearly deduced from the rule of faith[1] and Word of divine and heavenly truth,

[1] "Eorum quæ in conciliis generalibus determinantur et determinari possunt; et similiter quæ possunt esse dubia circa fidem; quædam

we think it possible that all that have written of such things might err and be deceived.

This matter is excellently handled by Pererius[1], Augustinus Eugubinus[2], Cornelius Jansenius[3], and Hieronymus ab Oleastro[4]; who hold it probable, that Paradise doth not remain in

sunt quæ ex Scripturis divinis deductione infallibili possunt inferri. ... Quædam sunt quæ ex Scripturis divinis infallibili deductione inferri non possunt: quemadmodum per beatum Hieronymum beatam Virginem esse corporaliter in cœlo, ex scripturis certitudinaliter haberi non potest: sicut etiam nec quod illi, de quibus dicitur Matt. xxvii, Multa corpora sanctorum surrexerunt cum eo, &c.: corporaliter ascenderint in cœlum: nec quod corporaliter non ascenderunt infallibiliter deduci non potest ex scripturis divinis."—Occam. Dialog. Lib. III. Tract. 1. Part. 3. cap. x. [Lugd. 1494.]

[1] "Ex scripturæ verbis patet, diluvium illud fuisse generalissimum super universam terram, eoque omnem terram vastatam, et ut verbo scripturæ utar, deletam fuisse. Sed Paradisus terrestris erat in hoc nostro orbe terrarum et pars nostræ terræ; ergo fuit illo diluvio vastatus et destructus."—Benedictus Pererius Valentinus, in Genesim. Lib. VII. Quæst. 7. [p. 1071. Ingoldst. 1590.]

[2] "Erat ergo Paradisus Heden, locus quidem amœnus atque odorus, his tamen casibus obnoxius quibus et cætera mortalia obnoxia sunt. Atque hanc esse causam puto, quod is Paradisus non inveniatur nunc; incultus enim fortasse redditus est. Neque illam amœnitatis formam servat. Eodemque forte modo is Dei hortus deformatus est quo Hierusalem civitas Dei eversa est, et Sion mons Dei. Incultum, et informem nunc esse Paradisum necesse est.... Noe neque posteris ejus ultra cognitus est. (sc. Paradisus)... Invenies, at puto, aquarum illuvie,... locum delicatum concidisse, eque oculis mortalium evanuisse, ut post diluvium ne vestigium quidem appareret."—[Augustinus Eugubinus, Recognitio Vet. Test. Venet. 1529. Aldus. in Genes. cap. 2. sub voce "plantaverat."]

[3] "Paradisum autem in his Domini verbis non accipi pro terrestri illo Paradiso de quo legitur in principio Genesis, patet, quia loci illius amœnitate, cum sit corporalis, non possunt capi spiritus bonorum hominum, ut omittam non tantum incertum esse ubi sit jam terrestris ille Paradisus, sed etiam probabilibus valde rationibus plerosque ostendere, et astruere Paradisum illam nusquam jam extare, ut qui simul cum universa terra cujus erat pars, maledictioni sit factus obnoxius ob peccatum Adæ quod ibi contigit, atque diluvio etiam cum tota terra obductus perierit, ita ut Paradisi felicitas simul cum nomine a terra migraverit ad cœlestia, immortalitatis dono quo in Paradiso homo frui potuisset, in cœlos a terra translato."—Corn. Jansenius, Comm. in Concord. Evang. cap. 143. [p. 596. Lovan. 1571.]

[4] "Locus paradisi non videtur multum a Charan unde venit Abra-

original beauty, notwithstanding the consent of all the ancient (that have written of that matter) to the contrary. So likewise, Cajetan[1] and Andradius[2] profess, they dare go against the torrent of all the doctors, and dissent from them, in the interpretation of some parts of Scripture.

Bellarmine[3] blameth Pererius, Eugubinus, and the rest, for that they durst embrace an opinion contrary to the judgment of antiquity: yet doth he not fasten upon them any note of heresy, or savouring of heresy.

ham. Videntur autem arbores aquis diluvii fuisse destructæ."—[Hieronymus ab Oleastro. In Pentateuch. p. 17. Lugd. 1588.]

[1] "Etsi quando occurrerit novus sensus textui consonus, nec a sacra scriptura, nec ab ecclesiæ doctrina dissonus, quamvis a torrente doctorum sacrorum alienus, æquos se præbeant censores.... Nullus itaque detestetur novum sacræ scripturæ sensum, ex hoc quod dissonat a priscis doctoribus, sed scrutetur perspicacius textum ac contextum scripturæ, et si quadrare invenerit, laudet Deum."—Thomæ de Vio Cajetani, Card. Comment. in V. Mosaicos Libros. [Præfat. fol. Paris. 1539.]

[2] "Ex his vero quæ de Ecclesiæ judicio hactenus disseruimus, aliud efficitur rei, de qua agimus non minus necessarium, nempe nos, quamvis summa observantia prosequi sanctorum patrum explicationes debeamus, posse tamen quandoque (illis præsertim in locis, qui nullis unquam fuerint hæreticorum insaniis exagitati) diversam a sanctis patribus explicandi rationem inire, dummodo illorum placita, et de religione sententias integras et illibatas teneamus."—Jacobus Payva Andradius, Defensio Tridentinæ Fidei, Lib. v. fol. 257. Ingoldstadt. 1580.

"Sed quoniam video cardinalem Cajetanum... usque adeo carpi usque terrenæ propemodum impietatis in eo fautor habeatur quod sacram se dicat scripturam aliquando contra torrentem doctorum interpretaturum... paulo apertius demonstrabo, quod sentiam de scripturæ sacræ explicationibus, a sanctis patribus editis... ut tantum virum ab hac vendicem calumnia."—Ibid. fol. 260.

[3] Bellarm. ostendit neminem ex veteribus dicere Paradisum periisse, et omnes qui de eo scripserunt, affirmare adhuc superesse; et tamen aliter sentire Pererium, Eugubinum, Jansenium, Hieron. ab Oleastro, et Vatablum.

"Recentiores illi quos capite superiore nominamus, Eugubinus, Jansenius, et alii, omnino contendunt nusquam in terris nunc extare Paradisum illum in quo Adam habitavit. Quia vero nullum unquam ex veteribus legi, qui Paradisum terrestrem vel aquis diluvii, vel alia de causa periisse scripserit, et contra legi plurimos qui illum exstare affirmant,... non facile auderem a tam communi celebrique opinione recedere."—Bellarm. de Gratia Primi Hominis. Lib. unic. cap. 14. [Tom. IV. col. 44.]

Touching the Church, as it comprehendeth only the believers that now are, and presently live in the world, it is most certain and agreed upon, that in things necessary to be known and believed expressly and distinctly, it never is ignorant, much less doth err[1]. Yea, in things that are not absolutely necessary to be known and believed expressly and distinctly, we constantly believe, that this Church can never err, nor doubt pertinaciously; but that there shall ever be some found ready to embrace the truth, if it be manifested unto them, and such as shall not wholly neglect the search and inquiry after it, as times and means give leave.

As therefore we hold it impossible the Church should ever, by apostacy and misbelief, wholly depart from God (in proving whereof, Bellarmine[2] confesseth his fellows have taken much needless pains, seeing no man of our profession thinketh any such thing); so we hold that it never falleth into any heresy: so that he is as much to be blamed for idle and needless busying himself in proving that the visible Church never falleth into heresy; which we most willingly grant.

[1] "In ecclesia militante est certum judicium quantum ad ea quæ necesse est credere explicite ad salutem æternam consequendam, quia semper usque ad finem mundi erunt aliqui catholici qui tali modo in vera fide explicite permanebunt. Sed circa illa quæ non sunt necessaria explicite credere, non est necesse quod semper in ecclesia militante sit tale judicium. Quia multa sunt de quibus melius est pie dubitare quam unam partem contradictionis vel aliam temere affirmare; nunquam tamen circa quæcunque talia catholica omnes christiani neque pertinaciter errabunt, neque pertinaciter dubitabunt, sed semper erunt aliqui in ecclesia qui circa hujusmodi loco et tempore opportunis quærent cauta sollicitudine veritatem, parati etiam tenere explicite si eam inveniunt sive per propriam meditationem, sive per occasionem acceptam a scripturis, sive aliis hominibus quibuscunque, sive per divinam revelationem, et ideo nunquam omnes incident in hereticam pravitatem."—Occam, Dial. Lib. v. Part. 1. cap. 28. [fol. 47.]

[2] "Jam quod ecclesia ista vera et visibilis non possit deficere, facile probari potest. Notandum autem est multos ex nostris tempus terere, dum probant absolute Ecclesiam non posse deficere; nam Calvinus et cæteri hæretici id concedunt; sed dicunt intelligi debere de Ecclesia invisibili. Probare igitur volumus, Ecclesiam visibilem non posse deficere; et nomine Ecclesiæ non intelligimus unum, aut alterum, sed multitudinem congregatam, in qua sint Prælati et subditi."—Bellarm. de Ecclesia Militante. Lib. III. cap. 13. [Tom. II. col. 144.]

CHAPTER III.

OF THE MEANING OF CERTAIN SPEECHES OF CALVIN, TOUCHING THE ERRING OF THE CHURCH.

THAT which he allegeth out of Calvin[1], and others, as if they supposed the true Church to be sometimes altogether invisible, and that the outward profession of the truth doth sometimes wholly fail, is to no purpose; for they mean not that it is wholly invisible at any time, but that it is not always to be esteemed by outward appearance: that sometimes the state of things is such, that the greatest, in place of ministry, in the Church, pervert all things; and that they that defend the truth make themselves a reproach.

To this purpose, Occam[2] hath divers excellent things out of Hierome: and Vincentius Lirinensis[3] sheweth that the poisoned doctrine of the Arians did infect, not only a part, but almost the whole Church: so that almost all the bishops of the Latin Church were misled, and few found to defend and maintain the truth, as beseemed them.

[1] Bellarm. ut supra.

[2] "Si vero Christianitas tantum esset pravitate infecta hæretica, quod papa, et cardinales, et prælati, et clerici, et principes, et potestates essent hæretici... et concilium reputatum generale contra fidem erraret, aliud non restaret fidelibus quam dolor et gemitus; consiliumque tenere B. Hieron.... qui... ait: 'Quando ergo vir ecclesiasticus et prudens atque intelligens multas impietates in ea quæ vocatur domus Dei, esse cognoverit, et non solum multas, sed etiam fortes, et quæ opprimere possunt justitiam: et in tantum doctorum rabiem processisse, ut accipiant pretium in judicio, et omnia pro muneribus faciant, pauperes devitent in portis et audire contemnant, taceat in illo tempore, ne det sanctum canibus, et ne mittat margaritas inter porcos, qui conversi conculcent eas; et imitetur Ierimiam dicentem: 'solus sedebam, quia amaritudine repletus eram.' Sic vir catholicus et fidelis, quando multas hæreses esse in Christianitate cognovit."—Occam. Dial. Partis 1. Lib. v. cap. 28. [Monarch: S. Rom. Imp: Goldasti. Francofordiæ. 1614, p. 497.]

[3] "Item quando Arianorum venenum non jam portiunculam quandam sed pene orbem totum contaminaret adeo ut prope cunctis Latini sermonis episcopis partim vi, partim fraude deceptis, caligo quædam mentibus offunderetur, quidnam potissimum in tanta rerum confusione sequendum foret," &c. &c.—Vinc. Lir. Commonitor. cap. vi.

There are, therefore, four things which Calvin[1] saith. The first, that the Church may not so far presume of the assistance of the Spirit of truth, as that she may devise new articles of faith, and, without the certain direction of the word of God, proceed in the determination of doubts in matters of religion. The second, that she must not rely upon traditions, and a pretended unwritten word, but must contain herself within the compass of that heavenly doctrine which is comprehended in the scripture. The third, that so containing herself she cannot err. The fourth, that we have no assurance that the Church shall always so precisely follow the directions of the word of truth, as that she shall never err; but so far forth only, that she shall ever be free from all error in things necessary to salvation, and such things that men cannot be ignorant of, or err in, without pertinacy, or over-gross and damnable negligence; yea, that she is secured from erring, in any thing, with heretical pertinacy.

This last part of Calvin's speech it is that the Jesuit[2] disliketh, that he saith, The Church is not absolutely freed from

[1] "Nos si demus illud primum, errare non posse ecclesiam in rebus ad salutem necessariis, hic sensus noster est: ideo hoc esse, quod abdicata omni sua sapientia a Spiritu Sancto doceri se per verbum Dei patitur.... Quamobrem non ea se sapiat ecclesia, non ex se cogitet quicquam, sed sapientiæ suæ terminum statuat ubi loquendi finem ille fecerit. In hunc modum et omnibus rationis suæ inventis diffidet: in quibus autem verbo Dei nititur nulla diffidentia aut hæsitatione vacillabit, sed magna certitudine firmaque constantia conquiescet.... Quod ergo non extinguitur in mundo veritas, sed salva perstat, id fit quod fidam habet custodem ecclesiam, cujus opera et ministerio sustinetur.

"Verum tales sunt semper ecclesiæ divitiæ ut multum desit ad summam illam perfectionem quam adversarii nostri jactant. Nec ideo ulla in parte destituitur ecclesia quin semper habeat quantum satis sit, novit enim Dominus quid ejus necessitas requirat.... Si adhuc omnes suos in dies sanctificat, expurgat, expolit, maculis abstergit, certe adhuc nævis ac rugis quibusdam aspersos esse, eorumque sanctificationi deesse nonnihil, constat.... Quod ergo non extinguitur in mundo veritas, sed salva perstat, id fit quod fidam habet custodem ecclesiam, cujus opera et ministerio sustinetur."—Calvin. Instit. Lib. IV. cap. 8. [p. 310. Amst. 1667.]; citat. a Bellarm. ibid. cap. 14. [p. 187.]

[2] "Respondet Calvinus; Christum et Spiritum Sanctum docere ecclesiam omnem veritatem simpliciter necessariam, semper tamen relinquere aliquem nævum."—Bellarm. [ibid.]

error, but from some kind of error only. Yet Melchior Canus[1] confesseth, that sundry great divines seem to be of this opinion: as the author of the Interlineal Gloss, Thomas Aquinas, Cardinal Turrecremata, and Alfonsus à Castro; yea, Picus Mirandula[2], in his Theorems, is of the same opinion, confirming it by the authority of Aquinas, who thinketh that the Church may err in canonizing of saints, and proposing such to be honoured whom God rejecteth from his presence, as vessels of his wrath.

Notwithstanding, the Romanists[3], at this day, seem to hold, that the whole Church that presently is in the world cannot err in any thing that either concerneth faith or manners; which they endeavour to prove by these reasons.

[1] "Nam licet falleretur, at error probabilis et inculpatus fidem ecclesiæ non excluderet. Cujus sententiæ, si de facie consideres, videntur esse Glossa Interlinearis, sic enim vocant, in illud: Portæ Inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam: et D. Tho. in 4. Dist. 6, Quæst. 1. Art. 3, q. ad 3: et Cardinalis Turrecre. Lib. Summæ Ecclesiæ 2. cap. 91. Et Alphonsus à Castro Zamoren. De Justa Hære. Puni. Lib. I. cap. 5."—Melchior Canus de Eccl. Cathol. Auct. Lib. IV. cap. 4. [p. 197. Col. Agr. 1605.]

[2] "Namque in aliis præterquam in iis quæ pertinent ad substantiam fidei, et mores ad Christianam vivendam vitam necessarios, errare eam posse creditum est: cum autem dicimus ad fidem et mores, nihil aliud est dictum, quam ad substantiam fidei simpliciter et absolute; nam et mores necessarii ad fidem pertinent, de quibus præcepta et in lege et in evangelio habentur: diximus nos tamen bifariam et fidem et mores, ut et intellectum et voluntatem, practicamque et speculativam cognitionem notaremus, pro fide partem sumentes eam quæ ad credenda tantum spectat, non autem operanda: pro moribus vero, quæ ad practicam et operationem pertinent, quæ tamen sub necessaria fide continentur: in aliis, inquam, præterquam in iis quæ ad hanc fidei substantiam pertinent falli ea potest et fallere, quod et Thomas cum alibi tum in quolibetis ubi de canonizatione sanctorum pertractat, et Panormitanus Abbas, eo in loco quem paulo ante commemoravimus, adstruunt: Decretalium quoque Epistolarum textus ipse confirmat falli Ecclesiam posse quandoque et fallere."—Picus Mirandula, De Fid. et Ord. Cred. Theorem IV. [p. 178. Basil. 1601.]

[3] "Nostra igitur sententia est, Ecclesiam absolute non posse errare, nec in rebus absolute necessariis, nec in aliis quæ credenda vel facienda nobis proponit, sive habeantur expressa in Scripturis, sive non."—Bellarm. Lib. III. cap. 14.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THEIR REASONS WHO THINK THE PRESENT CHURCH FREE FROM ALL ERROR IN MATTERS OF FAITH.

FIRST, for that it is the pillar and ground of truth: secondly, for that it is guided by Christ her Head, and Spouse; and thirdly, because it is led by the Spirit of truth. These reasons will be found exceeding weak, if we examine them. Let us therefore take a particular view of them.

First, the Apostle[1] (say they) calleth the Church "the pillar and ground of truth:" therefore it cannot err. These words cannot prove that for confirmation whereof our adversaries allege them; seeing he speaketh, in this place, of a particular Church, to wit, the Church of the Ephesians, in which he left Timotheus when he departed from it. Now, that particular churches may err in matter of faith, and become heretical, our adversaries make no question.

That the Apostle speaketh of the Church of Ephesus, and calleth it "the pillar and ground of truth," it appeareth by all circumstances of the place. "These things have I written," saith he, "hoping to come shortly unto thee; but if I tarry longer, that thou mayest know how to behave thyself in the house of God." That house of God in which Paul left Timothy, in which he directeth him how to behave himself till he come, he calleth "the Church of God, and pillar of truth," that Timothy might bethink him the better, how to demean himself in the government of it.

The Church of God is named the "pillar of truth;" not, as if the truth did depend on the Church; or, as if God could not otherwise manifest it than by her ministry; or, that our faith should be built on the authority of it; or, that we should think it absolutely free from all ignorance and error: but because it doth strongly hold and maintain the saving profession of the truth, notwithstanding all the violence of wicked and cruel enemies, as both the Ordinary Gloss[2], and

[1] 1 Tim. iii. 15.

[2] ["Ecclesia. Multorum convocatio ad unius Dei cultum. Columna veritatis. In se bene sustinens veritatem ne corruat, licet tribuletur."

"Columna. Recta et fortis ad sustinendum. Et firmamentum

that of Lyra do interpret it; and for that, by instructions, admonitions, and comforts, it strengtheneth, stayeth, and supporteth such as otherwise would fall; as the Interlineal Gloss seemeth to express it. So then, the Church is "the pillar of truth;" not because it is absolutely free from all error, or, that our faith should be builded upon the infallibility of it; but because it alway retaineth a saving profession of heavenly truth, and by strength of reasons, force of persuasions, timeliness of admonitions, comforts of sacraments, and other means of saving grace, (the powerful force whereof the sons of God do feel), it strengtheneth and stayeth the weakness of all them that depend upon it.

This is it that Calvin meaneth, when he saith the Church is called, "the pillar of truth," because it firmly holdeth the profession of it, and strengtheneth others by the knowledge of it. Bellarmine's cavil, that, if this were all, the Church might more fitly be compared to a chest than a pillar, is not worth the answering: for it doth not only preserve the truth as a hidden treasure, but by public profession, (notwithstanding all forces endeavouring to shake it), publisheth it unto the world, and stayeth the weakness of others by the knowledge of it; in which respect it is fitly compared to a pillar, and not unto an ark or chest.

The second reason is much more weak than the former. For thus they argue: The Church is governed by Christ, as by her Head and Spouse; and by the Spirit, as by the soul and fountain of her life; therefore if she err, her error must be imputed unto Christ, and to the Spirit of truth. This their consequence is blasphemous and impious. For who knoweth not, that particular men, companies of men, and churches, are governed by Christ, as by their Head and Spouse, and by the Spirit of truth, as being the fountain of their spiritual life; as the Churches of Corinth, Galatia, and the Churches mentioned in the Revelation of St John[1], called

veritatis. Scilicet evangelicæ, quam ecclesia sustinuit firmiter etiam in persecutionibus maximis.

"Columna et firmamentum veritatis. Quod patet, quia tot pro Christo sustinet. Fulcimento jam mutantibus mituris."—Biblia Sacra, cum Glosa Ordinaria et Expositione Lyræ, in loc. Tom. VI. fol. 120, b. Bas. 1508.]

[1] Revel. i. 12.

golden candlesticks, in the midst whereof the Son of God did walk; yet had they their dangerous and grievous errors and defaults, for which they were blamed: so that, by the argument of our adversaries, men may blame the Spirit of truth for their errors.

That which the Jesuit addeth, That Christ, the husband of the Church, is bound to free it from all error in matter of faith, whence any great evil may ensue, is as childish an argument as may be devised. For, if great and grievous evils may be found in the Church, then, notwithstanding this argument, errors also. Now, that the Church is subject to great and grievous evils, he that maketh any question, seemeth to know nothing at all. As, therefore, God giveth that grace, whereby the children of the Church may avoid great and grievous evils, and never withdraweth the same but for punishment of former sin, and contempt of grace; so he giveth the gracious means of illumination, and never withdraweth the means of knowledge, but when the contempt of the light of knowledge, and the abusing of it, procure the same. So that the sins and errors of the children of the Church proceed from themselves, and not from any defect or want of Christ, the husband of the Church.

The third reason is, He that heareth not the Church, must be holden for an Ethnic: therefore it cannot err. But they should know[1], that Christ speaketh in that place of the Sanhedrim of the Jews, which whosoever refused to obey, they held him as an Ethnic. Yet was not that great Council of State among the Jews free from danger of erring. If these words of our Saviour be applied to the Church, as they are ordinarily by the Fathers, they must be understood by the censures of the Church, which are not always just and righteous, as Augustine[2] sheweth, and not of her doctrinal determination.

[1] "See the same proved at large by Erastus, writing of the presbyteries and excommunications; and by Doctor Bilson, now B. of Winch., in his book of the Perpetual Government of the Church, c. 4."

[See "The Nullity of Church Censures," by Dr Thomas Erastus, Prof. in the University of Heidelberge and Basil. Lond. 1659.]

[2] "Sæpe etiam sinit Divina Providentia, per nonnullas nimium turbulentas carnalium hominum seditiones, expelli de congregatione Christiana etiam bonos viros."—Augustin. de Vera Religione, cap. 6. [col. 560. Tom. I. ed. Bened. Antverpiæ, 1700.]

But, saith Bellarmine, the councils were wont to denounce Anathema to all that obey not their decrees; therefore they thought they could not err. To this we answer, That they denounce Anathema, not because they think every one that disobeyeth the decree of the council to be accursed, but because they are persuaded, in particular, that this is the eternal truth of God which they propose; therefore they accurse them that obstinately shall resist, as Paul[1] willeth every Christian man to anathematize an angel coming from heaven, if he shall teach him any other doctrine than he hath already learned, yet is not every particular Christian free from possibility of erring.

The other argument, That because the Church is holy, and her profession holy, therefore she cannot err; will prove as well that particular Churches cannot err, as the universal. If they say, The universal Church is holy, and the profession of it holy, in such a degree as freeth it from error, it is *petitio principii.*

Their next argument is, That if the Church be not free, generally, from erring, but only from erring in things necessary to salvation, many Catholic verities may be called in question and doubted of; for that there are many things that pertain to faith, which are not necessary to salvation. This argument holdeth not: for though the Church, which comprehendeth only the number of believers that are at one time in the world, may err; yet have men other means to find out the truth, as namely the Scriptures, and resolutions of former times, which whosoever findeth, is bound to believe, though the rest of the Church, not finding them, may, in the mercies of God, be saved.

That which is alleged out of the Fathers is to no purpose: for they speak of the Church as it comprehendeth the faithful that are, and have been; which, we confess, cannot err in matters of faith.

[1] Gal. i. [8.]

CHAPTER V.

OF PROMISES MADE UNTO THE CHURCH, HOW IT IS SECURED FROM ERROR: AND OF THE DIFFERENT DEGREES OF THE OBEDIENCE WE OWE UNTO IT.

THE right understanding of the promises made, and due consideration of the parties to whom they are made, will lead us to the right understanding of the Church's infallibility and assurance of truth. For seeing, though they be made to all the faithful generally, and to the particular Churches as well as to the whole; yet they are understood to be performed proportionably, according to the measure and degree of each part, but to the whole Church wholly and entirely; the Church being particular, not only in respect of place, but also of time, the whole is not necessary to be performed to the Church of one time (unless we speak of the primitive, wherein the whole was originally), but to the Church that comprehendeth the whole number of believers that are and have been: in which sense that promise is to be understood, that the Spirit shall lead the Church into all truth[1].

Hither we may refer those different degrees of obedience, which we must yield to them that command and teach us, in the Church of God, excellently described and set down by Waldensis[2]. "We must," saith he, "reverence and respect the

[1] John xvi. 13.

[2] "Jam ut ad definitionem ecclesiæ catholicæ redeamus, videtis sequendam esse in ecclesia catholica gradatim auctoritatem multiplicem doctorum, scilicet catholicorum omnium antistitum sanctorum magis, ecclesiarum apostolicarum potius, et ex eis amplius Romanæ ecclesiæ; et abundantius his omnibus auctoritatem concilii generalis: nec tamen alicui jam dictæ ita obediendum censeo, et tam prona fide sicut primæ fidei Scripturæ vel Ecclesiæ Christi symbolicæ: sed sicut institutionibus saniorum et monitioni paternæ. Obediatur, dico, sine scrupulis quæstionum, cum omni modestia mentis et reverentia corporis; cum acceptatione et fiducia in verbis docentis: nisi quatenus aliquid doceat is, qui docet quod jam justa proscripsit superioris auctoritas, cui tamen tunc pius ecclesiæ filius non perperam insilit sed ab eo reverentiali quodam pudore percussus abscedit; ibi enim requiritur ut sit fides copiosior, ubi subest auctoritas gravior."—Tho. Waldensis. Doctrinale Fid. Paris. 1532. Tom. I. Lib. II. Art. 2. cap. 27.

authority of all Catholic doctors, whose doctrine and writings the Church alloweth: we must more regard the authority of Catholic bishops: more than these, the authority of the Apostolic Churches; amongst them, more specially the Church of Rome: of a general Council, more than all these: yet we must not listen so to the determinations of these, nor so certainly assent unto them, as to the things contained in the Scripture, or believed by the whole universal Church that hath been ever since the Apostles' time, but as to the instructions of our elders, and fatherly admonitions. We must," saith he, "obey without scrupulous questioning, with all modesty of mind and reverence of body, with all good allowance, acceptation, and repose in the words of them that teach us, unless they teach us any thing which the authority of the higher and superior controlleth; yet so, as then, the humble and obedient children of the Church must not insolently insult upon them from whom they are forced to dissent; but must dissent with a reverent, childlike, and respectful shamefacedness."

This he proveth out of Augustine, Tom. VII. Lib. ii. *De Baptismo contra Donatistas*[1]. "Who knoweth not," saith St Augustine, "that the sacred and canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are contained within their set and certain bounds; and that they are, so and in such sort, set in a higher degree of authority than any of the writings

[1] "Quis autem nesciat Sanctam Scripturam canonicam tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti certis suis terminis contineri; eamque omnibus posterioribus episcoporum literis ita præponi, ut de illa omnino dubitari et disceptari non possit, utrum verum vel utrum rectum sit quicquid in ea scriptum esse constiterit? Episcoporum autem literas, quæ post confirmatum canonem vel scriptæ sunt, vel scribuntur, et per sermonem forte sapientiorem cujuslibet in ea re peritioris, et per aliorum episcoporum graviorem auctoritatem, doctiorumque prudentiam, et per Concilia licere reprehendi, si quid in eis forte a veritate deviatum est: et ipsa Concilia quæ per singulas regiones vel provincias fiunt, plenariorum Conciliorum auctoritati, quæ fiunt ex universo orbe Christiano, sine ullis ambagibus cedere, ipsaque plenaria sæpe priora posterioribus emendari, cum aliquo experimento rerum aperitur quod clausum erat, et cognoscitur quod latebat, sine ullo typho sacrilegæ superbiæ, sine ulla inflata cervice arrogantiæ, sine ulla contentione lividæ invidiæ, cum sancta humilitate, cum pace catholica, cum charitate Christiana."—August. de Baptismo cont. Donatistas. Lib. II. cap. 3. Tom. VII. Pars Prior, p. 472. Lugd. 1562.

of the succeeding bishops, that of them we may not doubt nor make any question, whether it be true or right that is there contained? But the writings of the bishops of the Church, which either have been published since the perfecting of the canon of Scripture, or which shall be hereafter, may be censured and reproved, by the wiser judgment of any that are skilful in the same things whereof they write, or by the graver authority of other bishops, and the wisdom of them that are learned themselves and able to teach others; and by the determination of councils, if haply they have gone aside from the truth: and the councils themselves, which are holden in several countries and provinces, must give place to the authority of General councils, gathered and assembled out of the whole Christian world: and, of plenary councils, oftentimes the former are to be corrected by the later, when by experience and more perfect knowledge of things, that which was shut is opened, and that known which was hidden before. Every of these must be content to yield one to another, without the puff of sacrilegious pride, without swelling arrogancy, without envious contending, with all holy humility, with all Catholic peaceable disposition, and Christian charity."

Thus then we think that particular men and Churches may err damnably, because notwithstanding others may worship God aright, but that the whole Church, at one time, cannot so err; for that then the Church should cease utterly for a time, and so not be catholic, being not at all times; and Christ should sometimes be without a Church; yet, that errors, not prejudicing the salvation of them that err, may be found in the Church that is at one time in the world, we make no doubt; only the whole symbolical and catholic Church, which is and was, being wholly free from error.

Thus touching the possession of the rich treasures of heavenly truth, I have sufficiently cleared our judgment, which is the same that all wise and learned men have ever been of, to wit, that the Church which comprehendeth the whole number of believers, that are and have been since Christ appeared in the flesh (so including the apostles), can neither err in, nor be ignorant of, anything that was to be revealed by Christ, the eternal Word and Angel of the great covenant of God. Secondly, that the Church that comprehendeth all the faithful that are and have been since the apostles, may be ignorant of

some things which in process of time shall be known, but cannot err in any thing. Thirdly, that all the pastors of this Church cannot err. Fourthly, that all the pastors that have committed the treasure of their wisdom and learning to writing, cannot err in anything wherein they consent in their writings: because it is not possible that they should all have written of anything but such as touch the very life of the Christian faith generally received in all their times. Fifthly, that it is not possible that all that do speak of a thing, consenting together, should err, if it be a matter of substance, and if in every age some have written of it, though many that have written be silent and say nothing of it. Sixthly, that the most famous and renowned in all ages, consenting in anything that toucheth the substance of the Christian faith, and no man dissenting from them (without note of novelty and singularity), may not, without intolerable rashness, be charged with error. Seventhly, that though the writings of the ancient may be much corrupted, so that the consent of antiquity cannot always be easily known, yet there will be ever some means to find it out, and to descry the errors and frauds of the corruptors. And so I understand that of Vincentius Lirinensis[1], that the judgment of antiquity is to be sought out at the very first rising of heresies, and not afterwards, when they are grown inveterate; for that then they

[1] "Vincentius Lirinensis saith, If heresies be inveterate, and so have time and means to corrupt the monuments of antiquity, for the confutation of them we must flee to the Scriptures only. So did Luther and the rest in the beginning, seeming to decline the trial by the Fathers, because the corruptions of their writings were so many as could not easily be discovered at the first: but now having found out, by the help of so many learned men, both of our adversaries, and amongst ourselves, that have travelled in that kind, which are their undoubted works, and which doubtful or undoubtedly forged, we willingly admit the trial by the Fathers."

"Sed neque semper, neque omnes hæreses hoc modo impugnandæ sunt; sed novitiæ recentesque tantummodo, cum primum scilicet exoriuntur; antequam infalsare vetustæ fidei regulas ipsius temporis vetantur angustiis; ac priusquam, manante latius veneno, majorum volumina vitiare conentur. Cæterum dilatatæ et inveteratæ hæreses nequaquam hac via aggrediendæ sunt; eo quod prolixo temporum tractu longa iis fruendæ veritatis patuerit occasio."—Vinc. Lir. cap. xxxix.

will corrupt the monuments of antiquity. Eighthly, that the whole present Church may be ignorant of some things, and err in them; but that in matters necessary to be known and believed expressly, it cannot err, and that it cannot err in any the least thing with pertinacy such and so great as is found in heretics. Ninthly, that councils and popes may err in matters of greatest consequence.

This our opinion thus laid down, is defended by Waldensis, Occam, and others. Waldensis saith[1]: "The Church, whose faith never faileth, according to the promise made to Peter, who bare the figure of the Church when Christ said, 'I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not,' is not any particular Church, as the Church of Africa, within the bounds whereof Donatus did inclose it; nor the particular Roman Church; but the universal Church, not gathered together in a general council, which hath sometimes erred, as that at Ariminium, under Taurus the governor, and that at Constantinople, under Justinian the younger; but it is the catholic Church, dispersed through the whole world, from the baptism of Christ unto our times, which doth hold and maintain the true faith, and the faithful testimony of Jesus."

[1] Waldensis, Doctrin. Fidei, Lib. 2. Art. 2. cap. 19, "ibidem certiores judices esse, dicit, in causa fidei Patres successive, quam Synodum Antistitum generalem. Et cap. 20, ait, Gregorium non comparare 4. concilia scripturis, sed similitudinem quandam insinuare, sicut Christus in evangelio, Volo ut sitis perfecti sicut Pater vester."

"Hæc est ecclesia symbolica, ecclesia Christi, inquam, catholica et apostolica, mater credentium populorum, quæ fidem habet indefectibilem, secundum promissum Christi ad Petrum, qui tunc figuram gesait ecclesiæ: 'Ego rogavi pro te, Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua.' Non est ergo specialis ecclesia, non Africana, ut Donatus dixit; nec particularis illa Romana; sed universalis ecclesia, non quidem in generali Synodo congregata, quam aliquotiens errasse percepimus, velut illa Ariminensis congregata sub Tauro præfecto; et illa Constantinopolitana sub Justiniano minore, tempore Sergii papæ, secundum Bedam; et quædam aliæ. Sed est ecclesia Christi catholica per totum mundum dispersa, a baptismo Christi per apostolos et cæteros successores devoluta, quæ utique veram fidem continet et testimonium Christi fidele."—Tho. Waldensis, Doctrinal. Lib. II. Art. 2. cap. xix. p. 99.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE CHURCH'S OFFICE OF TEACHING AND WITNESSING THE TRUTH; AND OF THEIR ERROR WHO THINK THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH IS THE RULE OF OUR FAITH, AND THAT SHE MAY MAKE NEW ARTICLES OF OUR FAITH.

THUS having spoken of the Church's assured possession of the knowledge of the truth, in the next place we are to speak of her office of teaching and witnessing the same: touching the which, our adversaries fall into two dangerous errors: the first, that the authority of the Church is *Regula fidei, et ratio credendi*; "the rule of our faith, and the reason why we believe:" the second, that the Church may make new articles of faith.

Touching the first of these erroneous conceits, the most of them do teach that the last thing to which the persuasion of our faith resolveth itself, and the main ground whereupon it stayeth, is the authority of the Church guided by the Spirit of truth. For (say they) if infidels and misbelievers demand of us why we believe the Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the same Divine essence, the Incarnation of the Son of God, the Resurrection of the dead, and the Life of the world to come; we answer, because these things are contained in the Scriptures. If they proceed farther to ask, why we believe the Scripture; we answer, because it is the word of God: if, why we believe it to be the word of God[1]; because the Church doth so testify of it: if, why we believe the testimony of the Church; because it is guided by the Spirit[2] of truth: so that that, upon which our faith settleth her persuasion touching these things, is the authority of the catholic Church, led and guided by the Spirit of truth.

If it be said, that it is one of the things to be believed,

[1] "Nam mere credendum est quæ contenta in sacra Scriptura fuerunt a Christo revelata; per nullam enim viam hoc scimus nisi quia hoc credit ecclesia; et sic audivimus a patribus nostris."—Greg. Arim. Prolog. in Sentent. Lib. I. Distinct. 1. Qu. 1. Art. 4. fol. 7. Venet. 1503.

[2] "Puto tum quod inter ea est aliquod primo creditum, quod est ratio credendi alia, et ad quod sit ultima ratio credibilium: hoc autem est credere ecclesiam regi a Spiritu Sancto."—Durand. de Sacro Portiano. Lib. III. Dist. 24. Quæst. 1. Paris. (sine anno.)

that the Church is thus guided by the Spirit, and therefore that the authority of the Church cannot be the reason and cause of believing all things that pertain to the Christian faith, because not of those things which concern her own authority; Stapleton[1], who professeth to handle this matter most exactly, sometimes seemeth to say, that this article of faith—that the Church is guided by the Spirit, and appointed by God to be a faithful mistress of heavenly truth—is not among the articles of faith, nor in the number of things to be believed; which the Rhemists[2] upon these words, "The Church[3] is the pillar and ground of truth," most constantly affirm, saying: "We must believe, hear, and obey the Church, as the touchstone, pillar, and firmament of truth: for all this is comprised in the principle, I believe the Holy Catholic Church:" sometimes, that though perhaps, in that article, it be implied that we believe whatsoever the Church teacheth us, yet not necessarily, that we believe, that the Church is a faithful and infallible witness, and mistress of truth. And sometimes, as in his Triplication against Whitaker[4], he saith, that when we profess that we believe the Holy Catholic Church, we do not only profess to believe that there is such a Church in the world, but that we are members of it, and do believe and embrace the doctrine of it, as being guided infallibly by the Spirit of truth; and that we are taught, in the articles of our faith, that the Church ought to be listened unto, as to an infallible mistress of heavenly truth. Surely

[1] "Respondetur:—non esse proprie distinctum articulum fidei, 'quod Deus per Ecclesiam revelat,' nec illud in his verbis contineri, 'Credo Ecclesiam;'... sed hæc propositio, 'Deus per Ecclesiam revelat,' est quoddam transcendens et generale fidei axioma atque principium, ex quo et hic et omnes alii articuli deducuntur."—Tho. Stapletonus, Princip. Fidei. Relectio. Controv. iv. &c. Antverpiæ, 1596.

[2] See 'Rhemes Testament,' Lond. 1617. ad loc.

[3] 1 Tim. iii. 15.

[4] "Ubi profiteor me 'credere Ecclesiam sanctam catholicam,' non solum quod talis in mundo est, sed quod ejus me membrum esse, ejusque unitatem, fidem, doctrinam, amplecti profiteor. Idem ergo Spiritus S. qui me huic symbolo fidem dare persuasit, et sine cujus præveniente gratia et interno motu Symbolo isti ex fide Christiana non crederem, hoc quoque omnes credentes primum et ante omnia intus docuit, Ecclesiam catholicam regi a Spiritu S., et esse audiendam, esse ejus voci obediendum."—Tho. Stapleton. Triplicat. adv. Whitakerum, pro Eccles. Authoritate, cap. 16. fol. 189. Antverp. 1596.

it seemeth, his brain was much crazed when he thus wrote, saying, unsaying, and saying he knew not what. That which he addeth, that this proposition, God doth reveal unto us his heavenly truth, and teach us the mysteries of his kingdom, by the ministry of his Church, is a transcendent whereupon that article, wherein we profess to believe the catholic Church, doth depend, as all the rest do, and is not an article of the Creed, doth but more and more shew the distemper of his head. But, in that which he addeth for confirmation hereof, that we do not profess, in the first article of our faith, to believe God as the revealer of all hidden and heavenly truth, and to rest in Him as in the fountain of all illumination, is the note and brand of an impious miscreant. For, this, doubtless, is the first thing implied in our faith towards God, that we yield him this honour, to be the great Master of all truth, upon whose authority we will depend, renouncing all our own wisdom, and knowing, that as "no man knoweth the things of a man, but the spirit of a man; so no man knoweth the things of God, but the Spirit of God[1]:" and, that "flesh and blood cannot reveal these things unto us, but our Father which is in heaven[2]."

That the precept of loving God above all, is not distinctly set down among the rest of the Ten Commandments, but is implied, though principally in the first, yet generally in all, is to no purpose. If he think it is not at all contained in the Decalogue, his folly is too great.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE MANIFOLD ERRORS OF PAPISTS TOUCHING THE LAST RESOLUTION OF OUR FAITH; AND THE REFUTATION OF THE SAME.

THUS we see, he cannot avoid it, but that the Church is one of the things to be believed, and therefore cannot be the first and general cause of believing all things that are to be believed. For, when we are to be persuaded of the authority of the Church, it is doubtful unto us, and therefore can-

[1] 1 Cor. ii. 11. [2] Matth. xvi. 17.

not free us from doubting, or settle our persuasion; because that which settleth the persuasion must not be doubted of.

There is no question, then, but that the authority of the Old Testament may be brought to prove the New, to him that is persuaded of the Old, and doubteth of the New; and the authority of the New to prove the Old, to him that is persuaded of the New, and doubteth of the Old; but, to him that doubteth of both we must not allege the authority of either of these, but some other thing: so likewise, we may prove the authority of the Scripture by the Church, to him that is already persuaded of the Church; and, of the Church by the Scripture, to him that is persuaded of the Scripture; but to him that doubteth of both we must bring other reasons. For, no man proveth a thing doubtful by that which is as much doubted of as itself. So that, to prove the authority and infallibility of the Church by the testimony and authority of the Church, which is the thing doubted of, is as if one taking upon him to be a lawgiver, whose authority is doubted of, should first make a law, and publish his proclamation, and by virtue thereof, give himself power to make laws; his authority of making the first law being as much doubted of as the second.

Thus, then, it being clear and evident, that it is one of the things that are to be believed, that the Church is guided by the Spirit, if Stapleton be asked why he believeth it to be so guided, he saith, he so believeth, because the Spirit moveth him so to believe. But he should know, that three things concur to make us believe that whereof we are doubtful. The light of Divine understanding, as that whereby we apprehend the things of God; the Spirit, as the Author of this illumination; and the reasons and motives, by force whereof the Spirit induceth, moveth, and persuadeth us. Even as in the apprehension of things within the compass of the light of nature, when we are to be persuaded of a thing seeming doubtful unto us, not only the action of him that persuadeth us, and the light of natural understanding, are required to the effecting of it, but also the force of reasons winning us to assent to that we are to be persuaded of. We, therefore, demand not of Stapleton, who it is that persuadeth us to believe, or what that light of understanding is that maketh him capable of such persuasion; but, what those reasons or motives

are, by force whereof the Spirit settleth his mind in the persuasion of the truth of those things he formerly doubted of.

Surely, he saith[1], the highest and last reason that moveth a man to believe the things that pertain to faith, is the authority of the Church. Let us suppose it to be so, touching all other things; yet can it not be so in respect of those things we are to believe touching the authority of the Church itself. What is the motive, then, whereby the Spirit moveth us to believe that the Church hath Divine authority? He saith, Because it is so contained in the Scripture, and in the articles of the Creed. See then, if he be not forced to run round in a circle. He believeth other matters of faith, because contained in the Scripture; and the Scripture, because it is the Word of God; and that it is the Word of God, because the Church delivereth it to be so; and the Church, because it is led by the Spirit; and that it is led by the Spirit, because it is so contained in the Scripture and the Creed. This kind of circulation, Campian[2] reckoneth amongst the sophisms he wrongfully imputeth unto us; but it will ever be found true that the prophet pronounceth of the wicked: *Impii ambulant in circuitu*[3]; "The wicked run round till they be giddy, and are in the end, where they were when they began."

Out of this maze Stapleton cannot get himself, unless he

[1] "'Atque ita,' inquis, 'verissimum erit Ecclesiæ vocem esse ultimam credendi causam et rationem, ad quam resolvuntur omnia quæ sub fidem cadunt, &c.'"—Stapleton, Triplicat. p. 188.

[2] "Quartum his adjicitur circulatio; in hunc modum: Da mihi notas, inquam, Ecclesiæ. 'Verbum Dei, et purissima Sacramenta.' Hæccine sunt apud vos? 'Quis dubitat?' Ego vero pernego. 'Consule verbum Dei.' Jam consului, minusque vobis, quam ante, faveo. 'At, tamen planum est.' Proba mihi. 'Quia nos ne latum quidem unguem discedimus a verbo Dei.' Ubi est acumen tuum? semperne capies pro argumento illud ipsum quod ponitur in quæstione? Quoties hoc jam inculco? Non tu evigilas? Num faces admovendæ sunt? Dico, a te perperam exponi verbum Dei: testes habeo quindecim ætates: sta sententiæ, non meæ, non tuæ, sed harum omnium. 'Stabo sententiæ verbi Dei: Spiritus ubi vult, spirat.' Eccum, quos gyros, quas rotas fabricat? Hic nugator, tot verborum atque sophismatum architectus, nescio cui formidolosus esse queat; molestus erit fortasse. Molestiam vestra prudentia sublevabit, formidinem res eripuit."—Edm. Campiani Decem Rationes. p. 105. Antverp. 1631.

[3] Psalm xi. 10. [Ps. xii. 8.?]

fly to human motives and inducements, and make them the highest and last reason of his faith; and so indeed he doth. For, fearing that he hath not said well, in saying he believeth the Church is guided by the Spirit, because it is contained in the Scripture; he addeth another reason why he so believeth, because it is the general opinion and conceit of all Christian men, that it is so guided: and so, indeed, his persuasion stayeth itself upon human grounds, though he be unwilling that men should so think and conceive.

These mazes and labyrinths other papists seeking to avoid, run, without any such shew of fear as Stapleton bewrayeth, into most gross absurdities: some thinking that the authority of the Church is the reason moving us to believe all other things; and that we believe that the Church is led and guided by the Spirit, and that the truth of God, which the Church teacheth us, moved thereunto by human motives; namely, for that that must needs be the truth which so many miracles have confirmed, which a few weak and silly men, contemptible in the eyes of the world, have won all the world to believe, and have holden out the defence of it against all the furies of enemies whatsoever, which they could not have done, had not the Spirit and power of the Most High been with them, making them more than conquerors. This is the opinion of Durandus[1], who maketh human motives and in-

[1] "Sic credimus Deum esse Trinum et Unum... quod Scriptura hoc dicit, quam credimus a Deo inspiratam... rursus credimus Scripturam a Deo esse inspiratam quod ecclesia quæ regitur a Spiritu Sancto hoc approbat... illa sola Scriptura recipitur ut canonica, et ei soli fides adhibetur quam ecclesia approbavit. Unde Augustinus contra fundamentum Manichei sic: 'Non crederem evangelio nisi crederem ecclesiæ approbanti'... ergo credere quod ecclesia non esset tanquam a Spiritu Sancto directa, primum inter credibilia quod est ratio credendi alia, et ad quod sit ultima resolutio credibilium est credere ecclesiam regi a Spiritu Sancto."—Durandus, Lib. III. Dist. 24. Quæst. 1. Artic. 1. [fol. 222. Par. 1550.]

"Præter fidem infusam necessaria est ad actum credendi fides acquisita... quod dicit Beatus Aug. contra fundamentum Manichei... 'non crederem evangelio si non crederem ecclesiæ approbanti; iterum evangelium Nazareorum non admitto, quia ecclesia non admittit:' assensus autem dependens ex approbatione ecclesiæ est acquisitus: ergo fides infusa non sufficeret ad credendum articulos in evangelio contentos, si non concurreret notitia ex approbatione ecclesiæ."—Idem. Dist. 25. Quæst. 3. [fol. 224.]

ncements the highest and last reason of his faith; to which so Stapleton flieth, though unwillingly. Others think, that e believe by the sole and absolute command of the will, ther finding nothing, or nothing of sufficient force, to per- ıade us. Both these conceits are to be examined by us.

Concerning the first, we are to observe that the School- an make two kinds of faith, calling the one *fidem infusam*, ı infused faith, wrought in us by the enlightening Spirit of od, and staying itself upon the truth of God; the other, *lem acquisitam*, a human and natural faith, grounding itself pon human authority, and wrought by human motives and ersuasions. So that, according to the opinion of these men, e believe the articles of our Christian faith, and whatsoever contained in the books of the prophets and apostles, be- ıuse we are persuaded that they were revealed by Almighty od; and this pertaineth to infused faith, as they think: but ıat they were revealed, there is nothing that persuadeth us ıt the authority[1] of the Church, and because we have so arned and received of our forefathers; and this pertaineth) human faith, and is merely a natural and human persua- on, like that the Saracens have touching the superstition of [ahomet, who therefore believe them, because their ancestors ave delivered them unto them.

If this opinion were true, as Melchior Canus[2] rightly oteth, the final stay of our infused faith, and the first

[1] "Nam mere credendum est quæ contenta in sacra Scriptura ıerunt a Christo revelata; per nullam enim viam hoc scimus nisi quia oc credit ecclesia; et sic audivimus a patribus nostris."—Greg. Arim. rolog. in Sentent. Lib. I. Distinct. 1. Qu. 1. Art. 4. fol. 7. Venet. 1503.

[2] "Eorum hic errorem dissimulare non possum, qui asserunt, fidem ostram eo, tanquam in ultimam credendi causam, reducendam esse, ; credamus ecclesiam esse veracem, cui prius (inquiunt) assentimur er fidem acquisitam, quam per infusam. Quod si verum esset, prima ıtio formalis infusæ fidei, non esset veritas increata, sed creata. uare fides nostra non inniteretur, tanquam suo fundamento, divinæ ritati, sed humanæ: deinde cum assensus conclusionis non sit rtior principiorum assensu, ut Aristoteles, 1. Post. Lib. demonstrat. i fides infusa fido acquisita niteretur, tum Deum esse Trinum, cui sentimur per infusam fidem, non esset nobis aut firmius aut certius, ıam Ecclesiam esse veracem, cui juxta horum sensum assentimur per lem acquisitam, et per humanarum causarum incitamenta."—Melch. anus, De Locis Theologicis, Lib. II. cap. 8. Col. Agr. 1605.

reason moving us so to believe, should not be the truth of God, but human authority. For, we should believe the articles of our faith, because they were revealed; and believe they were revealed, because our ancestors so delivered unto us, and the Church so believeth. And from hence it would farther follow, that seeing the assent yielded to the conclusion can be no greater nor more certain than that which is yielded to the premises whence it is deduced and inferred, we should have no greater certainty of things divine and revealed than such as human means and causes can yield. And so, seeing we can never be so well persuaded of any man, or multitude of men, but that we may justly fear, either they are deceived or will deceive; if our faith depend upon such grounds, we cannot firmly and undoubtedly believe. Nay, it is consequent upon this absurd opinion, that the children of the Church, and they of the household of faith, have no infused or divine faith at all; for that whatsoever is revealed by the God of truth is true, the heathens make no doubt, but doubt whether any thing was so revealed; and, that anything was so revealed, if these men say true, we have no assurance but by human means and causes.

But the absurdity hereof, the same Canus[1], out of Calvin, doth very learnedly demonstrate, reasoning in this sort: If all they that had been our teachers, nay, if all the angels in heaven shall teach us any other or contrary doctrine to that we have received, we must hold them accursed, and not suffer our faith to be shaken by them; as the Apostle chargeth us in the Epistle to the Galatians: therefore our faith doth not rely upon human causes or grounds of assurance. *Ne mens nostra vacillet, altius petenda, quam ab hominum vel ratione vel auctoritate Scripturæ authoritas.* Besides, our faith, and that of the apostles and prophets, being the same, it must needs have the same object, and the same ground and stay to

[1] "Si omnes hi qui me docuerunt, imo adeo angeli cœlorum mihi astruent oppositum ejus quod fide teneo, non ex eo fides mea labefactetur, juxta Pauli apostoli præceptum illud, 'Licet nos aut angelus de cœlo eveniat et nobis,' &c.... Nostræ igitur fidei assensio humanis causis et incitamentis non innitatur, quæ scilicet fides acquisita sectatur. Ne mens nostra vacillet, altius petenda quam ab hominum vel ratione vel auctoritate scripturæ authoritas."—Melchior Canus, Lib. II. cap. 8. [p. 47.]

rest upon in both: but they builded themselves upon the sure and unmoveable rock of divine truth and authority: therefore we must do so likewise. If any man desire farther satisfaction herein, let him read Canus and Calvin, to whom in these things Canus is much beholding.

Others therefore, to avoid this absurdity, run into that other before mentioned; that we believe the things that are divine, by the mere and absolute command of our will, not finding any sufficient motives and reasons of persuasion: and hereupon, they define faith in this sort: *Fides est assensus firmus inevidens*, that is, Faith is a firm, certain, and full assent of the mind, believing those things the truth whereof no way appeareth unto us. For farther explication and better clearing of this definition of faith, they make two kinds of certainty; for there is, as they say, *certitudo evidentiæ* and *certitudo adhærentiæ:* that is, there is a certainty of evidence, which is of those things the truth whereof appeareth unto us; and another, of adherence and firm cleaving to that, the truth whereof appeareth not unto us. This latter they suppose to be the certainty that is found in faith, and thereupon they hold that a man may believe a thing merely because he will, without any motives or reason of persuasion at all; the contrary whereof, when Picus Mirandula proposed, among other his conclusions to be disputed in Rome, he was charged with heresy for it. But he sufficiently cleared himself from all such imputation, and improved their fantasy that so think, by unanswerable reasons, which I have thought good to lay down in this place.

"It is not," saith he[1], "in the power of a man to think a thing to be, or not to be, merely because he will; therefore

[1] "Non est in libera potestate hominis credere articulum fidei esse verum, quando sibi placet, et credere non esse verum, quando sibi placet.... Antecedens... patet per experientiam: quia quilibet in se experitur, quod oblata ei propositione dubia, si est ei mere dubia, ad neutram partem opinandam per assensum inclinatur, donec ei nova supervenerit apparentia, vel per syllogisticam rationem vel per intuitivam notitiam, vel per testimonium multorum, vel per authoritatem dicentis, vel aliud simile.

"Non est in potestate hominis libera, facere apparere aliquid suo intellectui esse verum, et facere apparere non esse verum: ergo non est in potestate hominis, sic vel sic credere esse, vel non esse verum: tenetur consequentia: quia est contradictio aliquem credere aliquid,

much less firmly to believe it. The truth of the antecedent we find by experience, and it evidently appeareth unto us, because if a doubtful proposition be proposed, concerning which the understanding and mind of man resolveth nothing, seeing no reason to lead to resolve one way or other, the mind thus doubtful cannot incline any way, till there be some inducement, either of reason, sight of the eye, or testimony, or authority of them we are well conceited of, to settle our persuasion. Secondly, a man cannot assent to anything, or judge it to be true, unless it so appear unto him; but the sole act of a man's will cannot make a thing to appear and

et assentiri illi, et illud ei non apparere esse verum.... Hoc apparere tale intellectui est, quia objectum quod repræsentatur est tale: et evidentiam, vel aliud quicquid sit illud, quod id facit credibile vel non credibile, est tale, et intellectus est talis; sed facere objectum esse tale, vel intellectum esse talem, non est in arbitrio voluntatis.

"Merus actus voluntatis non potest se habere ut actus primus, respectu specificationis actuum intellectus: ergo, per imperium solum voluntatis, non poterit intellectus determinari ad talem specificationem. ... Quod licet actus intellectus, quo ad exercitium, dependeat a voluntate, non tamen quod ad specificationem.

"Ad illud credendum, non determinatur homo præcise, per actum voluntatis: de quo interrogatus, cur illud crediderit, non assignabit præcisum actum voluntatis: sed ita est quod interrogatus aliquis, cur credat potius Christianæ fidei quam fidei Mahumetensium? non assignabit præcise actum voluntatis: ergo non per præcisum actum voluntatis inclinatus est ille ad credendum; quod autem non assignetur merus actus voluntatis, patet ex experientia et ex dictis nostrorum Theologorum, a quibus communiter illa octo allegantur, cur evangelio debeamus credere: scilicet pronunciatio prophetica, scripturarum concordia, authoritas scribentium, rationabilitas contentorum, [irrationabilitas contentorum?] irrationabilitas singulorum errorum, Ecclesiæ stabilitas, miraculorum claritas.

"Quotiescunque aliqui duo determinantur ad credendum opposita, et quilibet illorum præcise per hoc determinatur, quia vult sic determinari, indifferente ad hoc omnino judicio vel suasione rationis, non potest dici quod rationabilius iste moveatur ad credendum quam e contra: sed datis duobus, quorum alter vult credere et esse verum, et alter non vult credere, est dicere, hunc vel illum velle rationabilius, et alium irrationabilius: ergo illi, ad sic vel sic velle, non determinantur, quia præcise sic volunt. Major hujus rationis est nota, quia, ut inquit Albertus in iii. de Anima: Cum voluntas sic agit præcise, quia vult sic agere; assimilatur tyranno, in cujus actione non quæritur ratio acti, quia ipsius agere, non est secundum rationem agere, sed agere pro libito."

seem true or false, but either the evidence of the thing, or the testimony and authority of some one of whose judgment he is persuaded. Thirdly, though the action of understanding *quoad exercitium*, as to consider of a thing and think upon it, or to turn away such consideration from it, depend on the will; yet not *quoad specificationem*, as to assent or dissent: for these opposite and contrary kinds of the understanding's actions are from the contrary and different appearings of things unto us. Fourthly, the sole command of the will cannot make a man to believe that, which being demanded why he believeth, he giveth reasons and allegeth inducements: but so it is, that in matters of our Christian faith we allege sundry reasons, moving us to believe as Christians do, as appeareth by the course of all divines[1], who lay down eight principal reasons moving men to believe the Gospel; namely, the light of prophetical prediction; the harmony and agreement of the scriptures; the diligence of them that received them, carefully seeking to discern between truth and error; the authority and gravity of the writers; the reasonableness of the things written, and the unreasonableness of all contrary errors; the stability of the Church; and the miracles that have been done for the confirmation of the faith it professeth. Fifthly, if there be two, whereof one believeth precisely, because he will, and another, only because he will not believe, refuseth to believe the same thing; the act of neither of these is more reasonable than the other, being like unto the will of a tyrant, that is not guided at all by reason, but makes his own liking the rule of his actions. Now, who is so impious as to say, the Christians, that believe the gospel, have no more reason to lead them so to do, than the infidels that refuse to believe?"

With Picus, in the confutation of this senseless conceit, we may join Cardinal Cameracensis[2], who farther sheweth

[1] "Contra omnes istos in communi, octo sunt viæ eos rationabiliter convincendi, quæ sunt, prænunciatio prophetica, Scripturarum concordia, auctoritas scribentium, diligentia recipientium, rationabilitas contentorum, irrationabilitas singulorum errorum, Ecclesiæ stabilitas, miraculorum claritas."—Scotus, (Duns) Prolog. Sententiar. Quæst. 2. ["Octo viæ contra infideles." p. 42. Lugd. 1639.]

[2] "Nam sicut impossibile est assentire sine ratione, ita videtur impossibile assentire plus quam ratio probat vel videtur probare."—Pet.

that as a man cannot persuade himself of a thing, merely because he will, without any reason at all; so, having reason, he cannot persuade himself more strongly and assuredly of it, than the reason he hath will afford; for if he do, it is so far an unreasonable act, like that of a tyrant before mentioned. Durandus[1] likewise is of the same opinion: *Assentiri nullus potest, nisi ei quod apparet verum: igitur oportet quod illud quod creditur, appareat rationi verum, vel in se, vel ratione medii per quod assentitur; et si non in se, sed tantum ratione medii, illud medium apparebit verum, vel in se, vel per aliud medium; et si non est processus in infinitum, oportet quod deveniatur ad primum, quod apparet rationi esse verum in se, et secundum se;* that is, "No man can yield assent to anything, but that which appeareth to him to be true; therefore whatsoever a man believeth must seem and appear unto him to be true, either immediately and by itself, or in respect of that medium, by force whereof he is persuaded to believe; and if it do not appear unto him to be true in and by itself, but only in respect of the medium, that medium must appear true, either in respect of itself, or by another medium; and because there is no infinite proceeding in these things, we must at last come to some first thing, which in and by itself must appear to be true."

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE LAST RESOLUTION OF TRUE FAITH, AND WHEREUPON IT STAYETH ITSELF.

IN natural and human knowledge there are two sorts of things: some that are evident unto us immediately in and by themselves; and some that are not. The former of these are likewise of two sorts, for there are some known only by intuitive knowledge as contingent things; so that we cannot apprehend the truth of any proposition framed of such things,

de Alliaco. (Card. Cameracens.) Lib. Sentent. Quæst. 1. Art. 2. [Paris. (sine anno.) fol. xliv.]

[1] Durandus a Sancto-Portiano, in Sent. Lib. III. Dist. 24. Quæst. 3. [p. 578. Lugd. 1595.]

unless we intuitively apprehend the things whereof such propositions are framed (as, that Peter and John now walk, now leap for joy, or tremble for fear, we cannot know, unless we intuitively behold both these men and these things to agree unto them). Other things there are universal, necessary, and always of one sort: these may be evidently known by abstractive knowledge. Of these, there may be framed two sorts of propositions; for there are some propositions *per se notæ*, originally clear and evident; the *termini* or single words whereof being rightly conceived by us, we cannot but know the truth of the whole propositions (as, that every whole and entire thing is greater and better than any part of it)[1]. And other propositions there are, which are not thus originally clear and evident upon the right understanding of the *termini* or single words whereof they are composed, but a man doubteth of them till he see them deduced by clear and evident consequence from the former; these things a man is properly said to learn.

Thus, having spoken of things evident in themselves, let us come to the things that in themselves are never evident unto us, either that they are or what they are: but that they are, and what they are, appeareth unto us by a foreign medium, without the compass of the things themselves. Of this sort are those things we are persuaded of upon the report of others; this is the certainty we have of things believed: the truth of them in themselves appeareth not unto us, nor is seen of us; in which sense faith may rightly be named a firm assent without evidence; and there may be a certainty of adherence, as the Schoolmen call it, without evidence; yet must the credit of him that speaketh be known unto us, and we must evidently discern that he doth speak unto us, upon whose testimony we rely.

The Schoolmen make three sorts of things: some that are believed because they are first known, as the first principles originally clear and evident unto us, and the conclusions

[1] "Item patet per Linconiensem, 1. posteriorum, capit. 1. ubi dicit, quod scientia principiorum non est acquisita per doctrinam, quia non docemur vel addiscimus nisi illud quod cum primo concipimus est nobis dubium, vel apparet falsum, et post dubitationem manifestatur nobis veritas."—Aliacensis in 1 Sent. [Petrus ab Alliaco, Cameracensis, in 1 Sent. Quæst. 1. Art. 3. fol. 51, B. Par. per Johann. Petit.]

demonstratively proved out of those principles: other things that are believed and never known, as all the matters of fact that are reported in the Scripture, which we can never know by the immediate evidence of the things themselves, but mediately, in that we know they are delivered unto us by Him that cannot lie. And a third sort of things, that are first believed, and afterwards, the understanding being enlightened, and the heart cleansed, they are discerned of us to be true.

The opinion of the ordinary papists is, that the things pertaining to our faith are believed, because God revealeth and delivereth them to be so, as we are required to believe; but that we know not that God hath revealed any such thing, but by human conjectures and probabilities: so weakly do they make our faith to be grounded. We confess that faith may rightly be said to be a firm assent, without evidence of many of the things believed in themselves; but the medium, by force whereof we are drawn to believe, must be evident unto us, as Durandus doth rightly demonstrate.

Augustine[1] noteth that there are three things found in the soul of man: opinion; belief, or faith; and science: the first of these is necessarily and ever joined with imperfection and defect, to wit, danger and fear of erring; the third is ever perfect, excluding both; the second, standing in the midst, is of a middle nature, and dependeth upon the third. For, otherwise, to believe their reports, whose credit is not known unto us, is levity and rashness. Faith, therefore, that is commendable and without fault, presupposeth knowledge, and right believing groweth out of it. We hold therefore that every true Christian doth most evidently discern and know that it is God that speaketh in the Scriptures; which Calvin excellently expresseth. *Illius virtute* (saith he[2]) *illuminati, jam non aut nostro aut aliorum judicio credimus a Deo esse scripturam, sed supra humanum judicium certo certius constituimus, non secus, ac si ipsius Dei numen illic intueremur, hominum ministerio ab ipsissimo Dei ore flux-*

[1] "Tria sunt item velut finitima sibimet in animis hominum distinctione dignissima, intelligere, credere, opinari. Quæ si per se ipsa considerentur, primum semper sine vitio est, secundum aliquando cum vitio, tertium nunquam sine vitio."—August. De Utilitate Credendi, ad Honoratum, cap. 11. [Tom. VIII. col. 61.]

[2] Instit. Lib. I. cap. 7. §. 5. [p. 12. Amst. 1667.]

isse: "After we are enlightened by the Spirit we do no longer trust, either our own judgment or the judgment of other men, that the Scriptures are of God; but above all certainty of human judgment we most certainly resolve, as if in them we saw the majesty and glory of God, as Moses saw it in the mount, that by the ministry of men they came unto us from God's own most sacred mouth."

Hereunto doth St Augustine fully agree, shewing that the authority of the Church is but an introduction to the spiritual discerning of divine things, and that men rest not in it. Whereupon he[1] saith: *Homini non valenti verum intueri, ut ad id fiat idoneus, purgarique se sinat, præsto est auctoritas, quam partim miraculis, partim multitudine valere nemo ambigit:* that is, "Men, that are not yet able to discern the heavenly truth that they may be fitted to it, and suffer themselves to be purged from their impurity hindering them from it, have the benefit of the direction of authority, which standeth upon two things: the one, the greatness of miracles and wondrous works done; the other, multitude." Christ (saith Augustine[2]) being to bring a salving medicine into the world, and to reform the most corrupt and wicked manners of the sons of men, by miracles got himself authority, by authority won credit, by the credit he had gotten drew multitudes after him, which continuing long in one course of profession, in tract and continuance of time gained the reverent estimation of antiquity, and so

[1] August. de Utilitate Credendi, cap. 16. [col. 67.]

[2] "Ipsum videmus quantum illa, cui et ipsi credunt docet historia, nihil prius, neque fortius, quam credi sibi voluisse: cum illi nondum essent idonei, cum quibus ei res esset ad divina percipienda secreta.

"Quid enim aliud agunt tanta et tam multa miracula, ipso etiam dicente illa fieri non ob aliud, nisi ut sibi crederetur? Fide ille stultos ducebat, vos ratione ducitis. Clamabat ille ut crederet vos reclamatis. Laudabat credentes ille, vos objurgatis....

"Ergo Ille (sc. Christus) afferens medicinam quæ corruptissimos mores sanatura esset, miraculis conciliavit authoritatem, authoritate meruit fidem, fide contraxit multitudinem, multitudine obtinuit vetustatem, vetustate roboravit religionem, quam non solum hæreticorum ineptissima novitas fraudibus agens, sed nec gentium quidem veternosus error violenter adversans, aliqua ex parte convelleret.

"Hæc est, crede, saluberrima auctoritas, hæc prius mentis nostræ a terrena inhabitatione suspensio, hæc in Deum verum ab hujus mundi amore conversio. Sola est auctoritas quæ commonet stultos ut ad sapientiam festinent."—August. ibid. capp. 14, 15, 16. [coll. 65. 67.]

strengthened the opinion of religion professed by them. These things (saith Augustine[1]) are not necessary to men of spiritual and heavenly understanding: but we are now to shew how men may become wise and attain the knowledge of spiritual things. This they cannot attain to, unless they be purged from their soul's uncleanness: from which they cannot be purged unless they listen to them that are already wise and exercised in things that are divine; and therefore they must begin with authority.

Hugo de Sancto Victore[2] maketh three sorts of believers: for there are (saith he) *qui sola pietate credere eligunt, qui utrum credendum sit, vel non credendum, ratione non comprehendunt; alii ratione approbant quod fide credunt, alii puritate cordis et munda conscientia interius jam gustare incipiunt, quod fide crediderunt:* "The first are moved to believe out of piety, finding the majesty of God to present itself unto them in the word of truth and happy communion of the people professing the same, challenging their attention and readiness to be taught by him: in the second, the light of divine reason causeth approbation of that they believe: in the third sort, the purity of divine understanding apprehendeth most certainly the things believed, and causeth a foretasting of those things that hereafter more fully shall be enjoyed. They that are thus established in the faith do now already begin to foretaste that which they long in heaven distinctly to know and enjoy, and begin already to have God present with them, by force of divine contemplation; so that if all the world should be turned into miracles, they could not remove them from the certainty of their persuasion. Hence it is, that Picus[3] saith in his Conclusions, "that as faith, which is but a bare credulity, is in degree of perfection less than science; so true faith is greater and more certain than any science gotten by demonstration."

[1] In Sententiis.

[2] "Quidam etiam fideles sunt, qui sola pietate credere eligunt: quod tamen utrum sit credendum an non credendum sit, ratione non comprehendunt. Alii ratione approbant quod fide credunt. Alii puritate cordis et munda conscientia interius jam gustare incipiunt quod fide credunt."—Hugo de S. Victor. De Sacramentis, Tom. III. Lib. I. Pars X. cap. 4. [Mogunt. 1617.]

[3] "Sicut fides, quæ est credulitas, est infra scientiam; ita fides, quæ est vere fides, est supersubstantialiter supra scientiam et intellectum, nos Deo immediate conjungens."—Jo. Picus Mirandula. Conclusiones. [Tom. I. p. 53. Basil. 1601.]

Thus then we may easily discern what is the formal reason of our faith, or inducing us to believe. In things that are therefore believed, because known, as in the principles and conclusions of natural knowledge, the evidence of things appearing to us is the formal reason of our belief and persuasion. In things first believed and afterwards known, the evidence of the things appearing unto us being enlightened by the light of grace. In things only believed, and not known, the authority of God himself, whom we do most certainly discern to speak in the word of faith which is preached unto us. *Si puros oculos, et integros sensus, illuc afferamus* (saith Calvin[1]) *statim occurret Dei majestas quæ subacta reclamandi audacia, nos sibi parere cogat:* "If we bring pure eyes and perfect senses, the majesty of God presently presenteth itself unto us in the divine Scripture, and beating down all thoughts of contradicting or doubting of things so heavenly, forceth us to obey." For[2] *non dubium vim Numinis illic vigere et spirare sentimus, qua ad parendum scientes quidem, ac volentes, vividius tamen et efficacius, quam pro humana, aut voluntate, aut scientia, trahimur ac accendimur:* We find a greater light of understanding shining unto us in this doctrine of faith, than is found within the compass of nature: a satisfaction touching many things, in which human reason could not satisfy us in: a joy and exultation of the heart, such and so great as groweth not out of nature. This maketh us assure ourselves the doctrine which thus affecteth us, is revealed from God: that they are the only people of God, and have the means of happiness, where this treasure of heavenly wisdom is found; that those books are the richest jewel that the world possesseth, and ought to be the canon of our faith, which this people delivereth unto us as received from them to whom these things were first of all made known and revealed.

So then that God speaketh in the Scripture, and is the author of it, we know more certainly than anything that is known by natural light of reason: and thereupon we believe all things therein contained, though many of them are such as can never be known of us, as those that are historical and other such as are not known at first, though after we have believed we begin to understand and know them. Hereunto agree the best learned, and most devout and religious amongst

[1] Instit. Lib. I. cap. 7. §. 4. [p. 12.] [2] Ibid. §. 5. [p. 12.]

the Schoolmen. For the greater part of them were given to curious disputes, but void of all devotion, as Gerson[1] complaineth. Alexander of Hales saith[2], "There is a certainty of speculation, and a certainty of experience: a certainty in respect of the understanding, and a certainty in respect of the affection: a certainty in respect of the spiritual man, and a certainty in respect of the natural man: and pronounceth that the things apprehended by us in divine knowledge are more certainly discerned by such as are spiritual, in the certainty of experience, in the certainty which is in respect of affection, and by way of spiritual taste and feeling, than anything is discerned in the light of natural understanding. *Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua*[3]*!* saith David the prophet, "How sweet are thy words, O Lord, unto my mouth! They are sweeter than the honey, and the honeycomb." And again, "I have known long since that thou hast established them for ever." Thus then it is true, that the authority of God's Church prepareth us unto the faith, and serveth as an introduction to bring us to the discerning and perfect apprehension of divine things, but is not the ground of our faith and reason of believing. And that doubtless is the meaning of those words of Augustine[4], "That he would not believe the Gospel, if the authority of the Church did not move him thereunto."

[1] "Unde factum est ut ab indevotis scholasticis, quorum, proh dolor! major est numerus, ipse minus extiterit frequentatus, cum tamen nulla sublimior, nulla divinior, nulla salubrior atque suavior, pro theologis sit doctrina."—Jo. Gersonius de Examin. Doctrin. [Tom. I. Pars 1. col. 21. Antverp. 1706.]

[2] "Est certitudo speculationis, et est certitudo experientiæ: præterea est certitudo secundum intellectum, et est certitudo secundum affectum: item, est certitudo quoad hominem spiritualem, et est certitudo quoad hominem animalem. Dico ergo, quod modus theologicus est certior certitudine experientiæ, certitudine quoad affectum, qui est per modum gustus. Psalm cxviii, 'Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua,' &c., quamvis non certior quoad speculationem intellectus, quæ est per modum visus. Item, certior est homini spirituali, quamvis incertior animali. 1 Cor. ii. 'Animalis homo non percipit ea quæ Spiritus Dei sunt: spiritualis autem omnia dijudicat.'"—Alex. Al. Summa Theol. Lib. I. Qu. 1. Memb. 4. Art. 2. [Col. Agr. 1622.]

[3] Psalm cxix. [103.]

[4] "Evangelio non crederem nisi me catholicæ Ecclesiæ commoveret auctoritas."—August. contr. Epist. Fundamenti, cap. 5. [Tom. VIII. col. 154.]

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE MEANING OF THOSE WORDS OF AUGUSTINE, THAT HE WOULD NOT BELIEVE THE GOSPEL, IF THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH DID NOT MOVE HIM.

THE divines give two explications of these words of Augustine. For Occam[1] and some others say, the Church, whereof he speaketh, is not the multitude of believers that now are in the world, but the whole number that are and have been since Christ appeared in the flesh; so including the apostles; in which sense they confess the Church, comprehending in it the apostles and writers of the whole scripture of the New Testament, is of greater authority than the books of the gospel written by them and delivered to posterity. Others, taking the name of the Church to signify only the believers that now presently are in the world, say the meaning of Augustine is, that he had never believed the gospel, if the authority of the Church had not been an introduction unto him: "Not that his faith rested upon it as a final stay, but that it caused him so far to respect the word of the gospel, to listen unto it, and with a kind of acquisite and human faith to believe it, that he was thereby fitted to a better illumination, by force whereof he might more certainly know and believe it to be of God." To which purpose Waldensis[2],

[1] "Ecclesia catholica episcopos et apostolos a tempore apostolorum usque ad hodiernum diem sibimet succedentes importat. Et sic accipit nomen ecclesiæ Aug. cum asserit quod non crederet evangelium nisi eum auctoritas ecclesiæ compelleret. Ista enim ecclesia scriptores evangelii et omnes apostolos comprehendit, sicut probatum est. Quare ex auctoritate Aug. sane intellecta inferri, non potest quod magis sit credendum summo pontifici canonum conditori quam evangelio scripto."—Guil. de Occam. Dial. Lib. I. Pars i. cap. 4. [fol. 2, B. Lugd. 1494.]

[2] "Nec tamen hic laudo supercilium, quod quidam attollunt volentes occasione hujus dicti decretum Patrum in ecclesia majoris esse auctoris et culminis et ponderis quam sit auctoritas Scripturarum. Quod quidem non tam videtur ineptum quam fatuum, nisi talis quis dicat Philippum fuisse majorem Christo, quando induxit Nathanielem ad credendum Christum esse illum quem scripsit Moyses in Lege et Prophetis, Joan. i., sine cujus auctoritate non tunc adverteret; et si sic dicat conformiter parentes nostros carnales, aut pædagogos esse altiores et

out of Thomas Aquinas, observeth, that as the Samaritans believed that Christ was the promised Saviour, upon the report of the woman that talked with him, made unto them; but afterwards having seen him, and talked with him, they professed that they believed, not for her saying any longer: for themselves had heard him speak, and did know that he was the Saviour of the world indeed. So men at the first begin to believe, moved so to do by the authority of the Church; but rest not in it, but in the infallible assurance of divine truth. Upon the mistaking of this saying of St Augustine, and an erroneous conceit, that our faith stayeth wholly upon the authority and testimony of the Church, hath grown that opinion, that the authority of the Church is greater than the authority of the Scriptures.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE PAPISTS PREFERRING THE CHURCH'S AUTHORITY BEFORE THE SCRIPTURE.

TOUCHING which odious comparison, I find some shew of difference amongst the papists, but none in deed. Some affirm that the authorities of the Church and the Scripture,

eminentiores Christo, quia eorum auctoritate ab infantia didicimus quid de Christo sit credendum, quid sperandum.

"Bene enim allegorizavit Sanctus Thomas de hac re, inducens mulierem Samaritanam loco universalis ecclesiæ, quam cum audivissent cives prædicantem de Christo et dicentem quod 'dixit mihi quæcunque feci;' illi tandem inducti, 'Jam,' inquiunt, 'non propter loquelam tuam credimus, ipsi enim audivimus et scimus quia hic est Salvator mundi;' Joan iv. Non sunt ingrati quia non propter loquelam mulieris credunt jam cum auctoritati ejus adhærent cui credant, quamvis ad credendum illi auctoritate mulieris inducti sunt; sic enim dixit textus, quod multi crediderunt in eum propter verbum mulieris testimonium perhibentis, principaliter et primo credunt. Sic nec sunt ingrati filii matris ecclesiæ qui primo propter verbum ecclesiæ testantis de Christo credunt, et cum crediderint, auctoritatem qua inducti sunt auctoritati ejus postponunt cui credunt; immo auctoritate ejusdem ecclesiæ hoc decretum est olim, scilicet, posteriorum hominum libros sive ecclesiarum auctoritati sacri canonis debere submitti, quasi ad scabellum pedum ejus."—Tho. Waldens. Doctrinal. Fid. Lib. II. Art. 2. cap. 21. [Tom. I. p. 201. Ven. 1571.]

being in divers sorts, may in divers sorts and respects either of them be said to be greater than the other; to wit, the one in nature of an evidence, the other of a judge; and that therefore the comparing of them in authority is unfit and superfluous. Others say that the Church is greater than the Scriptures. The Rhemists[1] seem to be of the first sort, seeking to conceal that which indeed they think, because they would not incur the dislike and ill opinion of men naturally abhorring from so odious a comparison. Yet in the same place they do make the comparison and prefer the Church before the Scriptures. 1. In respect of antiquity, in that it was before them. 2. In excellency of nature, in that the Church is the spouse of Christ, the temple of God, the proper subject of God and his graces; for which the Scriptures were, and not the Church for the Scriptures. 3. In power of judging of doubts and controversies, the Church having judicial power, the Scripture not being capable of it. 4. In evidence, the definition of the Church being more clear and evident than those of the Scriptures.

Stapleton[2] saith the comparison may be made, and the

[1] See "Rhemes Testament." Annotat. in Galat. cap. ii. "The Scriptures, always true in themselves, are so known to be by the Church."—(Margin, p. 589.) Lond. 1617.

[2] "Respondeo dicendum, quod Ecclesiæ authoritas cum Scripturæ authoritate quatuor modis comparari potest. Primum, quod Ecclesia sic Scripturæ præferatur, ut possit sua authoritate aliquid docere contra et aliter quam Scriptura docet tanquam ea simpliciter major, sicut in hoc sensu est omnibus humanis scripturis, seu Ethnicorum seu etiam fidelium privatis literis, superior. Sed hic sensus falsus est, et a catholicis nunquam intentus, sed ab hæreticis maledice objectus. Alio modo intelligi potest authoritas Ecclesiæ major esse quam Scripturæ, quia non ei simpliciter subjicitur aut astringitur, sed potest sua authoritate aliquid quod sit fidei docere et decernere, quod Scriptura nec determinavit, nec docuit. Et hic sensus verus quidem est, ut postea dicetur, sed ad hanc quæstionem non pertinet. Iste enim sensus potius ad amplitudinem authoritatis ecclesiasticæ quam ad præeminentiam proprie refertur. Tertio modo intelligi potest Ecclesiæ authoritas esse vel major vel minor vel æqualis authoritati Scripturæ, respectu eorum quæ utraque docet; et hoc dupliciter. Primum, quoad obligationem in se, in qua æqualitas asseritur, quia ea quæ Ecclesia docet, æque fideles obligant, atque ea quæ Scriptura docet; et, ut Concilium Trident. Sess. 4. loquitur, pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipiuntur. Deinde, quoad evidentiam quoad nos, in qua majoritas

Church preferred before the Scriptures, four ways. First, So as if the Church might define contrary to the Scriptures, as she may contrary to the writings of particular men how great soever. In this sense, they of the Church of Rome make not the comparison, neither do we charge them with any such thing, though Stapleton be pleased to say so of us. Secondly, So as the Church may define, though not contrary to, yet beside, the Scripture or written word of God. This comparison is not made properly, touching the pre-eminence of one above another in authority, but the extent of one beyond the other; as Stapleton rightly noteth. In this sense the Romanists make the Church greater in authority than the Scriptures, that is, the extent of the Church's authority larger than of the Scriptures, to bring in their traditions: but this we deny, and will in due place improve their error herein. Thirdly, In the obedience they both challenge of us, where they all say that we are bound, with as great affection of piety to obey and submit ourselves unto the determinations of the Church as of the Scriptures; both being infallible, of divine and heavenly authority, against which no man may resist, and that it is a matter of faith so to think. Yea, some of them, as Stapleton in the same place, are not ashamed to say that we are bound with greater certainty of faith to subscribe unto the determinations of the Church than of the Scriptures; and that it is the authority of the Church that maketh us accept, embrace, and believe the Scriptures. Fourthly, In the nature of the things themselves, in which respect they prefer the Church before the Scriptures, as being in itself more excellent than the Scriptures, as the subject, by which the Spirit worketh, is more excellent than the thing He worketh by it.

ponitur; quia Ecclesiæ authoritas quoad nos ipsa S. Scriptura adeoque quovis credibili, in quantum tale est, major est, quatenus ipsam Scripturam et quodvis aliud credibile, ut a nobis acceptetur, Ecclesiæ authoritas facit.... Quarto modo intelligi adhuc quæstio potest, An Ecclesiæ authoritas major sit quam Scripturæ respectu ad se invicem: an videlicet Ecclesia sit quiddam in seipsa nobilius et excellentius, ideoque ad fidem faciendam præstantius, quam est Scriptura in se ipsa considerata?"—Stapleton. Relectio Compendiaria, Controv. iv. de Potestate Ecclesiæ in se, Quæst. 5. in explicatione quæstionis. [Tom. I. p. 760. Lut. Par. 1620.]

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE REFUTATION OF THEIR ERROR WHO PREFER THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH BEFORE THE SCRIPTURE.

THAT we may the better discern what is to be resolved touching these two latter comparisons between the Church and the Scriptures, we must remember that which I have before noted touching them both. For, first, the name of the Church sometimes comprehendeth only the believers that now presently are living in the world: sometimes not only these, but all them also that have been since the apostles' times: sometimes all that are and have been since Christ appeared in the flesh.

If the comparison be made between the Church, consisting only of the faithful that now are and the Scripture, we absolutely deny the equality of their authority, and say, it is impiety to think that both may challenge an equal degree of obedience and faith to be yielded to them: for it cannot be proved that the Church, thus taken, is free from error; nay, themselves, with one consent confess, that general councils[1], representing this Church, may err, though not in matters of substance which they purposely meet to determine, yet in other passages, and in the reasons and motives leading to such determinations; and consequently, the whole Church may err in the same things; the one, in their opinion, being no more infallible than the other. Yea, some of them fear

1 "Ejusmodi concilium, per legatos episcopi Romani celebratum, ecclesiam universalem repræsentat; quoniam est concilium ecclesiæ generale; non ergo errare in fide potest, sicut ne ecclesia quidem universalis.... Quodsi qui existiment, concilium semel rite ac legitime congregatum errare tum etiam non posse, cum legati pontificis repugnent, respondeant illi argumento velim, quo secundam conclusionem, cap. 5, probabamus, concilii Ephesini exemplum proferentes, ubi ab omnibus pene episcopis erratum est. Non fuit liberum concilium, inquiunt, sed sententia a Dioscoro, arte, minis, et terroribus extorta est." —Melch. Canus, de Auctorit. Concil. Lib. v. cap. 5. [pp. 257, 258.]

not to pronounce that Popes and general councils may err damnably[1], and that the Church itself may err in matters not fundamental, though without pertinacy, as Picus in his Theorems, and Waldensis, who freeth only the universal Church, consisting of the faithful that are and have been, from error, and not the present Church, as I shewed before. We are so far, then, from preferring the Church thus taken (as Stapleton, in the place above mentioned, professeth he taketh it), in authority before the Scripture, that we think it impiety to imagine it to be equal.

That the authority of the Church maketh us to believe, with an human and acquisite faith, we deny not; but that it maketh us to believe with a divine faith, we deny, as before. If the comparison be made between the Church consisting of all the faithful that have been since and besides the apostles and writers of the holy Scriptures, though we think the Church thus taken to be free from any error, yet dare we not make it equal to the Scripture: for that the Scripture is infallibly true, as inspired immediately from the Spirit of truth, securing the writers of it from error; the Church not in respect of the condition of the men of whom it consisteth, or the manner of the guiding of the Spirit (each particular man being subject unto error), but in respect of the generality and universality of it, in every part whereof, in every time, no error could possibly be found: and, for that whatsoever is universally delivered by it is thereby proved to be from the apostles, of whose faith we are secure. Thus, then, the

[1] "Ex his colligitur quod non est necesse tenere semper quæstionem fidei per revelationem in generali concilio terminari: sed tenendum est (nisi contrarium revelatur miraculose a Deo) quia Deus permittit ut congregati in concilio generali, in diffiniendo quæstionem fidei et in aliis, secundum proprium procedant, assistente sibi divina influentia generali. Et ideo conceditur quod non est impossibile concilium generale errare."..." Concilium enim generale congregandum est per papam:... papa autem cum possit peccare et damnari, ac contra fidem errare mala intentione et corrupta, imo intentione aliquid diffiniendi contra catholicam veritatem potest congregare generale concilium; igitur concilium generale malo principio et corrupta intentione congregatum malo exitu peragi potest; et per consequens poterit contra fidem errare."—Gul. Occam. Lib. III. Tract. 1. Part 3. cap. 8. [fol. 208. Lugd. 1494.]

whole Church thus taken, is subject to the Scripture in all her parts, and hath her infallibility from it; and, therefore, in her manner of having the truth is inferior unto it, neither are we bound to receive her doctrines as the sacred Scriptures. Besides, though the Church, taken in this sort, be free from error, yet not from ignorance of many things wherein we may be instructed by the Scripture. So that it is possible for a man to understand the natural and literal sense of some parts of Scripture, and from thence some things that were not in such sort known and delivered by any that went before, as Andradius and Cajetanus do prove at large.

If the comparison be made between the Church, consisting of all the believers that are and have been since Christ appeared in the flesh, so including the apostles and their blessed assistants the evangelists; we deny not but that the Church is of greater authority, antiquity, and excellency, than the Scripture of the New Testament, as the witness is better than his testimony, and the lawgiver greater than the laws made by him; as Stapleton allegeth. But he is to prove the present Church greater in authority than the Scripture; which he undertaketh, but performeth not. His reason, that the Scripture was given for the good of the Church, and that, therefore, the Church is better than the Scripture, proveth not the thing intended. For, as the people are more excellent in degree of being and nature of things than the laws that be made for their good, yet are the laws of more authority, and must over-rule and direct the people: so, though the Scriptures, being but significations, declarations, and manifestations of divine truth, be not better in degree of things than the Church, yet in power of prescribing, directing, and over-ruling our faith, they are incomparably greater. That which the Rhemists add to shew the greatness of the Church above the Scripture, because the Church hath judicial power to determine doubts and controversies, whereof, as they suppose, the Scripture is not capable, I will examine in the next part, when I come to speak of the power of judging which the Church hath.

This error of the Romanists, imagining the authority of the Church to be greater than the Scripture, all the best

learned in the Church of Rome ever resisted, as Waldensis[1], Occam[2], Gerson[3], and sundry others.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THEIR ERROR WHO THINK THE CHURCH MAY MAKE NEW ARTICLES OF FAITH.

UNTO this error is joined, and out of this hath grown another not unlike, that the Church may make new articles of faith; which, though Stapleton and some other of our time seem to disclaim, yet do they indeed fall into it. For the better understanding whereof, we must observe, as Occam[4] fitly noteth, that an article of faith is sometimes strictly taken, only for one of those divine verities which are contained in the Creed of the apostles; sometimes generally, for any catholic verity. This question is not meant of articles of faith in the first sense, but in the second; and so the meaning of the question is, Whether the Church that now is, may by

[1] "Longe distat auctoritas Scripturarum et eminet auctoritati cunctorum doctorum etiam totius ecclesiæ catholicæ: quamvis super ejus auctoritate catholica attestetur ecclesia."—Waldensis, Doct. Fid. Lib. II. Art. 2. cap. 21. [Tom. I. p. 201. Ven. 1571.]

[2] "Ex his verbis colligitur evidenter quod conditor canonum multo minoris auctoritatis est, quam Evangelium sacrosanctum; contra quod novam legem nequaquam condere potest, sed ipsum defendere usque ad animam et sanguinem sane obligatur."—Guil. de Occam. Dial. Lib. I. Pars 1. cap. 4. [fol. iii. Lugd. 1494.]

[3] "Quamobrem theologia quæ est lex evangelica (dicam melius, ejus doctrix et explicatrix) debet in omnibus præcedere prælatos ecclesiasticos in suis constitutionibus et decretis, ne vel obsint præceptis Dei propter multitudinem onerosam, juxta improperium Christi factum Pharisæis: vel ne credantur ligare ad pœnam æternam ubi pœna civilis sola reperitur."—Jo. Gersonii Op. de Vita Spirit. Animæ. Lect. Corollar. vii. [Tom. III. col. 42. Antw. 1706.]

[4] "Articulus fidei accipitur stricte pro veritate catholica in symbolo authentico sub propria forma inserta: et sic non loquimur nunc de articulo fidei. Aliter potest accipi articulus fidei large pro omni veritate catholica; et isto modo est nunc sermo de articulo fidei."—Guil. Occam. Dial. Lib. II. Part. 1. cap. 14. fol. xi.

her approbation make those assertions and propositions to be catholic verities that were not before, or those heretical that were not. A catholic verity is a divine truth which every Christian is bound to believe. The things which Christian men are bound to believe are of two sorts; and consequently there are two sorts of catholic verities: to wit, some so nearly touching the matter of eternal salvation, that a man cannot be saved unless he expressly know and believe them; others farther removed, which if a man believe *implicite* and *in præparatione animi* it sufficeth: these must be believed expressly and distinctly, if their coherence with, or dependence on, the former, do appear unto us; so that the manifest deduction of them from the former will make them such as must be expressly believed.

Our adversaries confess that the approbation and determination of the Church cannot make that a truth which was not, nor that a divine or catholic truth, that was not so before: but they think that the Church, by her bare and sole determination, may make that verity to be in such sort catholic, that every one understanding of such determination, must expressly believe it, that was not so, and in such degree, catholic before. But we think that it is not the authority of the Church, but the clear deduction from the things which we are bound expressly to believe, that maketh things of that sort that they must be particularly and distinctly known and believed, that were not necessarily so to be believed before[1]:

[1] "Diceret forte aliquis quod simplices non debent credere nisi ea quæ papæ et cardinales tradunt credere explicite, nec debent investigare secreta Scripturæ, sed communibus contenti de intellectu proprio non debent præsumere, ut aliquid credant explicite nisi quod iis Papa et Cardinales tradiderint: dicendum est quod simplices non debent præsumere, sed sacræ Scripturæ firmiter inhærere, ut quod evidenter conspexerint ex sacris Scripturis inferri, hoc explicite credant, sive fuerit sive non fuerit a Papa et Cardinalibus declaratum: et ratio hujus est, quoniam Papa et Cardinales non sunt regula fidei nostræ: sed si contra regulam fidei quam Scriptura docet, definire præsumpserint, non sequendi, sed a catholicis arguendi sunt."—Occam, Tractat. 2. Part 2. cap. 10. "Quidam moderni dicunt multas esse veritates consonas Scripturæ, quæ non sunt catholicæ, quia non definitæ a Papa: et multos errores non habendos pro hæresibus, quia non damnati a Papa: sed si aliqua sit veritas Scripturæ consona, et definiatur a Papa, dicunt quod sit catholica."—Occam, Lib. II. Part 1. cap. 11, 12, improbat hanc opinionem: et cap. 14, "ostendit Papam non facere novam catho-

and therefore, before and without such determination, men seeing clearly the deduction of things of this nature from the former, and refusing to believe them, are condemned of heretical pertinacy; and men not seeing that deduction, after the decree of a council hath passed upon them, may still doubt and refuse to believe, without heretical pertinacy.

We cannot, therefore, condemn the Grecians as heretics, as the Romanists do, because we cannot persuade ourselves of them generally, that they see that which they deny touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, deduced from the indubitate principles of our Christian faith; or that they impiously neglect the search of the truth. What is it then, will some men say, that the decree of a council doth effect? Surely nothing else but the rejecting of such as are otherwise minded, from the societies of those men and churches with whom the decree of the council doth prevail; and, with all wise men, the more wary and fearful pronouncing anything of those matters, concerning which so grave authority hath passed her sentence. The papists proceed further, and think it heretical pertinacy to gainsay the decrees of a council, though they find the reasons, by which they of the council were moved so

licam veritatem, sed tantum ut nec asserendo nec opinando dicatur contrarium illius quod ante fuit catholica veritas: et quod dicentes contrarium, excommunicationis sententiæ subdantur."—Waldens. Doctrinal. Fidei. Lib. II. Art. 2. cap. 22. ait, "ecclesiam non posse condere novum articulum fidei, cum jam creverit in perfectum," &c.

["Et sic non potest papa facere novum articulum fidei; nec papa Alexander fecit talem articulum: quia tunc non fecit novam catholicam veritatem; sed fecit quod nec asserendo nec opinando diceret contrarium illius quod ante fuit catholica veritas: et quod dicentes contrarium excommunicationis sententiæ subderentur." — Occam, cap. 14. fol. xi.

"Hic tamen quærunt aliqui, Numquid ecclesia catholica posset modernis diebus creare in fide sua et Christi novum articulum? In favorem dubii facit quod ecclesia primorum credentium formavit hos articulos. Et quod ecclesia Niceni concilii addidit consubstantialitatis articulum. Dicendum tamen sicut prius de libris quod cum ecclesia jam creverit in perfectum, quamvis sit æque potens ut olim, non tamen datur ei crescere ut olim secundum staturam, scilicet quod tres species habet, longitudinem, latitudinem, et altitudinem sive profunditatem, secundum quas tres, etiam ante mortem Joannis evangelistæ civitas ecclesiæ describitur esse dimensa."—Tho. Waldens. Doctrinal. Fid. Tom. I. Lib. II. Art. 2. cap. 22.]

to think and determine, to be too weak, and not to conclude the thing intended; as, in the matter of transubstantiation[1], they think it heresy to gainsay the decrees of those councils that have defined it, and yet many of them judge all the reasons alleged to prove it, too weak to prove it. Indeed, if it were certain, as they suppose, that a general council could not err, this were a sufficient deduction—These things are decreed in a general council, therefore true: because it is consequent, that that is true which is affirmed by him that cannot err.

Thus we see what is to be thought touching this question,

[1] Scotus in IV. Dist. 11. Qu. 3. Soluti (solvit?) omnes rationes adductas pro confirmatione dogmatis transubstantiationis, et tamen tenet, quia definitum ab ecclesia.

"Quantum ergo ad istum articulum, quid scilicet sit tenendum, respondeo quod communiter tenetur quod nec panis manet, contra primam opinionem; nec annihilatur vel resolvitur in materiam primam, contra secundam opinionem; sed convertitur in corpus Christi: et ad hoc multum expresse videtur loqui Ambrosius, cujus duæ auctoritates supra adductæ sunt: et plures habentur *De Consecrat.* Dist. 2, et ponuntur a Magistro Dist. 10. et Dist. ista. Principaliter autem videtur movere, quod de sacramentis tenendum est, sicut tenet sancta Romana ecclesia, &c."—Scotus. Lib. IV. Sentent. Dist. 11. Qu. 3. Tom. VIII. Lugd. 1639.

"Teneo igitur istam opinionem ibi positam ab Innocentio, quod substantia panis non maneat, sed quod transubstantiatur in corpus Christi, non propter rationes prædictas, quia non cogunt.... Hoc principaliter teneo propter auctoritatem Ecclesiæ, quæ non errat in his quæ sunt fidei, vel morum, cujus vicario primo dixit Christus, 'Ego rogavi pro te, Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua; et tu, aliquando conversus, confirma fratres tuos.'"—Scotus. Lib. IV. Dist. 11. Qu. 3. Tom. XI. p. 670.

Biel. in Canonum Missæ, Lect. 41, ostendit rationes probantes transubstantiationem non esse efficaces, tenendam tamen hanc veritatem propter ecclesiæ determinationem.

"Tenenda ergo est hæc veritas, quod panis substantia non manet, sed convertitur in corpus Christi, propter Ecclesiæ determinationem, et auctoritatem sanctorum, ut patuit in principio præcedentis lectionis."—Ibid. [Tubing. 1499.]

"Cessent denique humana (ait Maximus, in Ser. de Innocentibus) dum tractantur divina. Necesse est humana succumbere, dum cœlestia prædicantur..... Oportet igitur ab apparentiis naturalibus animum revocare, et veritati matris ecclesiæ fideliter adhærere; et a fide non adulterari, sequendo nostram intelligentiam, quam experimur in multis deficere et errare."—Ibid.

Whether the Church may make new articles of faith? only one thing must be added for the further clearing hereof. The papists think that the Church may add to the canon of the Scripture, books not yet admitted, as the books of Hermas the scholar of Paul, intituled Pastor, and the Constitutions of Clement; which if it should do, we were to receive them with no less respect than the Epistle of James and other books of the New Testament[1]. This we think to be a most gross heresy, and contrary to their own principles, who making the number of canonical books a tradition, must necessarily receive it from a certain and constant report of the ancient. But hereof no more in this place, because the exact handling of it pertaineth to another place, to wit, touching the Scriptures.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE CHURCH'S AUTHORITY TO JUDGE OF THE DIFFERENCES THAT ARISE TOUCHING MATTERS OF FAITH.

THUS having spoken of the Church's assured possession of divine truth, and her office of teaching, testifying, and proposing the same; the next thing that followeth is her authority to judge of the differences that may arise, touching matters of the faith taught by her, or any part thereof; and more specially, touching the interpretation of the Scriptures and word of God. Judgment is an act of reason, discerning whether a thing be or not, and whether it be that it seemeth to be, and is thought or said to be.

This judgment is of two sorts: the first, of definitive and authentical power; the second, of recognition. The judgment of authentical power, defining what is to be thought of each thing, and prescribing to men's consciences so to think, is proper to God; being originally found in the Father, who by his Son, as by the immediate and prime messenger and

[1] "Qui adhuc credunt Scripturarum canonem imperfectum, et posse adhuc augeri per authoritatem Ecclesiæ, cum Judæis plenitudinem temporis expectant sub Judaico forsitan Messia."—Waldens Doctrinal. Fidei. Lib. II. Art. 2. cap. 20. [Tom. I. p. 200.]

angel of his secret council, and by the Holy Ghost as the Spirit of illumination, maketh known unto men what they must think, and persuadeth them so to think. So that the supreme judgment wherein the conscience of men doth rest in the things of God, is proper to God, who only by his Spirit teacheth the conscience, and giveth unto it assurance of truth. Neither is God the supreme Judge only in respect of the godly, who stay not till they resolve their persuasions into the certainty of his divine testimony and undoubted authority; but also in respect of the wicked, who in their erroneous conceits are judged by him, and of whose sinister and vile courses he sitteth in judgment, while he confoundeth their tongues, divideth them one from another, maketh them cross themselves, and bringeth all they do to nothing. This judgment all are forced to stand unto, and this is that that maketh a final end of all controversies, according to that of Gamaliel; "If this thing be of God it will prosper and prevail, and we, in resisting it, shall be found fighters against God: if not, it will come to naught[1]." Thus, then, the judgment of God the Father as supreme, the judgment of the Son as the eternal Word of God, of the Spirit as the fountain of all illumination, making us discern what is true, is that in which we finally rest. The judgment or determination of the word of God, is that wherein we rest as the rule of our faith; and the light of divine understanding, as that whereby we judge of all things.

The judgment of recognition is of three sorts. For there is a judgment of discretion, common to all Christian men; a judgment of direction, proper to the guides of the Church; and a judgment of jurisdiction, proper to them that are in chief places of authority. The first of these is nothing else but an act of understanding, discerning whether things be or not, and whether also they be that which they seem to be: the second endeavoureth to make others discern likewise: and the third, by authority, suppresseth all those that shall think and pronounce otherwise than they judge that have the judgment of jurisdiction.

Touching the judgment of recognition, we acknowledge the judgment of the universal Church, comprehending the

[1] Acts v. 38, 39.

faithful that are and have been, to be infallible. In the Church that comprehendeth only the believers that live at one time in the world, there is always found[1] a right judgment of discretion, and right pronouncing of each thing necessary, all never falling into damnable error, nor into any error pertinaciously; but a right judgment of men, by their power of jurisdiction maintaining the truth and suppressing error, is not always found.

So that, sometimes, almost all may conspire against the truth, or consent to betray the sincerity of the Christian profession, as they did in the Councils of Ariminium and Seleucia; in which case, as Occam aptly observeth out of Hierome, men have nothing left unto them, but with sorrowful hearts to refer all unto God. "If," saith Hierome, "iniquity prevail in the Church which is the house of God, if justice be oppressed, if the madness of them that should teach and guide others proceed so far as to pervert all the straight ways of God, to receive rewards, to do wrong, to tread down the poor in the gates, and to refuse to hear their complaints, let good men in such times hold their peace; let them not give that which is holy unto dogs; let them not cast pearls before swine, lest they turn again and trample them under feet; let them imitate Jeremy the Prophet, who speaketh of himself in this sort, 'I sat alone, because I was full of bitterness.'" "Even so," saith Occam, "when heresies prevail in the Christian world; when truth is trampled under feet in the street; and prelates and princes, being enemies to it, endeavour with all their power to destroy it; when they shall condemn the doctrine

[1] "Est aliud judicium auctoritatis sive judicialis sententiæ. Primo modo loquendo de judicio. In ecclesia militante est certum judicium quantum ad ea quæ necesse est credere explicite ad salutem æternam consequendam: quia semper usque ad finem mundi erunt aliqui catholici, qui tali modo in vera fide explicite permanebunt: sed circa illa quæ non sunt necessaria explicite credere non est necesse, quod semper in ecclesia militante sit tale judicium; quia multa sunt de quibus melius est pie dubitare quam unam partem contradictionis vel aliam temere affirmare: nunquam tamen circa quæcunque talia catholica omnes Christiani neque pertinaciter errabunt, neque pertinaciter dubitabunt..... Judicium vero auctoritatis sive judicialis sententiæ non oportet quod sit semper certum in ecclesia militante; imo potest deficere aliquando, ut videtur; etiam aliquando defecit, tempore Liberii papæ."—Guil. Occam. Dial. Lib. v. Pars 1. cap. 28. fol. xlvii.

of the Fathers; molest, disquiet, and murder, the true professors; let good men, in such times, hold their peace, keep silence, and be still; let them not give holy things to dogs, nor cast pearls before swine, lest they turn and tread them under feet; least they wrest and abuse the Scriptures to their own perdition, and the scandal of others; but let them, with the Prophet, sit alone, and complain that their souls are full of bitter heaviness."

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE RULE OF THE CHURCH'S JUDGMENT.

THUS having set down the diverse kinds of judgment which must determine and end all controversies in matter of faith and religion, it remaineth to shew what is the rule of that judgment whereby the Church discerneth between truth and falsehood, the faith and heresy, and to whom it properly pertaineth to interpret those things which, touching this rule, are doubtful.

As the measure of each thing is that by virtue whereof we know what it is, and the quantity of it; so the rule is that, by application whereof we know whether it be that which it should be, and be so as it should be. The rule of action is that whereby we know whether it be right and performed as it should be, or not. The rule of doctrine is that whereby we know whether it be true or false.

The rule of our faith in general[1], whereby we know it

[1] "Verum quoniam mihi videor videre sciolos quosdam, dixerim, an vappas potius et nebulones, qui se vocant philosophos cum nihil sint, minus ridentes statim et gratiam et felicitatem super naturalem, quasi vana hæc nomina et aniles fabulæ sint, volui breviusculam hac de re cum illis disputationem sicuti procemium facere septimi libri, rem et seorsum omnibus utilem et necessariam valde operi, quod suscepimus, ubi altissimis philosophiæ radicibus nixam et stabilitam stare sententiam theologorum dilucide comprobemus.

"Felicitas enim possessio atque adeptio hujus primi boni. Bonum hoc adipisci dupliciter, possunt res creatæ aut in seipsis, aut in ipso, nam et in seipso hoc bonum est super omnia exaltatum, suæ inhabitans divinitatis abyssos, et per omnia diffusum in omnibus invenitur.

"Est autem illa, si animadvertimus, umbra potius felicitatis quam

to be true, is the infinite excellency of God; (who, in eminent sort, possesseth all those perfections which in the creatures are divided, and found in an inferior sort); in the full and perfect union with whom, and enjoying of whom, consisteth all happiness.

For by this rule we know, that the doctrine of faith, which only professeth to bring us back to God, to possess and enjoy him, (not as he is participated of us, but as he is in himself), and maketh us, already, to begin to taste the sweetness of so great and happy an union—is not only true, but divine and heavenly, such as nature could not teach us, but is to be learned only of God himself.

It being presupposed, in the generality, that the doctrine of the Christian faith is of God, and containeth nothing but heavenly truth; in the next place we are to enquire, by what rule we are to judge of particular things contained within the compass of it. This rule is, first, the summary comprehension of such principal articles of this divine knowledge, as are the principles whence all other things are concluded and inferred. These are contained in the Creed of the Apostles. Secondly, all such things as every Christian is bound expressly to believe, by the light and direction whereof he judgeth of other things which are not absolutely necessary so particularly to be known. These are rightly said to be the rule of our faith, because the principles of every science are the rule whereby we judge of the truth of all things, as being better and more generally known than any other thing, and the cause of knowing them.

Thirdly, the analogy, due proportion, and correspondence, that one thing, in this divine knowledge, hath with another, so that men cannot err in one of them, without erring in another; nor rightly understand one, but they must likewise

vera felicitas, quemadmodum creatura, in qua Deum attingit, non summa bonitas, sed summæ bonitatis, id est, divinæ, tenuis umbra est. Adde quod res per illam seipsis potius quam Deo restituuntur, non id assecutæ, ut ad suum principium redeant, sed hoc tantummodo ne a seipsis discedant. Vera autem et consummata felicitas ad Dei faciem contuendam, quæ est omne bonum, ut ipse dixit, et ad perfectam cum illo principio, a quo emanavimus, unionem, nos revehit et adducit:... Ad hanc felicitatem religio nos promovet, dirigit, et impellit, quemadmodum ad naturalem ducem utimur philosophia."—Jo. Picus Mirand. Heptaplus, Lib. VII. in Procemio. [Tom. I. p. 30. Bas. 1601.]

rightly conceive the rest. Fourthly, whatsoever books were delivered unto us, as written by them to whom the first and immediate revelation of divine truth was made. Fifthly, whatsoever hath been delivered by all the saints, with one consent, which have left their judgment and opinion in writing. Sixthly, whatsoever the most famous have constantly and uniformly delivered as a matter of faith, no man contradicting, though many other ecclesiastical writers be silent, and say nothing of it. Seventhly, that which the most and most famous in every age constantly delivered as matter of faith, and as received of them that went before them, in such sort, that the contradictors and gainsayers were in their beginnings noted for singularity, novelty, and division, and afterwards, in process of time, (if they persisted in such contradiction,) charged with heresy.

These three latter rules of our faith we admit, not because they are equal with the former, and originally in themselves contain the direction of our faith; but because nothing can be delivered, with such and so full consent of the people of God, as in them is expressed, but it must needs be from those first authors and founders of our Christian profession. The Romanists add unto these the decrees of Councils, and determinations of Popes, making these also to be the rules of faith: but because we have no proof of their infallibility, we number them not with the rest.

Thus, then, we see how many things, in several degrees and sorts, are said to be rules of our faith. The infinite excellency of God, as that whereby the truth of the heavenly doctrine is proved. The articles of faith, and other verities ever expressly known in the Church as the first principles, are the canon by which we judge of conclusions from thence inferred. The Scripture, as containing in it all that doctrine of faith which Christ the Son of God delivered. The uniform practice and consenting judgment of them that went before us, as a certain and undoubted explication of the things contained in the scripture.

The Scripture (saith Vincentius Lirinensis[1]) is full and

[1] "Hic forsitan requirat aliquis: Cum sit perfectus Scripturarum canon, sibique ad omnia satis superque sufficiat, quid opus est, ut ei ecclesiasticæ intelligentiæ jungatur auctoritas? Quia videlicet Scripturam sacram, pro ipsa sua altitudine, non uno eodemque sensu

sufficient to all purposes; but because of the manifold turnings of heretics, it is necessary that the line of prophetical and apostolical interpretation be drawn down, and directed unto us, according to the rule of ecclesiastical and catholic sense. So then, we do not so make the Scripture the rule of our faith, but that other things, in their kind, are rules likewise, in such sort that it is not safe, without respect had unto them, to judge of things by the Scripture alone. For, without the first rule, we cannot know the Scripture to be of God: without the second and third, we have no form of Christian doctrine, by the direction whereof to judge of particular doubts and questions: without the other rules, we cannot know the authors and number of the books of Scripture, nor the meaning of the things therein written. For, who shall be able to understand them, but he that is settled in these things which the Apostles[1] presupposed in their delivery of the Scripture?

We do not, therefore, so make the Scripture the rule of our faith, as to neglect the other; nor so admit the other, as to detract anything from the plenitude of the Scripture, in which all things are contained that must be believed.

universi accipiunt, sed ejusdem eloquia aliter atque aliter, alius atque alius interpretatur, ut pœne quot homines sunt, tot illinc sententiæ erui posse videantur. Aliter namque illam Novatianus, aliter Sabellius, aliter Donatus exponit; aliter Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, aliter Photinus, Apollinaris, Priscillianus; aliter Jovinianus, Pelagius, Cœlestius; aliter postremo Nestorius. Atque idcirco multum necesse est, propter tantos tam varii erroris anfractus, ut propheticæ et apostolicæ interpretationis linea secundum ecclesiastici et catholici sensus normam dirigatur."—Vincent. Lirin. Commonitor. cap. 2.

[1] The Apostles wrote to them they had formerly taught, more at large; neither can the Scriptures be understood now, but only by such as will be taught by the successors of the Apostles and guides of the Church, though being so taught they may find assuredly by the Scriptures themselves, that they do understand them aright.

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE CHALLENGE OF PAPISTS AGAINST THE RULE OF SCRIPTURE, CHARGING IT WITH OBSCURITY AND IMPERFECTION.

THIS rule our adversaries least esteem of, charging it with obscurity and imperfection; and thereupon rely upon human interpretations and uncertain traditions. Touching their first challenge made against this rule of the Scripture, as being obscure and dark, and so not fit to give direction to our faith, unless it borrow light from something else; we answer, There is no question but there are manifold difficulties in the Scripture, proceeding, partly, from the high and excellent nature of the things therein contained, which are without the compass of natural understanding, and so are wholly hidden from natural men, and not known of them that are spiritual without much travail and studious meditation; partly out of the ignorance of tongues, and of the nature of such things, by the comparison whereof the matters of divine knowledge are manifested unto us. But the difference between their opinion and ours concerning this difficulty, is, first, in that they think the Scripture so obscure and hard to be understood, that heretics may wrest and abuse it at their pleasures, and no man be able to convince their folly by the evidence of the Scripture itself. Secondly, in that they think that we cannot, by any helps, be assured out of the Scripture itself, and the nature of the things therein contained, that that is the true meaning of it which we think to be, but that we rest in it only for the authority of the Church. But we say, that men, not neglecting that light of direction which the Church yieldeth, nor other helps and means, may be assured, out of the nature of the things themselves, the conference of places, the knowledge of tongues, and the suitable correspondence that one part of Divine truth hath with another, that they have found out the true meaning of it, and so be able to convince the adversaries and gainsayers.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE; AND TO WHOM IT PERTAINETH.

TOUCHING this point, there are two questions usually proposed; the one, to whom the interpretation of the Scripture pertaineth; the other, by what rules and means men may find out the true meaning of it. Touching the first, our adversaries jangle much, with many declamations, against private interpretations, and interpretations of private spirits, and make the world believe that we follow no other rule of interpretation but each man's private fancy.

For answer hereunto, we say, with Stapleton[1], that interpretations of Scripture may be said to be private, and the spirits whence they proceed named private, either *rationè personæ*, *modi*, or *finis*: that is, in respect of the person who interpreteth, the manner of his proceeding in interpreting, or the end of his interpretation. A private interpretation, proceeding from a private spirit, in the first sense, is every interpretation delivered by men of private condition. In the second sense, is that which men, of what condition soever,

[1] "Respondeo dicendum, quod privata interpretatio Scripturæ ex privato spiritu profecta tribus modis considerari potest; ex parte personæ, modi, et finis. Ex parte personæ privata est et a privato spiritu procedit, quando is qui interpretatur nullam ad hoc habet authoritatem legitimam vel ordinariam, ut ecclesiarum pastores, vel cum evidenti signo extraordinariam, ut olim prophetæ. Ex parte modi, quum etsi qui interpretatur sit persona authoritatem habens, tamen non utitur regula illa et mediis interpretandi quæ adhiberi debent; sed proprium judicium sequitur, excluso communi. Ex parte finis, quando alterutra prædictarum ad fidei definitionem procedit, non contenta vel ad suam aut instructionem aut consolationem, vel ad aliorum instructionem per modum consulendi in commune et probabiliter Scripturas exponere; sed sensum fidei aut dogmatis dubii definitivum tradere vult. Ac primi quidem generis privata interpretatio, nisi sit ex parte finis quoque et modi privata, tolerabilis est, nec a nobis hoc loco damnatur . . . . Secundi generis privata interpretatio etsi nec a parte personæ, nec ex parte finis privata sit, tamen semper est impia et rejicienda."—Stapleton, Controv. v. de Potest. Eccles. Quæst. 4. Art. 2. Explicat. Artic. [Tom. I. p. 786. Lut. Par. 1620.]

deliver, contemning and neglecting those public means which are known to all, and are to be used by all that desire to find the truth. In the third sense, that which, proceeding from men of private condition, is not so proposed and urged by them, as if they would bind all other to receive and embrace it, but is intended only to their own satisfaction.

The first kind of interpretation, proceeding from a private spirit, is not to be disliked, if the parties so interpreting neither neglect the common rules and means of attaining the right sense of that they interpret, contemn the judgment of other men, nor presumptuously take upon them to teach others, and enforce them to believe that which they apprehend for truth, without any authority so to do.

But private spirits in the second sense, that is, men of such dispositions as will follow their own fancies, and neglect the common rules of direction, as enthusiasts; and trust to their own sense, without conference and due respect to other men's judgments, we accurse. This is all we say touching this matter; wherein I would fain know what our adversaries dislike. Surely nothing at all, as it will appear to every one that shall but look into the place above alleged out of Stapleton. "But," say they, "there must be some authentical interpretation of Scripture which every one must be bound to stand unto, or else there will be no end of quarrels and contentions." The interpretation of scripture is nothing else but the explication and clearing of the meaning of it. This is either true or false. The true interpretation of the Scripture is of two sorts. For there is an interpretation which delivereth that which is true, and contained in the Scripture, or from thence to be concluded, though not meant in that place which is expounded.

This is not absolutely and perfectly a true interpretation, because though it truly delivereth such doctrine as is contained in the Scripture, and nothing contrary to the place interpreted, yet it doth not express that that is particularly meant, in the place expounded. There is, therefore, another kind of true interpretations, when not only that is delivered which is contained in the Scripture, but that which is meant in the particular places expounded.

Likewise, false interpretations are of two sorts: some delivering that which is utterly false, and contrary to the

Scripture; some others only failing in this, that they attain not the true sense of the particular places expounded. An example of the former, is that interpretation of that place of Genesis[1], "The sons of God saw the daughters of men," &c.; which some of the Fathers have delivered[2], understanding by the sons of God the angels of heaven, whose fall, they suppose, proceeded from the love of women. Which error they confirm by that of the apostle, that women must come veiled into the church for the angels; that is, as they interpret, lest the angels should fall in love with them. A false interpretation of the later kind Andradius[3] sheweth some think that exposition of the words of the prophet Esay[4], *Quis enarrabit generationem ejus?* "Who shall declare his generation?" delivered by many of the Fathers, understanding, thereby, the eternal generation of the Son of God, which no man shall declare: whereas, by the name of generation, the prophet meaneth that multitude that shall believe in Christ, which shall be so great as cannot be expressed.

An authentical interpretation is that which is not only true, but so clearly, and in such sort, that every one is bound to embrace and to receive it. As, before, we made three kinds of judgment, the one of discretion, common to all; the other of direction, common to the pastors of the church; and a third of jurisdiction, proper to them that have supreme power in the Church: so likewise we make three kinds of

[1] Genesis vi 2.

[2] "Debet ergo adumbrari facies tam periculosa, quæ usque ad cœlum scandala jaculata est, ut cum Deo adsistens, cui rea est angelorum exterminatorum, cæteris quoque angelis erubescat, et malam illam aliquando libertatem capitis sui comprimat, jam nec hominum oculis offerendam."—Tertull. de Virginibus Velandis. §. 7. [Wirceburg. 1780. Tom. I.]

[3] "Qui veterum monumenta, eorum maxime qui Arrianam contumaciam reprimendam susceperunt, perlegerit, compertum habebit, illam Esaiæ orationem, Generationem ejus quis enarrabit? de æterna Christi generatione . . . a majoribus nostris fuisse explicatam. Qui vero majorum fidem de Christi divina natura ita conservandam duxerint, ut generationis vocabulo infinitam hoc in loco hominum multitudinem intelligendam putent, quam Christus sibi erat sempiternis fidei et amoris vinculis copulaturus, et suo cruore veluti filios Spiritus et charitatis suæ hæredes procreaturus, minime quidem reprehensione dignos judicabimus."—fol. 257.

[4] Esay liii.

interpretation; the first private, and so every one may interpret the Scripture, that is, privately with himself conceive, or deliver to other, what he thinketh the meaning of it to be; the second, of public direction; and so the pastors of the Church may publicly propose what they conceive of it; and the third of jurisdiction, and so they that have supreme power, that is, the bishops assembled in a general Council, may interpret the Scripture, and by their authority suppress all them that shall gainsay such interpretations, and subject every man that shall disobey such determinations as they consent upon, to excommunication and censures of like nature.

But, for authentical interpretation of Scriptures, which every man's conscience is bound to yield unto, it is of an higher nature: neither do we think any of these to be such, as proceeding from any of those beforenamed and specified, to whom we grant a power of interpretation. Touching the interpretations which the Fathers have delivered, we receive them as undoubtedly true, in the general doctrine they consent in, and so far forth esteem them as authentical: yet do we think that, holding the faith of the Fathers, it is lawful to dissent from that interpretation of some particular places which the greater part of them have delivered, or perhaps all that have written of them, and to find out some other not mentioned by any of the ancient.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE INTERPRETATION OF THE FATHERS, AND HOW FAR WE ARE BOUND TO ADMIT IT.

THE Fathers, (saith Andradius[1]), especially they of the Greek Church, being ignorant of the Hebrew tongue, following Origen, did rather strive, with all their wit and

[1] "Omnibus enim, Græcis præsertim auctoribus, quos Hebræa lingua latebat, Origenem nescio qua ratione secutis, allegorica et moralis interpretandi ratio usque adeo placuit, ut quam sæpissime non quidem Legis Prophetarumque oracula enarrare, sed allegorias summo ingenio et acumine excogitare moresque instituere videantur. Quinetiam D. Hieronymus, qui cæteris diligentius Prophetarum sensus exquisivit, non semel allegoriarum comparat subsidia, ut orationis difficultates evadat."—fol. 260.

learning, to devise allegories, and to frame the manners of men, than to clear the hard places of the Law and the Prophets. Nay, even Hierome himself, who more diligently than any of the rest sought out the meaning and sense of the Prophetical and Divine Oracles, yet often, to avoid the obscurities of their words, betaketh himself to allegories. In this sense it is, that Cardinal Cajetan[1] saith he will not fear to go against the torrent of all the doctors; for which saying Andradius sheweth that Canus and others do unjustly blame him. For, though we may not go from the faith of the Fathers, nor from the main truth of doctrine which they deliver in different interpretations, yet may we interpret some parts of the Scripture otherwise than any of the ancient ever did, weighing the circumstances of places, the nature and force of words in the original, and having other helps necessary.

Neither is this to contemn the uniform and main consent of the Fathers, but rather more exactly to illustrate and explain those things which they did allegorically understand, or not so diligently travail in, as is fit for them that come after to do. It is not, then, so strange a thing to say, that there are many places of Scripture, the true, literal, and natural sense whereof we cannot find in any of the ancient. Neither is this to charge them with error in faith; seeing the sense they give tendeth to the furtherance of the true faith, and the better forming of men's manners to godliness. Wherefore, we fear not to pronounce, with Andradius, that whosoever denieth that the true and literal sense of sundry texts of Scripture hath been found out in this last age (wherein, as Guido Fabricius[2] rightly noteth, all things seem to be renewed, and all learning to be newly born into the world, that

[1] "Rogo lectores omnes ne præcipites detestentur aliquid, sed librent omnia apud sacram Scripturam, apud Christianæ fidei veritatem, apud catholicæ ecclesiæ documenta ac mores. Et si quando occurrerit novus sensus textui consonus, nec a sacra Scriptura, nec ab ecclesiæ doctrina dissonus, quamvis a torrente doctorum sacrorum alienus, æquos se præbeant censores."—Thomas de Vio. Cajetanus, Procem. in Gen. [Lugd. 1639.]

[2] "Ante hoc sæculum, in quo omnia renasci videmus, ut et Christus renascatur in nobis," etc.—Guido Fabritius, in præfat. ad Novi Testamenti Syriaci Latinam interpretationem. [Biblia Sacra Polyglotta. Ed. Reg. per Ariam Montanum. Tom. v. Antv. 1571.]

so Christ might be newly fashioned in us, and we new born in him), is most unthankful unto God that hath so richly shed out his benefits upon the children of this generation, and ungrateful towards those men who with so great pains, so happy success, and so much benefit to God's Church, have travailed therein.

Neither is Andradius only of this opinion, but Jansenius, and Maldonatus also, who both of them do, in sundry places, profess, they rest not satisfied in any interpretation given by the Fathers, but prefer other found out in this age. For example, in the explication of that place of John, "Of his fulness we have all received, grace for grace;" Maldonatus[1] refuseth all the interpretations of the Fathers, and giveth this of his own, "We have received, of Christ's fulness, most excellent gifts of grace; yet no man hath received all, but every one is defective, yea, every one lacketh something that another hath. But he may acknowledge the goodness of God towards him, in that he hath some other instead of it, which the other hath not, and so may rightly be said to have received grace for grace, because instead of that grace he wanteth and another hath, he hath received some other which the other wanteth." Many other instances might be given out of Cajetan, Andradius, Jansenius, Maldonatus, and other worthy divines of the Church of Rome: but this may suffice.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE DIVERS SENSES OF SCRIPTURE.

THUS having set down to whom the interpretation of the Scripture pertaineth, it remaineth that we speak of the rules, directions, and helps, that men have to lead them to the finding out of the right meaning of it. But, because some suppose the Scripture hath many and uncertain senses, before we enter into the discourse of the rules which must direct us

[1] "Credo igitur hunc esse sensum, 'Accepimus gratiam pro gratia, id est, non omnes eandem, sed diversi diversam.' Etsi eam quam unus accepit, non semper accipit alius, tamen loco ejus accipit aliam."—Maldonat. Comment. in Joan. cap. 1. [Mogunt. 1624. p. 217.]

in interpreting, we must speak something of the multiplicity of senses supposed to be in the words of Scripture, which may seem to contrary all certainty of interpretation. There is, therefore, a double sense of the sacred words and sentences of Scripture; for there is a literal sense, and a spiritual or mystical sense. The literal sense is either proper, or native, when the words are to be taken, as originally, in their proper signification, they import; or figurative, when the words are translated from their natural and proper signification, to signify something resembled by those things they do primarily import; as when Christ saith, he hath other sheep, which are not of this fold[1].

The spiritual or mystical sense of the Scripture is, when the words either properly, or figuratively, signify some things which are figures and significations of other things. This is threefold: allegorical, tropological, anagogical.

The first is, when things spoken of in the Old Testament, are figures of some things in the New. So it was literally true, that "Abraham had two sons, the one by a bondwoman, the other by a free[2]:" but these two sons of Abraham imported some other thing in the state of the New Testament, to wit, two different sorts of men. And here we may observe the difference between an allegory and a type[3]. A type is, when some particular person, or fact, in the Old Testament, demonstrateth and shadoweth out unto us some particular person, or fact, in the New. An allegory, when something in the Old Testament, in a spiritual and mystical sort, shadoweth out unto us, in a generality, things in some proportion answering in the New. So David overcoming Goliah[4] was a type of Christ, and allegorically did shadow out that victory which we obtain in the state of the New Testament over those ghostly enemies that rise up against us.

The tropological sense of Scripture is, when one thing delivered and reported in the Scripture, signifieth some other

[1] John x. 16. [2] Galat. iv. 22.

[3] Illyricus in Clave Scripturæ, de multiplici sacrarum literarum sensu, hæc doctissime tradit collecta ex variis authoribus.

"Et ratione figuras sive typos ad futurum seculum dicimus pertinere, quia Veteris testamenti figuræ ad Novum intentione respiciunt." p. 215. "Allegoriam supra diximus esse continuatam metaphoram."—p. 342. Matth. Flacius, Clavis Scriptur. Illyric. p. 342. Basil. 1617.

[4] 1 Sam. xvii. 50.

thing pertaining to the behaviour and conversation of men: as when God forbade to "muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn[1]." This prohibition did literally signify, that God would not have labouring oxen restrained from feeding, while they were treading out the corn. But this respect which God had unto these his creatures of inferior condition, did signify, that much less they which labour for our souls' good are to be denied the things of this life.

Anagogical, when the things literally expressed unto us, do signify something in the state of heaven-happiness. "God sware in his wrath," to the Israelites, "that they should not enter into his rest[2];" meaning the land of Canaan: but the apostle from thence concludeth, that unbelievers shall not enter into that eternal rest of the saints in heaven: because the rest of the Israelites in the land of Canaan, after their manifold dangers, vexations, and travels, was a figure of the eternal rest in heaven. This division of the manifold senses of Scripture is taken out of Eucherius.

Hierome maketh three kinds of exposition of Scripture, historical, tropological, and spiritual: that which he nameth spiritual comprehendeth both those before expressed by Eucherius, to wit, allegorical and anagogical. Augustine maketh the exposition of the Scripture to be twofold, historical and allegorical: the former he maketh to be twofold, to wit, analogical and ætiological; and the latter he maketh to comprehend that which properly is called allegorical, and the other two, to wit, tropological and anagogical.

The reason of this diversity of mystical senses is, because the Old Testament was a figure of the New; and the New, of future glory. This multiplicity of senses breedeth no uncertainty in the Scripture, nor equivocation, because the words of the Scripture do not doubtfully signify so divers and different things, but the things certainly signified by the words are signs and significations of divers things. All these are founded upon one literal and certain sense, from which only, in matter of question and doubt, an argument may be drawn. The thing wherein Origen offended, was not, that he found out spiritual and mystical senses of the divine Scripture, but because he thought there is no literal, true sense of them, but

[1] Deut. xxv. 4. 1 Cor. ix. 9.

[2] Psalm xcv. 11. Hebr. iv. 11.

mystical only; so overthrowing the truth of the sacred history of the book of God. And the fault of many others, in former times, was that, following him too much, they neglected the literal sense, and over curiously sought out allegories and mystical senses; whereas yet the literal sense alone hath force and power to establish truth and improve error[1]. And this, doubtless, is the first and chiefest use and necessity of following the literal sense. Another is, for that, being the foundation of the mystical, if we find it not out, we may run into many errors. The Manichees, out of those words of the Psalmist, where he saith, that "God hath made a tabernacle for the sun in heaven, out of which it cometh in the morning, as a bridegroom out of his chamber, to shew the brightness of his countenance to the sons of men;" reading, *Posuit tabernaculum suum in sole*, "God placed his tabernacle, or appointed and made himself a tabernacle, in the sun," inferred, that Christ ascended into the highest heavens without our flesh, leaving his body behind him within the compass of the globe of the sun, so that his flesh is to be adored in the sun, as in a tabernacle wherein it resteth and remaineth. Now, as their course is not to be excused, which follow the mystical sense only, and neglect the literal: so are they no less faulty that follow the literal sense only, and do not at all consider the mysteries of spiritual understanding, and information of

[1] "Secunda ejus utilitas ac necessitas nascitur ex ordine ejus ad cæteras mysticas expositiones, quibus ipsam, tanquam basim ac fundamentum stabile totius spiritualis ædificii, necesse est substerni. Nam nisi prius sensus literæ nobis perspicuus sit, qui fieri poterit, ut spiritualibus elucidationibus eam illustremus, quorum nobis verba obscurissima sunt: periculum erit etiam, si ex non intellectis verbis sensum aliquem arcanum exprimere velimus, ne in hæreses varias incidamus, et idem nobis contingat quod multis evenit hæreticis, præsertim Manichæis; qui cum ex imperitia linguæ Hebrææ non intelligerent literalem sensum dicti illius, 'In sole posuit tabernaculum suum,' converterunt se ad præsidia allegoricæ expositionis, dicentes Christum post resurrectionem suam sine carne ad Patrem ascendisse, relicto corpore suo intra ambitum globi solaris, ut a nobis caro ejus in sole, tamquam in tabernaculo Dominici corporis, adoraretur; cum tamen genuinus ac proprius ejus literæ sensus et expositio sit, Deum posuisse Soli tabernaculum in cœlo, ex quo Sol ipse summo mane, tanquam sponsus e cubili, progreditur ostensurus splendorem vultus sui cunctis mortalibus."—Sixtus Senensis, Biblioth. Sanct. Lib. III. De usu et utilitate Historicæ ac Mythicæ Exposit. Par. 1610.

Christian and godly conversation, which, in the word of God, do offer themselves unto them[1]. For they make the Scriptures, especially of the Old Testament, where so many things of outward observation, ceremony, and purification were prescribed, unsavoury, and to seem less divine than the laws and prescriptions of the Gentiles, as the Athenians, Lacedæmonians, and other, and the manifold histories of former times, to serve little to edification.

Between both these extremes a mean is to be kept, that neither the one nor the other be neglected: so that we must neither be like them that, rejecting the literal exposition, seek out fond and childish allegories, and so overthrow the truth of the divine history, as Origen did, or neglect the knowledge of it, publishing their own idle and ridiculous conceits, as if they were the great and hidden mysteries of the Christian faith and religion; nor like those which rest in the bare and naked words and syllables, without collecting from thence such instructions as are fit. The former (saith Sixtus Senensis), are to know, that howsoever they imagine the literal exposition of the Scripture to be easy, obvious, and trivial, yet it is indeed the hardest of all other. Whereupon, both Hierome and Augustine confess, that at first, to decline the obscurities and difficulties of the text of Scripture, they followed mystical senses, as being more easy; but afterward, when they grew in age, and so in ripeness of judgment, they sought out the other which is literal.

Thus we see the difference between the literal and mystical sense of Scripture, and how, and in what sort, the one is the ground of the other. Which that we misconceive not, nor take one for another, we must remember, that by the literal sense of Scripture, we understand, not that only

[1] "Intellectus sacri eloquii inter textum et mysterium tanta est libratione pensandus, ut utriusque partis lance moderata, hunc neque nimiæ discussionis pondus deprimat, neque rursus torpor incuriæ vacuum relinquat. Multæ quippe ejus sententiæ tanta allegoriarum conceptione sunt gravidæ, ut quisquis eas ad solam tenere historiam nititur, earum notitia per suam incuriam privetur. Nonnullæ vero ita exterioribus præceptis inserviunt, ut si quis eas subtilius penetrare desiderat, intus quidem nihil inveniat, sed hoc sibi etiam quod foris loquuntur abscondat."—Greg. Magn. Moral. Lib. XXI. in cap. 31. Job. cap. 1. col. 675. Par. 1705.

which the words do properly afford, but which they primarily afford, according to the intention of him that useth them, and the construction of them that hear them. The mystical sense, opposite hereunto, is that which is not primarily intended by him that speaketh words having such mystical sense. All the allegories therefore, parables, and enigmatical speeches, which are used in Scripture, not being verified either in the intention of the speaker, or construction of the hearer, in sort as the words properly import, but as signifying things resembled by the things they properly import, do literally signify that which, by comparison of such things, they make us understand.

Here it is not out of place to observe the difference between a proverb, parable, allegory, and enigmatical speech or riddle. A proverb is a sententious saying, much in use, and famous; for the most part somewhat obscure; by metaphorical words expressing something to us, and alluding to something not distinctly expressed; though sometimes any famous and common saying be named a proverb. A parable is, when one thing is compared and resembled to another; so Christ compared the kingdom of heaven to leaven, to a grain of mustard-seed, to ten virgins, to a net cast into the sea; though sometimes the similitude of a thing, and not any such speech wherein comparison is made between one thing and another, is named a parable.

Abraham *recepit filium suum in parabola*[1], that is, Abraham received his son from such an estate as was most like to the state of the dead. An allegory is, when he that speaketh intendeth to signify and insinuate some other thing than his words, in their primary use, and signification, do import. "Behold," saith Christ, "the sower went out to sow[2]," &c. A riddle, or enigmatical speech, is an obscure allegory: "The trees went forth to anoint them a king[3];" and again: "Out of the eater came meat, and out of the strong came sweetness[4]." The Scripture is full of these

[1] "Accipitur autem non pro sermone aliquo, sed re alicujus similitudinem gerente, cum ad Hebræos xi. dicitur Abraham accepisse Isaac in parabola, hoc est, in similitudinem et typum Christi occidendi et resuscitandi."—Corn. Jansenius in Concord. Evang. cap. 52. p. 415. Lovan. 1571.

[2] Matth. xiii. 3. [3] Judicum c. ix. [4] Ibid. xiv.

allegories, parables, proverbial and enigmatical speeches; God, in teaching us, taking that course he knoweth fittest for us, and making us understand things heavenly and invisible, by those that are earthly and visible.

And as God doth thus speak unto us in parables, allegories, and riddles, so did he shew the prophets of old, in dreams and visions, the things that are heavenly by those that are earthly, and the things that are invisible by those that are visible: as in the Revelation, Saint John saw seven golden candlesticks, and one like the Son of man walking in the midst of them[1]. There is none of these enigmatical, allegorical, or parabolical speeches, nor none of these visions, but either by some things known to them to whom they were proposed, or by special explication added to them, or *per novi facti exhibitionem*, by seeming the thing performed that was so obscurely shadowed only, may be understood[2]. From these, without these helps of understanding, we can conclude nothing that is doubtful[3]. An example of understanding enigmatical and hard speeches, by force of some things known unto us giving light unto them, is the riddle of Samson, "Out of the eater came meat," &c., which any one, knowing that out of a lion he had taken honey, would understand, but another could not. By explication added; as the mystery of the seven stars and seven golden candlesticks[4] is expounded to John that saw the vision of them; by evidence of the thing exhibited and performed, "Destroy this temple," saith Christ, "and in three days I will build it, and raise it up again[5]." The disciples after they saw him risen from the dead, remembered these words, and understood that they were spoken of our Saviour of the temple of his body, and the resurrection of it. So likewise, when they saw the miserable and abominable overthrow of Jerusalem and the Temple[6], they could not but understand

[1] Revel. i. [12, 13.]

[2] "Potest aliquid addi Scripturis tanquam primus intellectus, dummodo habeatur per revelationem, vel per exhibitionem apertam novi facti, ut sancti Apostoli, per revelationem novam, plurium parabolarum Christi, a Christo exponente ipsas, acceperunt primum intellectum."—Guil. Occam, Lib. III. Tract. 1. Pars 3. cap. 19. fol. 215.

[3] Not from the mystical or spiritual senses above mentioned.

[4] Revel. i. 20.

[5] John ii. 19. 22.

[6] Matth. xxiv. 15.

what was meant by the prophecy of Daniel, touching the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place.

Thus having cleared that doubt which some make, touching the multiplicity of senses of the words of Scripture, as if there were no certain meaning of them, and having shewed which is that sense we must principally seek after, as being the foundation of the rest, it remaineth that we come to speak of the rules of direction, and the helps we have to attain to the understanding of the true meaning of the scripture. For, as Hierome fitly noteth[1], *Non putemus in verbis Scripturarum esse evangelium, sed in sensu; non in superficie, sed in medulla; non in sermonum foliis, sed in radice rationis.* "We must not think that the gospel consisteth in the words of Scripture, but in the sense and meaning; not in the outward rind and skin, but in the inward pith and marrow; not in the leaves of the words, but in the root and ground of reason."

CHAPTER XIX.

OF THE RULES WE ARE TO FOLLOW, AND THE HELPS WE ARE TO TRUST TO, IN INTERPRETING THE SCRIPTURES.

TOUCHING the rules we are to follow, the helps we are to trust unto, and the things required, in the interpretation of Scripture, I think we may thus resolve. First, there is required an illumination of the understanding: for the natural man perceiveth not the things of God, for they are spiritually discerned; but the spiritual man judgeth all things, and himself is judged of none. Secondly, a mind free from the thought of other things, depending on God as the fountain of illumination, desirous of the truth, with resolution to embrace it, though contrary to the conceits of natural men. Thirdly, the knowledge of the rule of faith formerly set down, and the practice of the saints according to the same. Fourthly, a due consideration what will follow upon our interpretation, agreeing with, or contrary to the things gene-

[1] Hieron. in Galat. Lib. I. cap. 1. [Tom. VII. col. 386, c. Veron. 1737.]

rally received and believed among Christians: in which consideration the conference of other places of Scripture, and the things there delivered, is necessary. For the consideration of the circumstances of the places interpreted, the occasion of the words, the things going before and following after. Sixthly, the knowledge of all those histories, arts, and sciences, which may help us. For, seeing grace presupposeth nature, and the Scripture doth not teach us, but presupposeth we know already, the things that may be discerned by the light of Nature, many do not understand sundry passages of Scripture, because they bring not with them to the study of it that degree of natural knowledge which is requisite. Seventhly, the knowledge of the original tongues, and the phrases and idiotisms of them. So that, to resolve this matter yet more distinctly and fully, there are some things required for the attaining of the right understanding of Scripture, as making us capable of such understanding; of which sort is the illumination of the mind; some things as means whereby we attain unto it. These are of two sorts, either disposing and preparing only; as, often reading, meditating, and praying; or else, guiding us in the very search itself. These are either general and most infallible, as the rule of faith, which if we follow, we are sure not to depart from the general verity of the Christian faith: or, more proper and special, directing us to the true finding out of the meaning of particular places of Scripture. There is, therefore, between our adversaries and us, no difference in this matter, if they will understand themselves. For we confess, that neither conference of places, nor consideration of the *antecedentia et consequentia*, nor looking into the originals, are of any force, unless we find the things, which we conceive to be understood and meant in the places interpreted, to be consonant to the rule of faith. And, they confess, that though alone, and without respect had to the rule of faith, they be but probable means of direction, and not absolutely certain, yet that, being joined with the rule of faith, they help and are exceedingly necessary[1].

[1] "Respondeo dicendum, quod sicut ad eundem viæ terminum variæ ducunt compitæ, sic ad Scripturarum intelligentiam varia sunt media, et multum differentia. Aliqua enim media sunt quæ generali quadam ratione animum legentis disponunt et præparant ad rectam intel-

Illyricus[1], in his *Clavis Scripturæ*, speaking of the difficulties that are found in Scripture, and how they may be cleared, sheweth that nothing is more necessary for the understanding of the Scripture, than to be rightly taught the general principles and axioms of divinity, out of which do flow, and on which do depend, whatsoever things are contained in the Scripture; and then cometh to the other media assigned before. Neither is there any of our divines that ever thought otherwise.

CHAPTER XX.

OF THE SUPPOSED IMPERFECTION OF SCRIPTURES; AND THE SUPPLY OF TRADITIONS.

THUS having shewed what that difficulty and obscurity is which is found in Scripture, who must interpret it, and by what rules they must be guided in the interpretation of it; it remaineth that, in the next place, we clear the Scriptures from the other imputation of our adversaries, which is, imperfection; which they endeavour to supply by addition of traditions. The necessity of writing, for the preservation and safe keeping of those treasures of learning and wisdom, which we desire should remain and be known to posterities, appeareth, in that few things remain of Socrates, Pythagoras,

ligentiam Scripturarum potius quam eo legentem perducunt. Talia sunt ipsa lectio frequens, jugis; meditatio; et oratio fervens; sicuti alio loco dictum est. Alia porro media sunt magis quidem propria, sed tamen per se et solitarie sumpta potius probabilia quam certa; et quæ adjuvent quidem plurimum, non tamen per se sufficiant ad S. Scripturarum germanam intelligentiam. Hujusmodi sunt ea omnia quæ horum temporum hæretici sola firma et efficacia judicarunt, ut mox in respons. ad singula dicetur. Atqui alia adhuc sunt media et propria et firma, adeoque infallibilia, imo et necessaria; ut qualia illa sunt in 3. præcedentibus conclusionibus explicuimus."—Stapleton. Controversia VI. Quæst. 7. Explicatione Articuli. [Tom. I. p. 835. Lut. Par. 1620.]

[1] "Secundum remedium sit, ipsarum rerum quæ in sacris literis tractantur, aliqua catechistica aut etiam uberior cognitio, a fidis peritisque Christi ministris præbita."—M. Flacius Illyricus, de Ratione Cogn. Sac. Lit. Tract. 1. Remed. 2. p. 6.

and others renowned in the times wherein they lived for wisdom and learning, because they left nothing in writing; as also by that of blessed Job, "Oh that my words were written[1]," &c., as if there were no other means to preserve the remembrance of things, that they should never be forgotten, but writing only. The ancients had the knowledge of God without writing; but how soon it decayed, it easily appeareth. Surely, it failed in every family, in one at the least, till the time of Jacob, father of the twelve patriarchs. And therefore, after God took the whole posterity of Jacob to be his peculiar people, (a favour which he shewed not to any of his fathers before), he gave them his laws in writing: which Scripture or writing was so full and perfect[2], that the Jews had nothing delivered unto them, pertaining to the knowledge or service of God, that was not written.

The instance that our adversaries give to the contrary, is concerning the females and males dying before the eighth day, who, not being circumcised, they presume they were sanctified to God, and found remission of their original and birth sin by some other sacred rite and sacramental means appointed by God, though not written. This instance is clearly refuted, by Andradius[3]. "If," (saith he), "we shall more diligently look

[1] Job xix. 24.

[2] "Et quanquam non desunt aliqui catholicorum, qui negant ullam fuisse traditionem non scriptam apud Judæos; tamen non possum illis assentiri, cum, ut supra docuimus, non omnia sufficienter continuerit lex vetus scripta, et multo tempore populus ille, etiam post Mosen natum, sine lege scripta vixerit."—Bellarminus, De Verbo Dei. Lib. IV. cap. 8. Romæ, 1832.

[3] "Si rei momenta diligentius perpendamus, nullum certum apud veteres religionis signum extitisse reperiemus, quo infantes, puellæ, aut pueri, ante Abrahami ætatem a peccato originis mundarentur. Nam quamvis aliquod fortasse a quibusdam fuisset aliquando usurpatum, erat tamen singulari magis religionis studio quam necessitate inventum. Nam cum vel naturæ ipsius impulsu, Deo homines prolem debeant referre acceptam, atque pro acceptis liberis tanquam pro singulari in se collato munere gratias agere; summa sane ejusdem Numinis misericordia factum est, ut fide illa atque pietate infantes pueri justi efficerentur, qua a parentibus Deo, tanquam communi omnium Domino, bonorumque omnium Largitori, offerebantur. Quare D. Gregorius idem dixit apud veteres fidem parentum, quod apud nos baptismi aquam, valuisse. Cum vero D. Augustinus minime inquit credendum esse et ante datam circumcisionem famulos Dei, quando-

into the thing itself, we shall find that the Jews had no set or certain rite of religion, wherewith to sanctify and cleanse their women-children, or males that died before circumcision, from the pollution of original sin: and if perhaps any did sometimes use any form or rite, it was rather a matter of private and voluntary devotion, than of necessity. For whereas parents stand bound, by the general law of God and nature, with all thankful acknowledgment to receive their children as a great and special benefit from God; this their faith, piety, and thankfulness, joined with desire of and prayer for their good, prosperous, and happy estate, was accepted and found favour with God, on the behalf of their children." Whereupon Gregory[1] pronounceth, that "the faith of the parents was of the same force with them of the old time, that the baptism of water is with us." And whereas Augustine saith, It is not likely that the people of God, before the institution of circumcision, had no sacrament wherewith to present their children to God, though the Scripture have not expressed it; it is not to be understood, (saith Andradius), of any outward ceremonies necessary for the sanctification of those infants, but of any rite and offering them to God, whether mental only, or outwardly object to the eye and sense.

That which Andradius addeth, that it could not be known but by tradition only, that the faith of the parents was instead of circumcision before circumcision was instituted, and after the institution of it to them that might not lawfully, or could not possibly be circumcised, is frivolous; for men knew it, and concluded it out of the general and common rules of reason and equity.

Touching the state of the people of God since the coming

quidem eis inerat Mediatoris fides in carne venturi, nullo sacramento ejus opitulatos fuisse parvulis suis, quamvis quid illud esset aliqua necessaria causa Scriptura latere voluisset; non quidem de externis cæremoniis agit quæ essent ad parvulos justificandos necessaria, sed de quovis ritu sive ipsa mente incluso, sive qui oculis usurpari posset." —Jacobus Payva Andradius, Defens. Fid. Trident. Lib. II. fol. 125. [Ingoldst. 1580.]

[1] "Quod vero apud nos valet aqua baptismatis, hoc egit apud veteres vel pro parvulis sola fides, vel pro majoribus virtus sacrificii, vel pro his qui ex Abrahæ stirpe prodierant, mysterium circumcisionis." —Greg. Magn. Moral. Lib. IV. in cap. 3. Job. Tom. I. Par. 1705.

of Christ, our adversaries make no doubt but they can easily prove, that the writings, which the Church that now is hath, are defective and imperfect. This they endeavour to prove: first, because the Scriptures of the New Testament were written upon particular occasions offered, and not of purpose to contain a perfect rule of faith: secondly, because they were written by the apostles and other apostolic men out of their own motions, and not by commandment from Christ the Son of God. But unto both these arguments alleged by our adversaries, we answer, that they contain matter of very gross error.

For, first, who seeth not plainly that the Evangelists, writing the history of Christ's life and death; St Luke, in the book of the Acts of the Apostles, describing the coming of the Holy Ghost, the admirable gifts of grace poured upon the Apostles, and the Churches established and ordered by them; and the blessed Apostle St John, writing the Revelations which he saw concerning the future state of things to the end of the world; meant to deliver a perfect sum of Christian doctrine, and direction of Christian faith? It is true, indeed, that the Epistles of the Apostles, directed to the Christian Churches that then were, were occasionally written, yet so, as by the providence of God, all such things as the Church believeth, not being found in the other parts of Scripture purposely written, are most clearly and at large delivered in these Epistles.

Secondly, touching the other part of their argument which they bring to convince the Scripture of imperfection, because they that wrote it had no commandment to write, we think it needeth no refutation; for the absurdity of it is evident and clear of itself[1]. For who knoweth not that the Scriptures are not of any private motion, but that the holy men of God were moved, impelled, and carried by the Spirit of truth to the performance of this work, doing nothing without the instinct of the Spirit, which was unto them a commandment[2]?

The imperfection and defect supposed to be found in the Scripture, our adversaries endeavour to supply by addition of

[1] Quicquid ille de suis factis et dictis nos legere voluit, hoc scribendum illis tanquam suis manibus imperavit.—August. de Consensu Evangelistarum. Lib. I. cap. ult. [Tom. III. part. 2. col. 26, D.]

[2] 2 Pet. i. 20, 21.

traditions. The name of Tradition sometimes signifieth every Christian doctrine, delivered from one to another, either by lively voice only, or by writing; as Exod. xvii.: *Scribe hoc ob monumentum in libro, et trade in auribus Josuæ:* "Write this, for a remembrance, in a book, and deliver it in the ears of Josuah." Acts vi. 14: The written law of Moses is called a tradition: *Audivimus eum dicentem quoniam Jesus destruet locum istum, et mutabit traditiones quas tradidit nobis Moses:* "We heard him say that Jesus shall destroy this place, and change the traditions which Moses delivered unto us." Sometimes the name of Tradition signifieth that which is delivered by lively voice only, and not written: "That which I received of the Lord," saith the apostle, "that I delivered unto you[1]." In this question, by tradition, we understand such parts of Christian doctrine or discipline as were not written by them by whom they were first delivered.

For thus our adversaries understand traditions, which they divide into divers kinds. First, in respect of the authors; so making them of three sorts, divine, apostolical, and ecclesiastical: secondly, in respect of the matter they concern; in which respect they make them to be of two sorts; for, either they concern matters of faith, or matters of manners: and these latter again, either temporal or perpetual, universal or particular. All these, in their several kinds, they make equal with the words, precepts, and doctrines of Christ the apostles and pastors of the Church left unto us in writing. Neither is there any reason why they should not so do, if they could prove any such unwritten verities. For it is not the writing that giveth things their authority, but the worth and credit of him that delivereth them, though but by word and lively voice only. The only doubt is, whether there be any such unwritten traditions or not.

Much contention there hath been about traditions, some urging the necesity of them, and other rejecting them. For the clearing whereof we must observe, that though we reject the uncertain and vain traditions of the papists, yet we reject not all. For, first, we receive the number and names of the authors of books divine and canonical, as delivered by tradition. This tradition we admit, for that though the books of

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 23.

Scripture have not their authority from the approbation of the Church, but win credit of themselves, and yield sufficient satisfaction to all men of their divine truth, whence we judge the Church that receiveth them to be led by the Spirit of God; yet the number, authors, and integrity of the parts of these books, we receive as delivered by tradition.

The second kind of tradition which we admit, is that summary comprehension of the chief heads of Christian doctrine, contained in the Creed of the Apostles, which was delivered to the Church as a rule of her faith. For though every part thereof be contained in the Scripture[1], yet the orderly connexion, and distinct explication of these principal articles, gathered into an epitome wherein are implied, and whence are inferred, all conclusions theological, is rightly named a tradition. The third is that form of Christian doctrine, and explication of the several parts thereof, which the first Christians, receiving of the same apostles that delivered to them the Scriptures, commended to posterities. This may rightly be named a tradition, not as if we were to believe any thing without the warrant and authority of the Scripture, but for that we need a plain and distinct explication of many things which are somewhat obscurely contained in the Scripture; which being explicated, the Scriptures, which otherwise we should not so easily have understood, yield us satisfaction that they are so indeed, as the Church delivereth them unto us.

The fourth kind of tradition is the continued practice of such things as neither are contained in the Scripture expressly, nor the examples of such practice expressly there delivered; though the grounds, reasons, and causes of the necessity of such practice be there contained, and the benefit or good that followeth of it. Of this sort is the baptism of infants, which is therefore named a tradition, because it is not expressly delivered in Scripture that the apostles did baptize infants, nor any express precept there found that they should so do. Yet is not this so received by bare and naked tradition, but that we find the Scripture to deliver unto us the grounds of it. The fifth kind of traditions comprehendeth

[1] "Ista verba quæ audistis, per divinas Scripturas sparsa sunt; sed inde collecta, et ad unum redacta," &c.—August. ad Catechumenos. De Symbolo. Lib. I. cap. 1. [Tom. VI. col. 547, B.]

such observations as, in particular, are not commanded in Scripture, nor the necessity of them from thence concluded; though in general, without limitation of times and other circumstances, such things be there commanded. Of this sort many think the observation of the Lent-fast to be, the fast of the fourth and the sixth days of the week, and some other.

That the apostles delivered, by lively voice, many observations, dispensable and alterable according to the circumstances of times and persons, we make no question. Only this we say, that they are confounded with ecclesiastical traditions[1]; so that which they are doth hardly appear, and that they do not necessarily bind posterities. The custom of standing at prayer on the Lord's day, and between Easter and Whitsuntide, was generally received as delivered by apostolic tradition; and when some began to break it, it was confirmed by the council of Nice[2]; yet is it not thought necessary to be observed in our time.

Out of this which hath been said, we may easily resolve what is to be thought touching traditions. For, first, the Canon of Scripture being admitted as delivered by tradition, (though the divine truth of it be in itself clear and evident unto us, not depending of the Church's authority), there is no matter of faith delivered by bare and only tradition, as the Romanists seem to imagine. Yea, this is so clear, that therein they contrary themselves, endeavouring to prove by Scripture the same things they pretend to hold by tradition, as we shall find if we run through the things questioned between them and us. The only clear instance they seem to give, is touching the perpetual virginity of Mary, which, they say, cannot be proved by Scripture, and yet is necessary to be believed.

But they should know that this is no point of Christian faith. That she was a virgin before, in, and after, the

[1] "At ita de scriptore carnali dependent, ut sine calamo in divinis Scripturis computari non possint, sed harum multæ traditione majorum inter ecclesiastica scripta currunt, quæ, quamvis eas a pure ecclesiasticis jam temporis vastitate nescimus discernere, non minus sunt divinæ."—Waldens. de Ordinis Sacrament. Tom. III. Tit. vii. cap. 63. fol. 137.

[2] The custom of ministering Baptism only at Easter and Whitsuntide, except in case of necessity, was very general. Whereupon Leo reprehendeth the bishops of Sicilia, for that, contemning this tradition of the ancient, they did baptize on the day of Epiphany.

birth of Christ, we are bound to believe as an article of our faith; and so much is delivered in Scripture and in the Apostles' Creed: but that she continued so ever after, is a seemly truth, delivered unto us by the Church of God, fitting the sanctity of the blessed Virgin and the honour due to so sanctified a vessel of Christ's incarnation, as her body was; and so is *de pietate*, but not *de necessitate fidei*, as the Schoolmen use to speak. Neither was Helvidius condemned of heresy for the denial hereof, but because pertinaciously he urged the denial of it upon misconstruction of Scripture, as if the denial of it had been a matter of faith. Touching this allegation of our adversaries, concerning Mary's perpetual virginity, we must know that howsoever they pretend to hold it only by tradition, yet the Fathers that defend it against Helvidius, endeavour to prove it by the Scripture[1]. Their instance of children's baptism is most apparently against themselves, for they confess it may be proved by Scripture[2]. Bellarmine[3] proveth it by three reasons taken from the Scripture. The

[1] They proved it out of Ezekiel xliv. 2, as Hierome sheweth in his comment upon this place.

"Pulchre quidam portam clausam, per quam solus Dominus Deus Israel ingreditur, et dux cui porta clausa est, Mariam Virginem intelligunt, quæ et ante partum et post partum virgo permansit. Etenim tempore quo angelus loquebatur, 'Spiritus Sanctus veniet super te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit te; quod autem nascetur ex te Sanctum vocabitur Filius Dei,' et quando natus est virgo permansit æterna; ad confundendos eos qui arbitrantur eam post nativitatem Salvatoris habuisse de Joseph filios, ex occasione fratrum ejus qui vocantur in evangelio. Super qua quæstiuncula Romæ adversum Helvidium illius temporis hæreticum, in adolescentia non grandem librum scripsisse me novi."—Hieron. in Ezech. xliv. 2. [Tom. v. col. 538.]

[2] Index biblicus, in regiis bibliis vocabulo Maria multis Scripturæ locis significari perpetuam virginitatem Mariæ, ostendit.

[3] "Probatur hæc veritas tribus argumentorum generibus. Primum sumitur a Scripturis: habemus autem in Scripturis tria argumenta. Primum sumitur a figura testamenti Veteris. Nam circumcisio figura erat baptismi adeo manifesta, ut baptismus a Paulo dicatur circumcisio, Colossens. ii. At circumcisio dabatur infantibus, Genes. xvii. Cur igitur non etiam baptismus? Hoc argumentum Anabaptistæ facile possunt eludere, cum a Lutheranis et Calvinistis proponitur. Lutherani enim et Calvinistæ formam baptismi esse volunt concionem, ut libro superiore ostendimus, quod de circumcisione dicere non possunt. Inde autem sequitur, ut infantes circumcidi potuerint, non autem

first is, from the proportion between baptism and circumcision, the circumcision of children then, and the baptism of them now. This argument, he saith, as they propose it, cannot be avoided. The second from these two places: John iii. "Except a man be born anew of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven." And that other: "Suffer little children to come unto me, for unto such belongeth the kingdom of heaven."

This argument, he saith, is strong, effectual, and pregnant, to prove the necessity of the baptism of infants. The third is taken from the baptizing of whole families by the apostles, in which, by all likelihood, there were infants.

Surely, in this point of traditions, our adversaries bewray their great folly and inconstancy, making it evident to the whole world they know not what they say. Bellarmine saith that many things touching the matter and form of Sacraments are holden by tradition, as not being contained in Scripture: and yet, in the particulars, there is nothing defined in the Church of Rome touching these things, which he endeavoureth not to prove by Scripture[1]. Some allege, for proof of tradition, the consubstantiality of the Son of God with the Father, and the proceeding of the Holy Ghost from them both. Others constantly affirm that these things are proved by Scripture. Some of them say purgatory is holden by traditions; others think it may be proved by Scripture. Melchior Canus[2], en-

baptizari. At cum a nobis proponitur, qui ad baptismi essentiam non requirimus verba concionalia, sed consecratoria, certe eludi argumentum non potest."

"Secundum argumentum colligitur ex duobus locis evangelii simul junctis, Joan. iii. 'Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua, &c.' Hic locus probat infantes sine baptismo in æternum perire: est enim generalis Domini comminatio.... Tertium argumentum colligitur ex locis illis, ubi dicuntur baptizatæ integræ familiæ, ut Actor. xvi. dicitur Lydia baptizata et domus ejus. Et ibidem de custode carceris, 'Baptizatus est ipse, et omnis domus ejus continuo.' 1 Corinth. i. 'Baptizavi,' inquit Paulus, 'Stephanæ domum.' At certe in integris domibus rarum est, ut non sint infantes aliqui."—Bellarminus de Sacramento Baptismi. Lib. I. cap. 8. Romæ. 1838.

[1] We shall find an uncertainty touching the form, and words of form, of all those pretended sacraments of Marriage, Penance, Unction, and Confirmation; which in Scripture are not delivered unto us as sacraments.

[2] "Rursum, sanctorum martyrum auxilium precibus implorandum,

deavouring to prove the necessity of traditions, produceth sundry things as not written; as invocation of Saints; worshipping of Images; the priest's consecrating, and partaking, in both parts, of the Sacrament. That Ordination and Confirmation are to be conferred and given but only once: which when he hath alleged, he dareth not say the Scripture doth not deliver them, for fear of gainsaying the truth in some of them, and his own fellows in other. And therefore he saith, These things, perhaps, the Scripture hath not delivered.

For Bellarmine[1] thinketh the Scripture doth strongly prove the invocation and worship of saints and angels: and who is so impudent to deny that the ministers of the Church are bound, by the commandment of Christ contained in the Scripture, to consecrate and participate in both parts of the Sacrament? That Confirmation and Ordination, once conferred, are not to be reiterated, may be concluded out of the nature of them, described unto us in the Scripture. So that, for matters of faith, we may conclude, according to the judgment of the best and most learned of our adversaries themselves, that there is nothing to be believed which is not either expressly contained in Scripture, or at least by necessary consequence from thence; and other things evident in the light of nature, or in the matter of fact, to be concluded. That there were many speeches and divine sayings of our Saviour Christ, which, though they were never written by the Evangelists, the Apostles, and others conversant with him in the days of his flesh, knew and faithfully preserved and kept, as Mary[2] did all things which she heard him speak, and saw him do, (of which sort was that alleged by the apostle, "It is more blessed to give than to receive[3]"), we make no question: but that there are any of those unwritten speeches or actions

eorumque memorias celebrandas, imagines venerandas esse, in sacrificio Eucharistiæ simul cum corpore sanguinem sacerdotibus esse et conficiendum et sumendum, sacramenta Confirmationis et Ordinis non iteranda, sacræ literæ nusquam forte tradiderunt. At ejusmodi atque alia pleraque id genus ita firmiter Ecclesia catholica retenet, ac si sacris codicibus fuissent inscripta.... Multa igitur sunt fidei catholicæ dogmata quæ sacris literis non habentur."—Melchior Canus, De Tradit. Apostolic. Lib. III. cap. 3. fundamentum 3. Col. Agr. 1605.

[1] Vide Bellarmin. de Sanctorum Beatitudine, Lib. I. cap. 19.: "Sanctos esse invocandos," et, De Reliquiis Sanct. Lib. II. cap. 12.: "Imagines Christi et Sanctorum recte coli."

[2] Lucæ ii. 19. [3] Acts xx. 35.

necessary to be known for our salvation, or containing any other matter of divine knowledge than is written, or that are certainly known unto the Church now, we utterly deny. All the historical things (saith Bishop Lindan[1]), which are reported concerning Christ, not contained in Scripture, are fabulous or uncertain. Which, doubtless, was the reason why more errors were found in the writings of the first Fathers[2] of the primitive Church than in those that were further removed from those first beginnings, because they were abused by the false and uncertain reports of traditions, which, in those times, men greedily hearkened after, as living with them which had been conversant with the apostles or their scholars, as we shall find by that is reported of Papias[3], and it appeareth by the writings of others.

[1] "Huic traditionum generi affine et illud est quod circa evangelii versatur historias, unde et historicum recte dixeris. Cujusmodi plura circumferuntur de Christi infantia, et apud Epiphanium extant fragmenta quædam, sicuti et apud D. Justinum. Quæ ut crediderim a vero non aliena, ita sunt alia prorsus fabulosa, et non nisi ex apocryphorum somniis hausta. Prudens igitur rerum arbiter has atque similes traditionum species,... in trifarium rediget ordinem. Primum, quod indubitatam meretur fidem, qualem et Scripturæ ... Secundum, quod nullius est fidei, uti de Zacharia illo, de Anastasia obstetrice, de ridiculis illis Christi pueri miraculis, ne ludis dicam fabulosis."—Lindanus, Panoplia Evangelica, Lib. IV. [cap. 100. p. 481. Col. Agr. 1575.]

[2] Tertull., Iren., Arnobius, Papias, Lactantius, &c.

[3] "... ἃ καὶ ἡγοῦμαι τὰς ἀποστολικας παρεκδεξάμενον διηγήσεις, ὑπολαβεῖν [sc. Παπίαν], τὰ ἐν ὑποδείγμασι πρὸς αὐτῶν μυστικῶς εἰρημένα μὴ συνεωρακότα."—Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. III. cap. 39. Cantab. 1720.

"Mitto nunc errorem Chiliastarum, quo multi veterum fuere implicati ab istis maxime presbyteris esse proseminatum. Certe Irenæus, Lib. III. adversus Hæres. cap. 39, persuadere studet Christum Dominum annos prope quinquaginta in terris vixisse: idque probat ipse vel eo potissimum argumento quod presbyteri Asiæ, apostolorum discipuli, id sibi ab apostolis traditum alios docuerunt; quam tamen opinionem, et vero procul esse, et adversari non solum historiæ ecclesiasticæ vel etiam evangelicæ, etiam leviter sacris literis eruditi facile possunt intelligere: et a nobis in Libr. II. nostrorum Comment. in Daniel, in explicando quæstionem septimam manifestis argumentis ostensum est." —Pererius, in Genes. Lib. III. Qu. 5. p. 96. Col. Agr. 1622.

"Καὶ πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι μαρτυροῦσιν, οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ασίαν Ἰωάννῃ τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῇ συμβεβληκότες, παραδεδωκέναι ταῦτα τὸν Ἰωάννην. παρέμεινε γὰρ αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων."—Irenæi adversus Hæreses, Lib. II. cap. 39. Oxon. 1702.

Thus having made it clear and evident that it is not safe to rely upon traditions, in things concerning the faith, let us come to those traditions which concern the manners and conversation of men.

That the apostles delivered many things of this nature to the churches, some by way of precept, some by way of counsel and advice only; some to particular churches, and some to all; some to continue but for a time, and some to continue for ever; we make no doubt. Of this sort is the observation of the Lord's day, the precept whereof is not found in Scripture, though the practice be; and so may be named a tradition. And sundry other things there are, which, doubtless, the apostles delivered by tradition; but they are confounded with ecclesiastical traditions, as Waldensis[1] aptly noteth, that we might the more reverence the constitutions of the Church; and are dispensable by the guides of the Church; because the apostles, and apostolic men that delivered them, did not deliver them as reporting the immediate precepts of Christ himself, but by virtue of their pastoral power and office; and so it little concerneth us exactly to know whether they were delivered by the apostles themselves, or their next after-comers: for if they were delivered by the apostles, yet are they dispensable by the authority of the Church; and if not by them, but by others, they may not be dispensed with, nor altered, but by the same authority.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF THE RULES WHEREBY TRUE TRADITIONS MAY BE KNOWN FROM COUNTERFEIT.

THUS having set down the kinds and sorts of traditions, it remaineth to examine by what means we may come to discern, and by what rules we may judge, which are true and indubitate traditions. The first rule is delivered by Augustine[2]: *Quod universa tenet Ecclesia, nec conciliis institutum,*

[1] "Sed ideo permisit ita esse Sponsus ecclesiæ, ut sponsæ leges filii timerent atterere, quibus Sponsus inseparabiliter leges suas miscuit." —Waldens. Doctrinal. Tom. III. Tit. vii. cap. 63. fol. 138.

[2] August. contr. Donatistas, Lib. IV. cap. 24. [Tom. IX. col. 140.]

sed semper retentum est, non nisi auctoritate Apostolica traditum rectissime creditur : "Whatsoever the whole Church holdeth, not being decreed by the authority of councils, but having been ever holden, may rightly be thought to have proceeded from apostolic authority." The second rule is, Whatsoever all, or the most famous and renowned, in all ages, or at the least, in diverse ages, have constantly delivered, as received from them that went before them, no man contradicting or doubting of it, may be thought to be an apostolical tradition. The third rule is, The constant testimony of the pastors of an apostolic Church, successively delivered: to which some add the present testimony of any apostolic Church, whose declinings, when they began, we cannot precisely tell. But none of the Fathers admit this rule: for when they urge the authority and testimony of apostolic churches, for the proof or reproof of true or pretended traditions, they stand upon the consenting voice or silence of the pastors of such churches, successively, in diverse ages, concerning such things. Some add the testimony of the present Church: but we inquire after the rule whereby the present Church may know true traditions from false: and besides, though the whole multitude of believers, at one time in the world, cannot err pertinaciously and damnably, in embracing false traditions instead of true; yet they that most sway things in the Church may, yea, even the greater part of a general council; so that this can be no sure rule for men to judge of traditions by. And therefore Canus[1] reasoneth foolishly, that whatsoever the Church of Rome practiseth, which she may not do without special warrant from God, and yet hath no warrant in Scripture so to do; the same things and the practice of them she hath received by tradition. He giveth example, in the pre-

[1] "Tertia via, si quicquam est nunc in ecclesia communi fidelium consensione probatum, quod tamen humana potestas efficere non potuit, id ex apostolorum traditione necessario derivatum est. Ut vota dissolvere et remittere juramenta, non erat humanæ potestatis; tum quia jure naturæ vota nuncupata Deo reddere, et juramenta servare tenemur, humana vero facultas ea quæ jure naturæ debita et constituta sunt, condonare ac tollere non potest, ut Gratian. 13. Distinctio. statim a principio docet; tum etiam, quia in his quæ superiori ex conventione debentur inferioris potestas nulla est. Eademque est ratio matrimonii rati direptione per monasticum solenne votum."—Melch. Canus, De Tradit. Apostolic. Lib. III. cap. 4.

sent practice of the Romish Church in dispensing with, and remitting vows and oaths, and in dissolving marriages, (not consummate by carnal knowledge,) by admitting men into orders of religion. But this practice of the Romish Church we condemn, as wicked and antichristian.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF THE DIFFERENCE OF BOOKS CANONICAL AND APOCRYPHAL.

THUS having answered our adversaries' objections touching the obscurity and imperfections of the Scripture, which we affirm to be the rule of our faith; it remaineth that, in particular, we consider which are the books of this Scripture containing the rule of our faith, and where the indubitate and certain verity of them is to be found, whether in the originals or in the translations. The books which Moses, the prophets, and apostles delivered to the world, contain the canon, that is, the rule of piety, faith, and religion, which the sons of men received by revelation from heaven, and therefore are rightly named canonical. The matter of these books we believe to have been inspired from the Holy Ghost, for our instruction; whose authority is so great that no man may doubt of them. The writers of these books were in such sort guided and directed by the Spirit of truth in composing of them, that not to believe them were impious. Whereupon Augustine[1], writing to Hierome, saith, *Ego solis eis scriptoribus, qui canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, ut nullum eorum scribendo errasse firmissime*

[1] "Ego enim fateor charitati tuæ, solis eis Scripturarum libris qui jam canonici appellantur didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorem scribendo aliquid errasse firmissime credam. Ac si aliquid in eis offendere litteris quod videatur contrarium veritati, nihil aliud quam vel mendosum esse codicem, vel interpretem non assecutum esse quod dictum est, vel me minime intellexisse non ambigam. Alios autem ita lego ut quantalibet sanctitate doctrinaque præpolleant, non ideo verum putem, quia ipsi ita senserunt, sed quia mihi vel per illos auctores canonicos, vel probabili ratione quod a vero non abhorreat, persuadere potuerunt."—August. Hieronymo. [Epist. 82. Tom. II. col. 190.]

teneam; at si quod in iis invenero quod videatur contrarium veritati, nihil aliud existimem quam mendosum esse codicem, vel non esse assecutum interpretem quod dictum est, vel me minime intellexisse non ambigam: alios autem ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate doctrinave polleant, non ideo verum putem quia ita senserunt, sed quia mihi per illos auctores canonicos vel probabiles rationes, quod a vero non abhorreat persuadere potuerunt. That is, "I have learned to yield that reverence and honour to those writers only that are called canonical, to think that none of them could err in writing; but if in them I find anything that may seem contrary to the truth, I persuade myself that either the copy is corrupt, or the interpreter defective and faulty, or that the fault is in my not understanding of it: but other authors I so read, that how great soever their learning and sanctity be, I do not therefore think any thing to be true because they have so thought, but because they persuade me that it is true, by the authority of the canonical authors, or the probability of reason."

Besides the indubitate writings of those canonical authors, there are other books written of the same argument, which, because the credit and authority of the authors of them is not known, are named apocryphal.

Books are named apocryphal, first, because the author of them is not known: and in this sense some of the books of canonical Scripture, as the books of Chronicles, of Hester, and a great part of the Psalms, may be named apocryphal, though unproperly, and unfitly: (the authority of the authors of them not being doubted of, though their names, and other personal conditions be not known.) And therefore Andradius[1] reprehendeth the Gloss, which defineth those things to be apocryphal *quæ incerto authore prodita sunt*, "the author and publisher whereof is not known."

Secondly, books are therefore named apocryphal, because the authority and credit of them is called in question, it being doubted whether they proceeded from the inspiration of the

[1] "Quare ineptissime fuit a glossa traditum in capite. [Gratiani Decretum, Part I. distinct. xvi. can. 1. col. 64. Par. 1612.] Canones, 16 distinct. apocrypha illa appellari, quæ ementitum præferunt auctorum nomen, et incerto sunt auctore prodita."—Andradius, De Lib. Canonicis, Defens. Fid. Trident. Lib. III. fol. 287.

Holy Spirit; so that they cannot serve for the confirmation of anything that is called in question. In this sense Hierome[1] calleth the books of the Macchabees, and the rest of that kind, apocryphal, though they were read privately and publicly, for the edification of the people, and the information of manners.

Thirdly, such books are named apocryphal[2] as are merely fabulous and full of impiety, and therefore interdicted and forbidden to be read or regarded at all. The ancientest of the Fathers name these only apocryphal, and so doth Hierome sometimes, calling those of the second rank hagiographal[3]: though this name be sometimes given to those canonical books which pertain not to the Law nor the Prophets, as the book of Job, the Psalms, the books of Salomon, Esdras, the Chronicles, &c. so dividing the whole canon of the Scripture of the Old Testament, into the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographal books, that is, those which, not having any proper name of difference, retain and are known by the common name of Holy Writ.

[1] "Hic prologus Scripturarum quasi galeatum principium omnibus libris quos de Hebræo vertimus in Latinum, convenire potest, ut scire valeamus, quidquid extra hos est inter ἀπόκρυφα esse ponendum. Igitur Sapientia, quæ vulgo Salomonis inscribitur, et Jesu filii Syrach liber, et Judith, et Tobias, et Pastor, non sunt in canone. Machabæorum primum librum Hebræum reperi. Secundus Græcus est."—Hieron. in Prologo Galeato. [In libros Samuel et Malachim. Tom. IX. col. 458.]

[2] "Lib. Apocryphi appellantur, non quod habendi sint in aliqua auctoritate secreta, sed quia nulla testificationis luce de, nescio quo secreto, nescio quorum, præsumptione prolati sunt."—August. contr. Faust. Manich. Lib. XI. cap. 2. [Tom. VIII. col. 219, A.]

[3] "Unde est ut duplicem hagiographorum ordinem constituit Hieronymus. Alter est eorum quæ cum canonicis libris communi omnium consensione numerantur; verum cum neque ad Legem, neque ad Prophetas pertineant a sanctissimis tamen viris fuissent composita, hoc vocabulo significavit antiquitas: qualia sunt Job, Psalmi, Salomon, Esdras, Paralipomenon."—Andrad. ubi supra, fol. 286.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF THE CANONICAL AND APOCRYPHAL BOOKS OF SCRIPTURE.

THE Books of the Old Testament were committed to the Church of the Jews: whereupon that is one of the things in respect whereof the Apostle preferreth them before the Gentiles, that "to them were committed the oracles of God[1]." This Church of the Jews admitted but only twenty-two books, as delivered unto them from God, to be the canon of their faith, according to the number of the letters of their alphabet, as Josephus[2] sheweth. For though they sometimes reckon four and twenty, and sometimes seven and twenty, yet they add no more in one of these accounts than in the other. For, repeating Iod thrice, for honour of the name of God, and so the number of the letters rising to four and twenty, they number the books of canonical Scripture to be four and twenty, dividing the book of Ruth from the Judges, and the Lamentations from the Prophecies of Jeremy, and reckoning them by themselves, which, in the former account, they joined with them. These books thus numbered Hierome[3] fitly compareth to the four and twenty elders mentioned in the Revelation, *qui adorabant, et prostratis vultibus offerebant coronas suas*, "Which prostrating themselves, adored and worshipped the Lamb, acknowledging that they received their crowns of him:" *Stantibus coram quatuor animalibus, oculatis ante et retro, in præteritum et futurum respi-*

[1] Rom. iii. 1, 2.

[2] "Δύο δὲ μόνα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι βιβλία, τοῦ παντὸς ἔχοντα χρόνου τὴν ἀναγραφὴν, τὰ δικαίως πεπιστευμένα."—Joseph. contr. Apionem, Lib. I. col. 1036. Genev. 1635. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. III. cap. 10. Par. 1659.

[3] "Ita sunt pariter veteris legis libri viginti duo: id est, Mosi quinque; Prophetarum octo; Hagiographorum novem. Quamquam nonnulli Ruth et Cinoth inter ἀγιόγραφα scriptitent, et libros hos in suo putent numero supputandos: ac per hoc esse priscæ legis libros viginti quattuor: quos sub numero viginti quattuor seniorum Apocalypsis Johannis inducit adorantes agnum, et coronas suas prostratis vultibus offerentes; stantibus coram quattuor animalibus oculatis et retro et ante, id est, et in præteritum et in futurum respicientibus."—Hieron. Præfat. in Lib. Samuel. et Reg. Tom. IX. col. 458.

cientibus. "Those four admirable living creatures, having eyes before and behind, looking to things past and to come, standing before him." And because five of the Hebrew letters are double, they sometimes reckon the books of the holy canon so[1], as that they make them rise to the number of seven and twenty, reckoning the first and second of Samuel, of Kings, of Chronicles, and of Esdras, by themselves severally, which in the first account were numbered together, two of every of these being accounted but as one book, and dividing Ruth from the Judges. These only did the ancient Church of the Jews receive as divine and canonical.

That other books were added unto these, whose authority not being certain and known are named Apocryphal, fell out on this sort. The Jews[2], in their latter times, before and at the coming of Christ[3], were of two sorts; some properly and for distinction's sake named Hebrews, commorant at Hierusalem and in the Holy Land; others named Hellenists, that is, Jews of the dispersion mingled with the Grecians. These had written sundry books in Greek, which they made use of, together with other parts of the Old Testament, which they had of the translation of the Septuagint: but the Hebrews received only the two and twenty books before mentioned. Hence it came, that the Jews delivered a double canon of the Scripture to the Christian Churches: the one pure, indubitate, and divine, which is the Hebrew canon; the

[1] "Ιστέον δὲ ὡς εἴκοσι καὶ δύο βίβλοι εἶσὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, κατα τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς Ἑβραΐδος φωνῆς. εἴκοσι δύο γὰρ στοιχεῖα ἔχουσιν, ἐξ ὧν πέντε διπλοῦνται, ὡς γίνεσθαι αὐτὰ εἴκοσι ἑπτά· διπλοῦν γάρ ἐστι τὸ Χαφ, καὶ τὸ Μὲμ, καὶ τὸ Νοῦν, καὶ τὸ Πὲ, καὶ τὸ Σαδὶ· διὸ καὶ αἱ βίβλοι κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν πρόπον εἴκοσι δύο μὲν ἀριθμοῦνται, εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ δὲ εὑρίσκονται, διὰ τὸ πέντε ἐξ αὐτῶν διπλοῦσθαι, συνάπτεται γὰρ Ρουθ τοῖς Κριταῖς, καὶ ἀριθμεῖται παρ' Ἑβραίοις μία βίβλος· ἡ πρώτη καὶ ἡ δευτέρα τῶν Βασιλειῶν, μία βίβλος· ἡ τρίτη καὶ ἡ τετάρτη τῶν Βασιλειῶν, μία βίβλος· ἡ πρώτη καὶ ἡ δευτερα τοῦ Εσδρὰ, μία βίβλος."—Joann. Damasceni de Fide Orthodoxa. Lib. IV. cap. 16. Paris. 1712.

[2] Acts vi. 1.

[3] "Græcorum, sive advenarum gentilium in civitate conversantium, sive Judæorum genere, qui inter Græcos nati fuerant et nutriti, qui murmurabant quia despiciebantur."—Glossa Ordin. in Act. vi. 1.

"Omnes erant Judæi, sed aliqui nati erant in Judæa; et illi dicuntur hic Hebræi. Et aliqui in Græcia ex Judæis ibidem per Antiochum; et illi dicuntur hic Græci: et similiter illi qui de gentilitate erant ad Judaismum conversi."—Nic. de Lyra, (ibid).

other in Greek, enriched with, or rather adulterated by, the addition of certain books written in those times, when God raised up no more prophets among his people. This volume thus mixed of divers sorts of books, the Christians received of the Jews. These books, joined in one volume, were translated out of Greek into Latin, and read by them of the Latin Church in that translation: for there was no catholic[1] Christian, that ever translated the Scriptures of the Old Testament out of Hebrew into Latin, before Hierome's time; nor none after him, till our age.

Hence it came, that the Fathers of the Greek Church, having Origen and sundry other learned in the Hebrew tongue, and making search into the antiquities and originals of the Jews, received as canonical only the two and twenty books written in the Hebrew, and did account all those books which were added in the Greek to be apocryphal. The Latins receiving them both in one translation and bound up in one volume, used sundry parts of the apocryphal books in their prayers and readings, together with the other, and cited them in their writings: yet did none of them make any catalogue of canonical and apocryphal books, and number them amongst the canonical, before the third council of Carthage[2], wherein Augustine was present; at which time also Innocentius[3] lived; which Fathers seem to add to the

[1] Judæus, Aquila, Symmachus, et Theodosion, Judaizantes hæretici sunt recepti."—Hieron. Præfat. in Lib. Job. [Tom. IX. col. 1100.]

[2] "Item placuit, ut præter Scripturas canonicas, nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum Scripturarum. Sunt autem canonicæ Scripturæ hæ, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Jesus Nave, Judicum, Ruth, Regnorum libri quatuor, Paralipomenon libri duo, Job, Psalterium Davidicum, Salomonis libri quinque, libri duodecim Prophetarum, Isaias, Jeremias, Ezechiel, Daniel, Tobias, Judith, Esther, Esdræ libri duo, Machabæorum libri duo. Novi autem testamenti, Evangeliorum libri quatuor, Actorum apostolorum liber unus, Pauli apostoli epistolæ tredecim, ejusdem ad Hebræos una, Petri apostoli duæ, Joannis apostoli tres, Judæ apostoli una, et Jacobi una, Apocalypsis Joannis liber unus."—Concil. Carthag. 3. can. XLVII. Concil. (Labbe). Tom. II. Lut. Par. 1671.

[3] "Qui vero libri recipiantur in canone sanctarum Scripturarum brevis adnexus ostendit. Hæc sunt ergo quæ desiderata moneri voce voluisti: Moysis Libri 5, id est, Genesis, Exodi, Levitici, Numeri, Deuteronomii; et Jesu Nave unus, Judicum unus, Regnorum libri 4, simul

canon divers books which the Hebrews receive not. Hierome translating the Scriptures out of the Hebrew, and most exactly learning what was the Hebrew canon, rejected all besides the two and twenty Hebrew books, as the Grecians did before, and as after him all men of note in the Latin Church did.

There was great exception taken to Hierome, for adventuring to translate the Scripture out of Hebrew; and, among others, Augustine[1] and the Africans seemed not much to like it. They therefore reckon the books of Scripture, according as they found them in use in the Latin Church, not exactly noting the difference of the one from the other: yet not denying but that the Hebrew canon consisted only of two and twenty books, and that many took exceptions to them, when they alleged any testimonies out of those books the Hebrews admit not. Against which exceptions, Augustine[2] no otherwise justifieth himself, but by the use of the Church in reading them. Which proof is too weak to prove them canonical, seeing the Prayer of Manasses, confessed by our adversaries to be apocryphal, the third and fourth of Esdras, the book called Pastor, and some other, were likewise read by them of the Church, cited by them in their writings, and many things translated out of them into the public prayers and liturgies of the Church.

et Ruth; Prophetarum libri 16; Salomonis libri 5; Psalterium; Historiarum, Job libri unus, Machabæorum duo, Esdræ duo, Paralipomenon duo."—Innocentius Papa. I. ad Exuperium, Epist. 3. cap. 7. [Labbe Concil. Tom. II. col. 1256.]

[1] "Ego sane te mallem Græcas potius canonicas interpretari Scripturas, quæ septuaginta interpretum perhibentur. Perdurum erit enim, si tua interpretatio per multas ecclesias frequentius cœperit lectitari, quod a Græcis ecclesiis Latinæ ecclesiæ dissonabunt, maxime quia facile contradictor convincitur Græco prolato libro, id est, linguæ notissimæ. Quisquis autem in eo quod ex Hebræo translatum est aliquo insolito permotus fuerit, et falsi crimen intenderit, vix aut nunquam ad Hebræa testimonia pervenietur, quibus defendatur objectum."—August. Hieronymo. Epist. X. [Aliter LXXI. Tom. II. col. 160.]

[2] "Non debuit repudiari sententia libri Sapientiæ, qui meruit in ecclesia Christi de gradu lectorum ecclesiæ Christi tam longa annositate recitari, et ab omnibus Christianis, ab episcopis usque ad extremos laicos fideles, pœnitentes, catechumenos, cum veneratione divinæ auctoritatis audiri."—August. de Prædestinatione Sanctorum. cap. 14. [Tom. X. col. 808.]

Thus then these Fathers, not looking carefully into the originals, name all those books canonical, which the use of God's Church approved as profitable and containing matter of good instruction, and so numbered the books of Wisdom, and the rest, with the canonical. Whose opinion yet, as Cajetan thinketh, was not that they were absolutely canonical, but in a sort, in that they contain a good direction of men's manners. These the Greek Fathers rejected from the canon, admitting only those which the reformed Churches at this day admit; as also almost all the Divines of the Latin Church, after Hierome, do.

That some of the Greek Fathers rejected the book of Hester, it was, (as Sixtus Senensis[1] rightly noteth) by reason of those apocryphal additions, which they, not being skilful in the Hebrew tongue, did not discern from the true parts of it; which error made them to reject the whole book as apocryphal. This was also the reason why they admitted those apocryphal additaments, joined to the book of Daniel.

Howsoever, it appeareth, that all they which diligently looked into these things, did admit all those books which we admit, and reject all those which we reject. Neither is there any one amongst all the ancient, before the third council of Carthage, that clearly, and of set purpose, numbereth the books controversed between us and our adversaries, with the books of the canon. Melito[2], then bishop of Sardis, going

[1] "Accidit autem, ut propter has appendicum lacinias, hinc inde quorundam scriptorum temeritate insertas, liber hic, quamvis Hebraicus, et Hebræis receptus, sero admodum apud Christianos canonicam auctoritatem receperit; unde nec ipsum Melito Sardensis episcopus, nec Gregorius Nazianzenus inter sacros libros enumerarunt; et Athanasius de catalogo canonicorum voluminum tanquam nothum nominatim abjecit."—Sixtus Senensis, Bibliothec. Sanct. Lib. I. Artic. "Esther." Paris. 1610.

[2] "Ἀνελθὼν οὖν εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ ἕως τοῦ τόπου γενόμενός ἔνθα ἐκηρύχθη καὶ ἐπράχθη καὶ ἀκριβῶς μαθὼν τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία, ὑποτάξας ἔπεμψά σοι· ὧν ἐστὶ τὰ ὀνόματα· Μωϋσέως πέντε. Γένεσις, Ἔξοδος, Λευιτικὸν, Ἀριθμοὶ, Δευτερονόμιον. Ἰησοῦς Ναυῆ, Κριταὶ, Ῥούθ, Βασιλειῶν τέσσαρα, Παραλειπομένων δύο. Ψαλμῶν Δαβὶδ, Σολόμωνος Παροιμίαι, ἥ καὶ Σοφία, Ἐκκλησιαστὴς, Ἆσμα Ασμάτων, Ἰώβ· Προφητῶν, Ἡσαΐου, Ἱερεμίου· τῶν δώδεκα ἐν μονοβίβλῳ. Δανιὴλ, Ἰεζεκιὴλ, Ἔσδρας, ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὰς ἐκλογὰς ἐποιησάμην, εἰς ἓξ βιβλία διελών· καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ Μελίτωνος τοσαῦτα."—Eusebius. Eccl. Hist. Lib. IV. cap. 26. Cantab. 1720.

purposely into the East parts of the world, that he might diligently search out the monuments and sacred books of divine knowledge, reckoneth those only canonical which we do, save that he addeth the book of Wisdom. Origen[1] admitteth and acknowledgeth only two and twenty books of the Old Testament. Athanasius[2], likewise, numbereth the books of the canon in the same sort, and addeth, "There are also certain other books which are read only to the catechumens and novices." Hilarius[3] saith, "The law of the Old Covenant is contained in two and twenty books, answerable to the number of the Hebrew letters." Nazianzene[4], also, is of the same opinion, and Cyrillus[5], bishop of Hierusalem; only he addeth the book of Baruch, thinking it to be a part of Jeremy's prophecies; but suffereth not any others to be added, saying, "The apostles and first bishops which delivered these only, were wiser and much more to be esteemed than such as now go about to add others." Of the same judgment are Epiphanius[6],

[1] "Τῆς δ' εἰς τὸ πᾶν εὐαγγέλιον αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο πραγματείας, μόνοι δύο καὶ εἴκοσι εἰς ἡμᾶς περιῆλθον τόμοι."—Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. VI. cap. 24.

[2] "Ἐκτὸς δὲ τούτων εἰσὶ πάλιν ἕτερα βιβλία, τῆς αὐτῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, ἀναγινωσκόμενα δὲ μόνον τοῖς κατήχουμένοις ταῦτα."—Athanas. Synops. Script. Tom. II. p. 128. Par. 1698.

[3] "Et ea causa est, ut in viginti duos libros lex testamentis Veteris deputetur: ut cum literarum numero convenirent."—Hilarius, Prologus in Libr. Psalmor. §. 15. Paris. 1693.

[4] "Ἀρχαίας μὲν ἔθηκα δύω καὶ εἴκοσι βίβλους,
Τοῖς τῶν Ἑβραίων γράμμασιν ἀντιθέτους."
—Greg. Naz. De genuinis Scripturæ Libris. [Tom. II. p. 260. Par. 1840.]; et cygneorum carminum Lib. ad Seleucum de recta Educatione. [Tom. II. p. 1102.]

[5] "Τούτων τὰς εἴκοσι δύο βίβλους ἀναγίνωσκε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἀπόκρυφα μηδὲν ἔχε κοινόν. Ταύτας μόνας μελέτα σπουδαίως ἃς καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ μετὰ παῤῥησίας ἀναγινώσκομεν; πολύ σου φρονιμώτεροι ἦσαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι, καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἐπίσκοποι, οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προστάται, οἱ ταύτας παραδόντες..... τὰ προφητικὰ πέντε· τῶν δώδεκα προφητῶν μία βίβλος, καὶ Ἡσαΐου μία, καὶ Ἱερεμίου μετὰ Βαρούχ καὶ θρήνων καὶ ἐπιστολῆς, εἶτα Ἰεζηκιὴλ, καὶ ἡ τοῦ Δανιὴλ εἰκοστηδευτέρα βιβλός."—Cyril. Hierosol. Cateches. IV. [p. 37. Lut. Par. 1631.]

[6] "Καὶ αὗται εἰσὶν αἱ εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ βίβλοι, αἱ ἐκ Θεοῦ δοθεῖσαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. εἴκοσι δύο δὲ ὡς τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς στοιχεῖα τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν γραμματῶν ἀριθμούμεναι διὰ τὸ διπλοῦσθαι δέκα βίβλους εἰς πέντε λεγομένας."—Epiphanius adv. Hæreses. Lib. I. Epicur. Hær. VIII. Paris. 1622.

Ruffinus[1], Hierome[2], and Gregory[3]. And Josephus[4] confirmeth the opinion of these Fathers, saying, that from the time of Artaxerxes till the age wherein he lived, all things were committed to writing which concerned the state of God's people and religion; but that they were not of equal authority with those which were formerly written, because, after that time, the indubitate succession of the prophets ceased.

Unto these authorities of the Fathers, some of our adversaries (as Andradius[5] and others) do answer, that they speak of the canon of the Hebrews, and not of the canon of the Church; so not denying absolutely these books to be canonical, but that they are not so esteemed by the Jews:

[1] "Veteris instrumenti primo omnium Moysi quinque libri sunt traditi,... post hos Jesu Nave, et Judicum simul cum Ruth, quatuor post hæc Regnorum libri quos Hebræi duos numerant, Paralipomenon qui dierum dicitur liber, et Esdræ libri duo, qui apud illos singuli computantur, et Hester; Prophetarum vero Hesias, Hieremias, Ezechiel, et Daniel; præterea duodecim prophetarum liber unus: Job quoque et Psalmi David singuli sunt libri; Solomonis vero tres ecclesiis tradidit, Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Canticorum. In his concluserunt librorum numerum Veteris Testamenti."—Ruffinus. Expos. Symbol. [ad Calc. Opp. Cyprian. p. 27. Oxon. 1682.]

[2] Hieron. in Prologo Galeato. [Ubi supra. cap. 22. p. 475. n. 1.]

[3] "Non inordinate agimus si ex libris licet non canonicis, sed tantum ad ædificationem ecclesiæ editis, testimonium proferamus."—Greg. Mag. Moral. in Job. Lib. XIX. cap. 17. [al. 21. Tom. I. col. 622. Par. 1705.]

[4] "Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μοϋσέως τελευτῆς μέχρι τῆς Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ μετὰ Ξέρξην Περσῶν βασιλέως, οἱ μετὰ Μωϋσην προφῆται τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς πραχθέντα συνέγραψαν ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα βιβλίοις· αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ τέσσαρες, ὕμνους εἰς τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποθήκας τοῦ βίου περιέχουσιν. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξου μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου, γέγραπται μὲν ἕκαστα, πίστεως δ' οὐχ ὁμοίας ἠξίωται τοῖς πρὸ αὐτων, διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχήν."—Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. III. cap. 10. p. 85.

[5] "Quamvis dissentire D. Hieronymus videatur, Hebræorum tamen magis eum referre opinionem quam suam explicare, non obscure demonstrabimus.... Quod fecisse etiam cum Thobiam, Judith, Machabæorum libros, Sapientiam et Ecclesiasticum inter apocrypha numeravit, ex præfationibus in eosdem libros plane constabit, in quibus nihil aliud quam Hebræorum catalogum et opinionem inculcat."—Jacobus Payva Andradius, De Libris Canonicis. [Defensio Trident. Fid.] Lib. III. fol. 289. [Ingoldst. 1580.]

but this answer the words of Hierome[1] do most clearly refute. "As," saith he, "the Church, not the synagogue of the Jews, readeth the books of Judith, Tobias, and the Maccabees, but receiveth them not as canonical Scriptures; so likewise it may read these two books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, for the edification of the people, but not for confirmation of doubtful points of doctrine." And therefore Bellarmine, Sixtus Senensis, and others, clearly confess that this answer of Andradius is insufficient.

They therefore add another, to wit, that the Canon was not perfectly known and confirmed in the time of those Fathers. We ask them when it was confirmed. If they say, in the council of Nice, which (as Hierome[2] saith, some report,) received the book of Judith as canonical, though Lindan[3] say it is not likely it did, and that Hierome did not say it did so, but that some reported so; we ask how it came to pass, that so many catholic Divines, after the Nicene council, rejected these books, as they did before. If they say, they were confirmed in the council of Carthage: that was but a provincial council, as was that of Laodicea, in which they are not mentioned. If they say, the council of Carthage was confirmed in the sixth general council holden at Trullo: we answer, first, that it was no more confirmed there than that of Laodicea[4]: and as Canus[5] noteth, the sixth council doth

[1] "Sicut ergo Judith, et Tobi, et Macchabæorum libros legit quidem ecclesia, sed inter canonicas Scripturas non recipit; sic et hæc duo volumina legat ad ædificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam."—Hieron. Præfat. in libros Salomonis, ad Chromatium et Heliodorum. [Tom. IX. col. 1295.]

[2] "Hunc librum synodus Nicæna in numero sanctarum Scripturarum legitur computasse."—Id. Præfat. in Judith. [Tom. X. col. 22.]

[3] "Si Nicæna Synodus olim hunc Judith librum cum aliis in Canonem redegerat, cur annis 80. post eum non accenset Laodicæna? cur Nazianzenus ejus non meminit? Sed legitur computasse, ait Hiero: quod mihi dubitantis suspicionem subindicare videtur, nisi fortasse quis hunc de libris canonicis Nicænum Canonem una cum plurimis aliis, minimum, uti equidem arbitror 47. teste D. Julio I. Rom. hæreticorum fraude fuisse accisum, atque Ecclesiis sublectum opinetur."—Lindani Panoplia Evangel. Lib. III. cap. 3. Col. Agr. 1575.

[4] "Quod utique concilium [sc. Laodicense] manifeste confirmatum est a synodo Trullana."—Melch. Canus, De Locis Theologicis. Lib. II. cap. 9.

[5] "Patres Trullanæ synodi non concilium Carthaginense probant

not expressly name the third council of Carthage, but only speaketh of Canons agreed upon in new Carthage. Secondly[1], we say, that those Canons of the sixth council, wherein this pretended confirmation is found, are of no credit with the Romanists: so that it is clear, that neither the Nicene council, nor this other, did confirm the authority of the books questioned, as appeareth by the consent of almost all the worthiest Divines in the Church, after those councils, till our age; as Gregory[2], Damascenus[3], Hugo de Sancto Victore[4], Ricardus de Sancto Victore[5], Petrus Cluniacensis[6], Lyranus[7], Diony-

numero singulari, ut Gratianus accepit, sed canones editos nova Carthagine."—Canus, Lib. II. cap. 9. [p. 55.]

[1] [Vid. Tractat. cui Titulus] "Quod Acta VI. Synodi quæ circumferuntur Parengrapha sint Alberti Pighii Diatribæ."—Alb. Pighius. Controvers. in Comit. Ratispon. Explicatio. Par. 1549.

[2] Greg. Mag. Moral. Lib. XIX. in cap. 29. Job. cap. 17. [ubi supr. p. 481, n. 6.]

[3] "Ἡ δὲ Πανάρετος τουτέστιν ἡ Σοφία τοῦ Σολομῶντος, καὶ ἡ Σοφία τοῦ Ιησοῦ, ἡ ὁ πατὴρ μὲν τοῦ Σιρὰχ ἐξέθετο Ἑβραϊστὶ, Ἑλληνϊστὶ δὲ ἡρμήνευσεν ὁ τούτου μὲν ἔκγονος Ἰησοῦς, τοῦ δὲ Σιρὰχ υἱος, ἐνάρετοι μὲν καὶ καλαὶ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀριθμοῦνται, οὐδὲ ἔκειντο ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ."—Joann. Damascen. Orthodox. Fid. Lib. IV. cap. 17. [Tom. I. p. 284. Par. 1712.]

[4] "Omnes ergo numero sunt viginti duo. Sunt præterea alii quidam libri, ut Sapientia Salomonis, liber Jesu filii Sirach, et liber Judith, et Tobias, et libri Machabæorum, qui leguntur quidem, sed non scribuntur in canone."—Hugo de Sto Victore, Eruditiones Didascalicæ. Lib. IV. cap. 2. [Tom. III. p. 17. Mogunt. 1617.]

[5] "Sunt præterea et alii libri, ut Sapientia Salomonis, et liber Jesu filii Sirach, et liber Judith, et Tobias, et liber Machabæorum, qui leguntur quidem sed non scribuntur in canone."—Richard. de Sto Victore, Exceptionum Lib. II. cap. 9. [Part. 1, p. 331. Ven. 1592.]

[6] "Restant post hos authenticos sanctæ Scripturæ libros sex non reticendi libri, Sapientiæ, Jesu filii Sirach, Tobiæ, Judith, et uterque Machabæorum liber. Qui si ad illam sublimem præcedentium dignitatem pervenire non potuerunt, propter laudabilem tamen et pernecessariam doctrinam ab ecclesia suscipi meruerunt."—Petrus Cluniacensis, De auctoritate Veteris Testamenti. [Contra Petrobrusianos. Tom. XXII. p. 1044. Max. Bibl. Vet. Patr. De La Bigne. Lugd. 1677.]

[7] "Postquam scripsi super libros Scripturæ canonicos,... super alios intendo scribere qui non sunt de canone, scil. liber Sapientiæ, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobias, et libri Machabæorum, secundum quod Hieronymus dicit in Prologo Galeato qui præmittitur libris Regum. Et idem dicit de libro Baruch in ejus Prologo, et de secundo Esdræ in prologo super Esdram."—In Præfat. in Lib. Tobiæ. [Biblia Sacra, cum

sius Carthusianus[1], Hugo Cardinalis[2], Thomas Aquinas[3], Occam[4], Picus Mirandula[5], Waldensis[6], Armacanus[7], Driedo[8], Cajetan[9], and others.

Glossa ordinaria, et Postillis Nicolai de Lyra. Tom. II. fol. 283, b. Bas. 1506.]

[1] "Liber iste non est de canone, i.e. inter Scripturas canonicas computandus; quamvis de ejus veritate non dubitetur."—Dionysius Carthusianus. Prolog. in Ecclesiasticum. [fol. 215, a. Colon. 1533.]

[2] "Ecce viginti duo libri veteris Testamenti, qui significantur per viginti duas literas Hebraici alphabeti. Apocryphorum duo sunt genera.... Et hos recipit ecclesia, non ad fidei dogmatum assertionem, sed ad morum instructionem."—Hugo de Sancto Charo, Cardinalis. Prolog. in Ecclesiasticum. [Tom. III. fol. 171, b. Ven. 1600.]

[3] "Vel illa apparitio fuit procurata per dæmones, si tamen Ecclesiastici authoritas non recipiatur propter hoc quod inter canonicas Scripturas apud Hebræos non habetur."—Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiæ, Part. I. Quæst. 89, Art. 8, ad Secund. [Tom. I. fol. 302, b. Ven. 1594.]

[4] "Secundum Hieronymum etiam, in prologo in librum Proverbiorum, et Gregorium in Moralibus, liber Judith, Tobiæ, et Machabæorum, Ecclesiasticus, atque liber Sapientiæ, non sunt recipiendi ad confirmandum aliquid in fide."—Ockam, Dialog. Tract. I. Part. III. Lib. 3, cap. 16. [apud Goldast. Monarch. Sacr. Rom. Imp. Tom. II. p. 834. Francf. 1614.]

[5] "Nicolaus quoque de Lyra... dicit neque eum, neque Judith, neque Machabæorum, neque Sapientiæ, neque Ecclesiastici, neque Baruch, neque ultimos Esdræ in canone haberi;... nixus ut puto Hieronymi auctoritatibus,... in quibus idem fere de Tobiæ libro, Judith, Machabæorum, Ecclesiasticus, et Sapientia refert; quamvis in prologo libri Judith eum dicit a synodo Nicæna in numero sacrarum literarum computatum ferri. Idemque archiepiscopus Florentinus scribit, licet autem 3. Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ libro nonnulla de hujuscemodi rebus Eusebius tradat; Robertus item Holcot et recentiores non parum multa scripserint; atque primus Dionysius Areopagita in libro de Ecclesiastica Hierarchia canonicos libros generatim tradiderit. Firmiter tamen hærendum credo sententiæ Hieronymi."—Picus Mirandula, Theorem v. [Tom. II. p. 181. Bas. 1601.]

[6] "Hujus civitatis longitudo, latitudo, et altitudo æqualia sunt, dicit textus; ergo... quomodo potest augere sibi longitudinem quæ est fides catholica ultra numerum quatuordecim articulorum contentum in symbolo in uno lib. xxii. voluminum sparsim descripto; maxime dicente ibi Spiritu Sancto in conclusionem omnis Scripturæ canonicæ, 'Qui vult accipiat aquam vitæ gratis. Contestor ego omni audienti verba prophetiæ libri hujus, si quis apposuerit ad hæc, apponet Deus super illum plagas scriptas in libro isto."—Thomas Waldensis. Doctrinal. Fid. Lib. II. Art. 2, cap. 22. [Tom. I. p. 203. Ven. 1571.]

[7] "Conciliis generalibus diffiniunt xxii. libros Veteris Testamenti

CHAPTER XXIV.

OF THE UNCERTAINTY AND CONTRARIETY FOUND AMONGST PAPISTS TOUCHING BOOKS CANONICAL AND APOCRYPHAL NOW CONTROVERSED.

BUT let us come particularly to the books controversed, and see how sweetly our adversaries agree with themselves, in admitting or rejecting them. First, touching the book of Baruch, though the council of Florence and Trent have confirmed it to be canonical; yet Melchior Canus[1] saith it is doubtful whether it be or not; and yet saith, if it be not canonical, the councils of Florence and Trent have erred, and the people of God been long abused, and the Church in

esse autenticos."—Radulphus Armachanus, Summa in Quæst. Armen. fol. 156, b. Par. 1511.]

[8] "Ex supradictis igitur colligimus sententias,...Constat totum Scripturarum sacrarum canonem duo complecti testamenta quæ appellamus Vetus et Novum Testamentum, et Veteris esse ordines quatuor,... et in quarto esse ea quæ non Hebræorum sed Christianorum schola recipit, ut Ecclesiasticum, Sapientiam, Judith, Tobiam, et duo libros Machabæorum. Et hujus quarti ordinis libros non esse tam amplæ authoritatis quam cæterorum ordinem, eosdem tamen in Christianorum scholis cæteris omnibus tractatoribus anteponendos."—Driedo, De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus, Lib. I. cap. ult. [Tom. I. fol. 22. Lovan. 1556.]

[9] ["Divo Hieronymo, pater beatissime, universa ecclesia Latina plurimum debet, non solum ob annotatas ab eo in libris Veteris ac Novi Testamenti particulas, tum adjectitias, tum ambiguas; sed etiam propter discretos ab eodem libros canonicos a non-canonicis."—Thomas de Vio Cajetanus, Comment. in Esther. x. Tom. II. p. 400. Lugd. 1639. Vid. etiam Præfat. in Josuam ad Clem. VII. Par. 1546.]

[1] "Baruch a canone sanctarum Scripturarum eximere, non solum temerarium sed etiam erroneum est. Erroneum vero hic appello, quoniam varia et ambigua est hujus nominis significatio, id quod hæresi proximum, hæresim non audeo vocare. Hæc primum patet ex concilio Florentino sub Eugenio 4. in Decreto super unione Jacobinorum et Armeniorum, ubi Baruch inter prophetas et sacros auctores annumeratur. Deinde Synodus Tridentina sub Paulo 3. aperte librum Baruch in canonicis censet. Erroneum igitur est, illum a canonicis excludere."—Melch. Canus, de Locis Theolog. Lib. II. cap. 9.

grievous error. And elsewhere again he saith[1], the Church hath not certainly resolved that it is canonical, and that it yieldeth no certain, clear, and indubitate proof in matters of faith. Driedo[2] denieth it to be canonical, and saith, Cyprian, Ambrose, and others of the Fathers, cited the Book of Baruch, as also the third and fourth of Esdras, not as canonical, but as containing matter of good instruction, not contrary but consonant to the faith. The additions of the book of Hester, Sixtus[3] absolutely rejecteth, as vain and foolish; contrary to the judgments of the papists: yet admitteth the additions to Daniel. These also Driedo[4] rejecteth, notwithstanding the decree of the Tridentine council; as the author of the book *De mirabilibus Scripturæ*[5] did long before, calling the story

[1] "Nam quemadmodum in secundo libro docuimus libellum Baruch non adeo explorate et firmiter in sacrorum numero ecclesia reposuit, ut aut illum esse sacrum fidei catholicæ veritas expedita sit, aut non esse sacrum hæresis expedita sit. Libellus ergo iste, sive quilibet alius qui in quæstionem circa crimen hæreseos vocari possit, quantumvis clara et aperta inferat sensa, non statim efficiet certas atque constantes catholicæ fidei veritates."—Melch. Canus, De Loc. Usu in Scho. Disp. Lib. XII. cap. 6.

[2] "Sic Cyprianus, Ambrosius, cæterique patres citant sententias ex libro Baruch, ex tertio et quarto Esdræ, non tanquam ex canonicis libris, sed tanquam ex libris continentibus dogmata quædam pia juvantia et non contraria, sed consona potius fidei nostræ."—Driedo, De Catal. Script. Lib. I. cap. 4. Lovan. 1533.

[3] "Nostri autem codices ab hoc loco usque ad finem voluminis sex capitula interponunt. Accidit autem, ut propter has appendicum lacinias, hinc inde quorundam scriptorum temeritate insertas, liber hic, quamvis Hebraicus, et Hebræis receptus, sero admodum apud Christianos canonicam autoritatem receperit.

"Cæterum de hujusmodi controversia in quinto et octavo hujus operis libro satis superque disseruimus, Ecclesia catholica ab apostolorum temporibus usque adhuc, hymnum Trium Puerorum quotidie inter divinas laudes decantans, et orationem Azariæ una cum historia Susannæ, et Belis, atque ABAKUK discophori singulis annis in sacris quadragenarii jejunii mysteriis repetens, huic appendici canonicam authoritatem promeruit."—Sixtus Senensis, Biblioth. Sanct. Lib. I. pp. 20. 22.

[4] "Sed his omnibus respondet ipse Hieronymus in Apologia quam de his edidit contra eundem Ruffinum, plane docens se neque negasse Danielem esse prophetam, neque asseruisse falsas esse historias Susannæ, Belis Draconisque fabulas, sed se voluisse monstrare quid de hujusmodi rebus Hebræi sentirent."—Driedo, De Catal. Script. Lib. I. cap. 4.

[5] "De lacu vero et Abacuc translato in Bel et Draconis fabulas,

of Bel and the Dragon a fable. Melchior Canus[1] professeth he dareth not pronounce it heretical to deny any or all of the controversed books of the Old Testament, and yet confidently pronounceth it heretical to deny any of the books of the New Testament, which were sometimes doubted of; so that it seemeth a man may dissent from a general council and not be an heretic; and that the Council of Trent proceeded not upon so good grounds of reason in approving the one as the other, contrary to their judgment who say, we may as well doubt of the books of the New Testament, whereof some doubted in former times, as of these of the Old.

But it is easy to shew their error who so think, and to confirm the opinion of Canus, that there is not so great reason why we should doubt of the one as the other. For first, the books of the New Testament were never doubted of, but by some, few in comparison of them that received and approved them; the most, and most renowned for piety, learning, and right judgment, ever receiving them. For, to begin with those of which there hath been most doubt, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the book of the Revelation of St John, Hierome[2] witnesseth that they never wanted the approbation of the worthiest and greatest parts of God's Church. *Illud* (saith he) *nostris dicendum est, hanc epistolam quæ inscribitur ad Hebræos, non solum ab Ecclesiis Orientis, sed ab omnibus retro ecclesiasticis scriptoribus, quasi Pauli Epistolam suscipi, licet eam plerique vel Barnabæ, vel Clementis, arbitrentur esse, &c.*: "Let our men know that the Epistle to the Hebrews is not only received and approved by all the Churches of the East that now presently are, but by all ecclesiastical writers of the Greek Churches that have been heretofore, as the Epistle of Paul: though many think it rather

idcirco in hoc ordine non ponitur, quod in auctoritate divinæ Scripturæ non habentur."—[Pseudo-August.] De Mirabilibus Scripturæ. [Inter Opp. August. Tom. III. Append. col. 26, B.]

[1] "Quibus rebus et apertissime expositis, et firmissime corroboratis, satis docuisse videor id quod secunda quæstionis hujus parte promiseram; quatuordecim illos libros veteris ac novi Testamenti honore divino cum sacris reliquis afficiendos, habendosque post hæc citra controversiam pro canonicis."—Melch. Canus. De Loc. Theol. Lib. II. cap. 9.

[2] Hieron. Epist. ad Dardanum de Terra Repromissionis. [Epist. 129, Tom. I. col. 965.]

to have been written by Barnabas or Clemens; and that it skilleth not who wrote it, seeing it was written by an author approved in the Church of God, and is daily read in the same." If the custom of the Latins receive it not among the canonical Scriptures, no more do the Greek Churches admit the Revelation of St John: and yet we, following the authority of the ancient, receive them both. Secondly, the Churches of the Gentiles, to which the books of the New Testament were delivered, were in parts of the world far remote one from another, and did not immediately all of them receive all the parts of these divine books from the authors of them, but from those particular Churches to which they were specially directed, or in the midst whereof the writers of them remained at the time of the writing of them. And therefore it is not to be marvelled at, if being delivered and transmitted from one to another, some received them sooner, and some later. But the books of the Old Testament were delivered to one national Church only, and yet these now controversed were never received by it. Thirdly, these books of the New Testament, whereof some in former times did doubt, were written in the apostles' times, whom God honoured with the first, immediate, and undoubted revelation of divine truth; these, after the succession of the prophets were ceased. Fourthly, the books of the Old Testament now controversed were not written in the Hebrew, but in Greek, by such of the Jews as were of the dispersion, and therefore never received by the Hebrews, nor counted amongst the sacred books of the Canon, which they divided into the Law[1], the Prophets, and the Psalms; to which Christ giveth testimony in the Gospel. Lastly, the reason moving some to doubt of the

[1] "Scripturam quam appellant Maccabæorum, non habent Judæi, sicut Legem, et Prophetas, et Psalmos, quibus Dominus testimonium perhibet tanquam testibus suis, Lucæ xxiv. 44."—August. contra Epistolas Gaudentii. [Lib. I. cap. 31. Tom. IX. col. 655.]

"Partitio prima duorum et viginti voluminum veteris Testamenti in tres classes, hoc est, in libros Legis, Prophetarum, et Psalmorum seu Carminum: qua quidem (ut refert Lucas) usus est Dominus noster Jesus Christus post resurrectionem suum, cum aperiens discipulis sensum Scripturarum, interpretatus est eis quæcunque de ipso scripta erant in Lege, Prophetis, et Psalmis."—Sixtus Senensis. Bibliothec. Sanct. Lib. I. "De Varia Partitione Librorum Canon. Vet. Test."

books of the New Testament, was the uncertainty of the names of the authors, or something mistaken, misconstrued, or not understood, in the books; which in time was cleared, and they afterward generally received. But the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament were rejected, as being written when there was no more undoubted succession of prophets, by the whole Church of the Hebrews; and ever after by the best and worthiest guides of the Christian Churches.

That the books of the New Testament, called in question by some, were doubted of upon such weak reasons as hath been said, will easily appear. The Epistle to the Hebrews was therefore doubted of by some, because the difference and diversity of the style made them think it not to be Paul's, whose name it carried; and by others, because the author of it seemed to them to favour the error of the Novatians, in denying the reconciliation of such as fall after baptism. The Second Epistle of Peter some doubted of, because of the diversity of the style, which Hieromo rejecteth. The Epistle of James, because of the uncertainty of the author, it being doubtful which James was the author of it. The Epistle of Jude, because the author of it allegeth the authority of an apocryphal book of Enoch, as they imagined. The second and third of John, because they are said to have been written by John the Elder, some denied to be the epistles of John the Apostle, ascribing them to another John. The Revelation was doubted of, first, because of the doubtfulness of the title of John the Divine; secondly, because of the difficulty and obscurity of the words of this prophecy, or revelation; and lastly, because the author of this book seemeth to favour the heresy of the Millenaries. But the Latin Church received this book as canonical, as also the best and most learned of the Greek, as Dionysius Alexandrinus[1], though he deny it to have been written by John the Evangelist: Epiphanius[2] condemneth

[1] "Καλεῖσθαι μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν Ἰωάννην, καὶ εἶναι τὴν γραφὴν Ἰωάννου ταύτην, οὐκ ἀντερῶ. ἁγίου μὲν γὰρ εἶναί τινος καὶ θεοπνεύστου συναινῶ· οὐ μὴν ῥαδίως ἂν συνθοίμην τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν ἀπόστολον, τὸν υἱὸν Ζεβεδαίου· τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰακώβου· οὗ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἐπιγεγραμμένον, καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡ καθολική, κ. τ. λ."—Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. VII. cap. 25. Cantab. 1720.

[2] "Φάσκουσι τοίνυν οἱ Ἄλογοι· ταύτην γὰρ αὐτοῖς τίθημι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν. ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ δεῦρο οὕτως κληθήσονται· καὶ οὕτως, ἀγαπητοὶ, ἐπιθῶ-

the Alogi, as heretics, because they deny the Gospel and Revelation of St John. Tertullian[1] reckoneth it among the errors of Cerdon, that he rejecteth the books of the Acts and the Revelation: and writing against Marcion, he sheweth[2], that he also did deny the same book. Irenæus[3] saith, this Revelation was manifested unto John, and seen of him, but a little before his time. Justinus Martyr[4] doth attribute this book to John, and doth account it a divine revelation. Origen, in his Preface before the Gospel of John, saith, that John, the son of Zebedee, saw in the Revelation an angel flying through the midst of heaven, having the eternal gospel. The council of Ancyra[5]

μεν αὐτοῖς ὄνομα, τουτέστιν ἄλογοι. εἶχον γὰρ τὴν Αἵρεσιν καλουμενὴν, ἀποβάλλουσαν Ἰωάννου τὰς βίβλους. ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸν λόγον οὐ δέχονται τὸν παρὰ Ἰωάννου κεκηρυγμένον ἄλογοι κληθήσονται. ἀλλότριοι τοίνυν παντάπασιν ὑπάρχοντες τοῦ κηρύγματος τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀρνοῦνται τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ κηρύγματος, καὶ οὔτε τὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου ΕΥαγγέλιον δέχονται, οὔτε τὴν αὐτοῦ Ἀποκάλυψιν."—Epiphanius adv. Hæres. Lib. II. Tom. I. Hær. LI. cap. 3.

[1] "Accedit his Cerdon quidam, ... Acta Apostolorum et Apocalypsim quasi falsa rejicit."—Tertullianus de Præscript. Hæretic. Tom. II. cap. 51. Wirceburg. 1781.

[2] "Habemus et Joannis alumnas ecclesias. Nam etsi Apocalypsim ejus Marcion respuit, ordo tamen episcoporum ad originem recensus in Joannem stabit auctorem."—Id. contr. Marcion., Lib. IV. [cap. 5. p. 415.]

[3] "*Εἰ γὰρ ἔδει ἀναφανδὸν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ κηρύττεσθαι τοὔνομα αὐτοῦ, δι' ἐκείνου ἂν ἐῤῥέθη τοῦ καὶ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακότος. Οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἑωράθη, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς.*"—Irenæus, de Hæresibus. [Lib. V. cap. 30. Par. 1710.]

"Cum igitur tantum suasionum habeat hoc nomen Titan, tamen habet verisimilitudinem ut ex multis colligamus ne forte Titan vocetur qui veniet: nos tamen non periclitabimur in eo, nec asseverantes pronunciabimus, hoc eum nomen habiturum, scientes quoniam si oportet manifeste præsenti tempore præconari nomen ejus, per ipsum utique editum fuisset qui et Apocalypsim viderat. Neque enim ante multum temporis visum est, sed pene sub nostro seculo, ad finem Domitiani imperii."—Id. ibid.

[4] "*Καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνὴρ τὶς ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἷς τῶν Ἀποστόλων τῶν Χριστοῦ, ἐν Ἀποκαλύψει γενομένῃ αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη ποίησειν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ πιστεύσαντας προεφήτευσε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν καθολικὴν καὶ, συνελόντι φάναι, αἰωνίαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅμα πάντων ἀνάστασιν γενήσεσθαι καὶ κρίσιν.*"—Justin. Martyr. Dial. cum Tryph. [§. 81. p. 179. Par. 1742.]

[5] "Joannes Apostolus Apocalypsis sacramentum in spiritu non in

pronounceth it to be sacred, and that John was the author of it. Thus then I hope that it doth appear[1] that there is not so much reason to doubt of the books of the New Testament, called sometimes in question, as of those of the Old: seeing the former were never doubted of, but by some few, upon reasons frivolous; the weakness whereof being discovered, all catholic Christians with one consent received them, accounting them no better than heretics which either doubted of them or denied them; whereas the later were rejected by the whole church of the Jews, by all antiquity, and the whole current of God's Church, some few only excepted, being ignorant of the tongues, and not exactly looking into the monuments of antiquity, and divided amongst themselves[2], some admit-

corpore vidit et audivit, sicut ipse dicit."—Concil. Ancyran. can. ult. [Sive Damasus Papa. vid. Severin. Binium. in loc. Labbe. Concil. Tom. I. col. 1478. Lut. Par. 1671.]

[1] "Veruntamen Apocalypsim tum Joannis apostoli verum esse fœtum, tum librum admirabilem ac divinissimum esse, facile probare possumus. Primum ex conciliis. Nam in Ancyrano concilio ante 1200 annos (3), can. ult. citatur nomine Joannis.... Deinde ex patribus Græcis et Latinis idipsum comprobari potest.... Quocirca Græcos, qui, Hieronymo teste, Apocalypsim non recipiebant, et paucos et obscuros fuisse necesse est."—Bellarm. de Verbo Dei. Lib. I. cap. 19. "De Apocalypsi."

[2] "Ἔστω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν κληρικοῖς καὶ λαϊκοῖς βιβλία σεβάσμια καὶ ἅγια, τὰ μὲν παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, Μωσέως πέντε, Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Ναυὴ ἓν, Ῥοὺθ ἓν, Βασιλειῶν τέσσαρα, Παραλιπομένων τοῦ βιβλίου τῶν ἡμερῶν δύο, Ἔσδρα ἓν, Μαχαβαϊκῶν τρία, Ἰὼβ ἓν, Ψαλτήριον ἓν, Σολομῶντος τρία, Παροιμίαι, Ἐκκλησιαστὴς, Ἆσμα Ἀσμάτων. Προφητῶν δεκαδύο, ἓν. Ἡσαΐου ἓν, Ἱερεμίου ἓν, Ἰεζεκιὴλ ἓν, Δανιὴλ ἓν. Ἔξωθεν δὲ προσιστορείσθω ὑμῖν μανθάνειν ὑμῶν τοῖς νέοις τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ πολυμαθοῦς Σιράχ."—Canon. Apost. 84. [Labbe. Concil. Tom. I. col. 43.]

"Gelasius papa cum concilio 70 episcoporum nullam 2 Maccabæorum mentionem facit. "Machabæorum liber unus."—[Concil. Roman. 1. sub Gelasio, in Ordine Librorum Vet. Test. ad fin. Labbe, Tom. IV. col. 1261.]

"Nec minor est difficultas de Lib. 3. Esdræ: nam in Græcis codicibus ipse est, qui dicitur primus Esdræ, et qui apud nos dicuntur primus et secundus, in Græco dicuntur secundus Esdræ: quocirca verisimile est antiqua concilia et Patres, cum ponunt in canone duos libros Esdræ, intelligeri nomina duorum librorum omnes tres. Sequebantur enim versionem Septuaginta interpretum, apud quam tres nostri duo libri Esdræ nominantur."—Bellarm. de Verbo Dei, Lib. I. cap. 20. "De Libris Apocryphis."

ting more, and some not all those which our adversaries now receive.

Wherefore, as we cannot but condemn the inconsiderate rashness of such, either[1] of the Romish or reformed Churches, as in our time make question of any of the books of the New Testament, that are, and have long been, read in the Churches of God, as canonical, throughout the whole world; so likewise we think their boldness inexcusable, who in these last ages make those books canonical which never were so esteemed by God's Church before; and go about to bind all men's consciences so to receive them, against the current of antiquity and the judgment of the best learned in every age, even to our times.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF THE DIVERS EDITIONS OF THE SCRIPTURE; AND IN WHAT TONGUE IT WAS ORIGINALLY WRITTEN.

THUS having shewed, that the Scripture containeth a perfect rule of our faith; and having likewise made it appear, what books they are which are canonical, and contain this rule of our Christian faith and religion; it remaineth that we search out what editions there are of these Scriptures, and which are authentical, and of indubitate authority and credit. The whole Scripture of the Old Testament was written in Hebrew, save that some few things were translated into the books of Esdras and Daniel[2], out of the public

[1] "Hi duo postremi Ezræ libri, quamvis non sint de priore canone Hebræorum, quia nondum erant editi, at non desinunt esse sacri et canonici." — Genebrardus. Chronographia. [Lib. II. p. 181. Lugd. 1609.]

"Quartum [librum Esdræ, sc.] privatim se habuisse Hebraice manu scriptum inter 72, quos de occulta doctrina septuaginta duum seniorum reliquit Esdras ejusdem libri, cap. 14, Picus Mirandula in Apologia profitetur. Publice, nec Græce, nec Hebraice habetur, neque tamen desinit esse canonicus."—Genebrardus, Chronographiæ, Lib. II. ad ann. 3749. Lugd. 1609.

[2] "Art. 9. ('Quæ videmus scriptos esse libros Esdræ et Danielis.')

records and monuments of the Chaldees in that tongue, as the copies of letters, and public acts, and proceedings; all things which the Spirit of God did absolutely deliver, being expressed unto us, in the same books, in Hebrew.

The opinion of some hath been, that the whole Scripture of the Old Testament perished, and was lost, in the time of the captivity of Babylon, and that it was newly composed by Esdras. To which purpose they allege the authority of Basil[1], who seemeth to say some such thing; and likewise the testimony of the author of the fourth book of Esdras, where it is said, that the books of the Law being burnt, God sent the Holy Ghost into Esdras, separated him from the people for the space of forty days, caused him to provide box-tables, and men writing swiftly, and that in forty days they wrote two hundred and four books; but this book being apocryphal, and full of cabalistical vanity, doth rather weaken than strengthen this opinion. That which is alleged out of the second of Esdras, and the eight, doth not prove that Esdras did newly compose the books of Scripture, but only that he brought them forth: which implieth that they were not utterly lost, nor did wholly perish. Neither indeed is it likely, though that Scripture which was kept in the temple was burnt, that Ezechiel, Daniel, Jeremy, Haggai, Zachary, Mardocheus, and Esdras himself, were so negligent as not to preserve the books of the Scripture. So that all that Esdras did, was nothing else but the bringing together, and putting into order, the scattered parts of this Scripture, and the correcting of such faults as in time, by the negligence of the writers, were crept into the several copies of it. This point

His Bellarminus graviter fallitur; non enim mixta lingua sed pure Hebraica Daniel et Esdras libros suos conscripserunt, quorum in libris ea demum exstant Chaldaice quæ historice aliunde fuerunt exscripta, id est, exempla literarum et actorum quæ in fastos regios et annales publicos relata fuerant; quæ vero Spiritus Dei absolute dictavit, hæc plane sunt Hebraica."—Junius in Bellarminum. Controv. 1. Lib. II. cap. 1. [Tom. II. col. 446. Gen. 1607.]

[1] In monte Carmelo, secessu facto, Esdras omnes divinos libros ex mandato Dei eructavit. [Ἐνταῦθα τὸ ὄρος τὸ Καρμήλιον ἐν ᾧ Ἠλίας αὐλιζόμενος τῷ Θεῷ εὑηρέστησεν. Ἐνταῦθα τὸ πεδίον ἐν ᾧ ἀναχωρήσας Ἔσδρας πάσας τὰς θεοπνεύστους βίβλους προστάγματι Θεοῦ ἐξηρεύξατο.]—Basil. Epist. 181. ad Chilonem. [al. Epist. XLII. Tom. III. p. 129, E. Par. 1730.]

is handled at large by Bellarmine[1], and excellently cleared by him, and therefore it is needless to insist upon it longer. So then, the same Scripture which Moses and the prophets delivered, Esdras sought out and religiously commended unto the people.

Only Hierome[2] is of opinion, that he found out new Hebrew letters, and left the old to the Samaritans, which Bellarmine, out of Hierome[3], confirmeth, because the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet was like the Greek T, and had a similitude of the cross, as that of the Samaritans now hath, but that, now, hath no similitude with it. Picus Mirandula[4] professeth, that having conferred with sundry Jews

[1] "Quod autem quidem dicunt, id colligi ex Lib. II. Esdræ, cap. 8. v. 1. et 2. tantum abest ut sit verum, ut potius contrarium inde colligatur. Sic enim habemus: 'Dixerunt Esdræ scribæ, ut adferret librum legis Moysi.... attulit ergo Esdras,' &c. Non dixerunt, ut iterum componeret librum legis, sed ut adferret, quia sciebant adhuc inveniri. Præterea, etsi Scriptura, quæ publice servabatur in templo, fuerit incensa et perierit, tamen incredibile est non fuisse etiam aliqua exempla vel certe partes eorum apud privatos homines et præcipue apud Ezechielem, Danielem, Hieremiam, Aggæum, Zachariam, Mardochæum, et ipsum Esdram, qui tunc vivebant et quibus sine dubio curæ fuit lex Domini."—Bellarm. de Verbo Dei, Lib. II. cap. 1.

"Hieronymus, in Quæst. (4) Hebraic. et in cap. 5. Ezech. et in 2 cap. Michææ, propendere videtur in eam sententiam, ut solum Pentateuchum verterint, quod probat ex Aristæo in libr. de Septuag. duob. Interpret. et ex Josepho, Præfat. in Lib. Antiquit. et Lib. XII. Antiquit. cap. 2, quibus adde Philonem Lib. II. de vita Mosis, qui solius legis mentionem faciunt. At eos vertisse omnia, scribit Justinus in Dial. cum Tryphone, Irenæus, Lib. III. cap. 25. (5) Clemens Alexandrinus, Lib. I. Stromat. Epiphanius, de Mensuris et Ponderibus; Eusebius, Lib. VIII. Præparat, cap. 1. id quod longe probabilius est. Nam Apostoli usi sunt Græca versione in testimoniis Prophetarum citandis: tempore autem apostolorum nulla erat alia versio Græca, quam Septuaginta interpretum."—Bellarm. de Verbo Dei, Lib. II. cap. 6. "De interpretatione LXX. seniorum."

[2] "Certum est Esdram scribam legisque doctorem, post captam Jerosolymam et instaurationem templi sub Zorobabel, alias literas reperisse quibus nunc utimur: quum ad illud usque tempus iidem Samaritanorum et Hebræorum characteres fuerint."—Hieron. in Prolog. Galeato. [In libros Samuel et Malachim. Tom. IX. col. 454.]

[3] "Ut ad nostra veniamus, antiquis Hebræorum literis quibus usque hodie utuntur Samaritani, extrema Thau litera crucis habet similitudinem."—Hieron. in Ezechiel, cap. 9. [Lib. III. Tom. V. col. 96.]

[4] "Percontatus sum ego sæpe in Mithridatem et multos Hebræos

about this matter, they all constantly denied this alteration of letters. And to what purpose should Esdras alter the form of letters which Moses and the prophets had used? Neither doth Hierome, in the place cited by Bellarmine, speak of the Greek T, but saith only, that the last of the ancient Hebrew letters had a similitude of the cross, as now that of the Samaritans hath.

But this being a matter of no great moment, let every man judge as he thinketh best. This then we constantly hold, that as the whole Scripture of the Old Testament was written in Hebrew, so the same never perished wholly, in any of the captivities of the Jews, but was religiously preserved, even the same which Moses and the prophets delivered to the people of God.

After the return of the people from Babylon, their tongue and language was mixed of the Hebrew and Chaldee, and named the Syriac tongue, from the region or country where it was used; in which Christ made all his sermons to the people, as being best understood of them. Yet were not the books of the New Testament written in this language, but in Greek, because they were to be made common to the Churches of the Gentiles, among which the Greek tongue was most generally understood.

There are three tongues most famous in the world, as Hugo de Sancto Victore noteth[1]: the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, *propter regnum, sapientiam, legem:* the first, because of the monarchy of the Romans, who, as they subjected the people which they did conquer, to their laws and customs, so they did force them to learn their language: the second, because in it the great philosophers and wise men of the world left the monuments of their wisdom and learning to posterities: the third, because in it God delivered his law

de his quæ apud Hieronymum in Prologo Galeato leguntur, ubi ille scribit eosdem olim fuisse Samaritanorum et Hebræorum characteres: Esdram autem post instaurationem templi sub Zorobabel alias adinvenisse literas quæ nunc sunt in usu, nescios se hujus mutationis omnes prædicant."—Picus Mirandula, Epist. ignoto amico. [p. 261. Bas. 1601.]

[1] "Tres linguæ sunt quæ inter alias excellunt. Hebræa propter legem, Græca propter sapientiam, Latina propter regnum."—Hugo de Sto Victore. Eruditiones Theologicæ, in Speculum Ecclesiæ: de Celebratione Missæ, cap. 7. [Tom. III. p. 346. Rothom. 1648.]

and the interpretation of it, by Moses and the prophets, to the people of Israel, his chosen. Amongst all these, the Greek was most generally understood by the learned of all nations, because in it all the renowned wise men of the world had written; and all that were studious learned it, that they might understand their writings.

Hence it came, that the books of the New Testament were written in Greek, because God would not honour one nation of the world more than another, nor force his people to borrow the books of Scripture one from another.

Only, some doubt there is touching the Gospel of Matthew, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, which are supposed to have been written in Hebrew, and the Gospel of Mark, written, as some say, in Latin. That the Gospel of Matthew was written in Hebrew, Hierome[1] and others affirm. Guido Fabritius[2] saith it was written in Hebrew, but in vulgar Hebrew, which is the Syriac, that they of Hierusalem did speak: which opinion[3] others seem to incline unto; the

[1] "Matthæus, qui et Levi, ex publicano apostolus, primus in Judæa propter eos qui ex circumcisione crediderant, evangelium Christi Hebraicis literis verbisque composuit."—Hieron. Catalog. Scriptor. Eccles. [sive de Viris Illustribus.] de Matthæo verba faciens. [Tom. II. col. 819.]

[2] "Albertus Widmanstadius, Ferdinandi Romanorum imperatoris cancellarius.... cum plurimis gravissimisque rationibus probaverit Matthæum evangelium suum, Paulum vero ad contribules suos epistolam Hebræorum quidem lingua sed vulgari, hoc est, Syriaca, conscripsisse, nimis tempore et otio abuti viderer si nodum tam dextre solutum rursus exsolvere vellem, et actum, quod aiunt, agere. Mihi sane omnia ejus argumenta attente consideranti unum imprimis abunde satisfacit, nempe linguam illam, quæ ab evangelistis ipsis Hebraica appellatur, Syram Hierosolymitanam esse, tunc temporis Judæis omnibus vernaculam."—Guido Fabricius. Præfat. in Nov. Test. Syriac. Transl. Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, per Arium Montanum. Tom. v. Antv. 1571.]

[3] "Neque his repugnant veteres scriptores Irenæus, Origenes, Eusebius, Athanasius, Epiphanius, Hieronymus, qui hos libros, ac præsertim Evangelium S. Matthæi Hæbraice, scriptos fuisse dicunt: loquuntur enim de lingua Hebraica, quæ apostolorum tempore vulgaris erat: quemadmodum in ipso evangelio passim legimus dictum aliquid esse Hebraice, quod tamen constat vulgari lingua, id est Syriaca, dictum esse, quale est illud Joan. xix. 17: "Exivit in eum, qui dicitur Calvariæ, locum, Hebraice autem Golgotha." De quibus vocibus vide S. Hieronymum in lib. de Nom. Hebraicis, ubi diligenter notavit omnes voces quæ Syriacæ sunt, cum tamen Hebraicæ esse dicuntur

Gospel in Hebrew, which some bring forth, being of no credit[1]. The Epistle to the Hebrews, some say, was written in Hebrew[2], and translated by Luke or Barnabas, into Greek. The Syrians say, the Gospel of Mark[3] was first written in Latin, and that afterward he translated both it and the whole New Testament beside into Syriac, which they say they have preserved to this day. This Syriac translation of the New Testament was not known in these parts of the world till our age, as Fabritius Boderianus[4] noteth; who

ab evangelistis. Præter hos duos libros, totum novum Testamentum translatum est ex Græco idiomate in Syriacum, auctore, ut ipsi Syri arbitrantur, S. Marco Evangelista."—Bellarmin. de Verbo Dei, Lib. II. cap. 4. "De Editione Syriaca."

[1] "Matthæum Hebraice evangelium edidisse omnium est historiis mandatum. Quod vero argumentorum vim ex verborum plerumque Græca significatione petat (Paulus), ut cum de testamento disserit, multo meo quidem judicio est levius, si dicamus, quod valde duco verisimile, vulgari Hebræorum lingua, hoc est, Syriaca, hanc epistolam, ut ab omnibus perciperetur, fuisse a Paulo conscriptam: quæ a gente nomen accipiens Hebræa Pauli ætate dicebatur, quamvis ab antiqua illa qua sanctissimi olim vates locuti fuerunt, plurimum distaret."—Jacobus Payva Andradius, de Libris Canonicis. [Defens. Trident. Fid.] Lib. III. fol. 320. [Ingoldst. 1580.]

[2] "Καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους δὲ ἐπιστολὴν, Παύλου μὲν εἶναι φησὶ, γεγράφθαι δὲ Ἑβραίοις Ἑβραϊκῇ φωνῇ· Λουκᾶν δὲ φιλοτίμως αὐτὴν μεθερμηνεύσαντα, ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν."—Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. VI. cap. 14. Cantab. 1720.

"Ὅτι γεμὴν τινὲς ἠθετήκασι τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους, πρὸς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ὡς μὴ Παύλου οὖσαν αὐτὴν ἀντιλέγεσθαι φήσαντες, οὐ δίκαιον ἀγνοεῖν."—Id. Lib. III. [cap. 3.]

"Ἑβραίοις διὰ τῆς πατρίου γλώττης ἐγγράφως ὡμιληκοτος τοῦ Παύλου, οἱ μὲν τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Λουκᾶν, οἱ δὲ τὸν Κλήμεντα τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἑρμηνεῦσαι, λέγουσι τὴν γραφήν."—Id. Lib. III. [cap. 37.]

[3] The original Latin Text of Mark is said to be kept at Venice till this day.

"Syri, a quibus eum habemus, constanter asserunt S. Marcum Sancti Petri apostolorum coryphæi discipulum, et in cujus domo initio coaluisse ecclesiam credunt plurimi, Latine primum scripsisse evangelium suum, quod etiamnum asservari dicunt in inclyta Venetorum urbe; deinde eundem ipsum Marcum lingua patria, id est, Galilæa Syrave, transtulisse non modo evangelium suum, sed etiam ceteros omnes novi Testamenti libros."—Guido Fabricius in Præfat. prædicta.

[4] "Habes, lector candide, quæ ante novi Testamenti Syriaci eos libros, qui, ætate nostra, sacra Syrorum lingua, Jesu Christi nostri ver-

thereupon breaketh out into the praises of our times, if the men of this generation either knew the happiness thereof, or how to use it. Howbeit, that Mark was author of this Syriac translation, which the Syrians in this age have delivered unto us, we cannot persuade ourselves[1], because none of the Fathers that lived in Syria and Egypt, as Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, Theophilus, Epiphanius, Hierome, Cyril, Theodoret, and Damascene, make any mention of it: and besides, it is apparently defective in diverse things, as the learned note. So then the indubitate originals of these parts of the New Testament, in Hebrew or Syriac, if they were written at first in these tongues, being lost and the Church deprived of them, the Greek is holden to be original, in respect of all the books of the New Testament: for that, either they were all written in it, or translated into it, by the apostles or apostolic men.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OF THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT OUT OF HEBREW INTO GREEK.

THUS having delivered in what tongues the Scriptures and books of God were written, it remaineth that we enquire what the principal translations of them have been, and whether the indubitate verity of them be in the originals, or in the translations. There was, as some suppose[2], a translation

nacula in lucem prodierunt, et a nobis in Latinum conversi sunt, judicavimus prætermittenda."—Ibid.

[1] Vide p. 497, note 3.

[2] "Editiones Græcæ Testamenti Veteris novem omnino numerantur, præter eam, cujus meminit Clemens Alexandrinus, Lib. I. Stromat. quæ, antequam rerum potiretur Alexander Magnus, incertum quo auctore prodiit, et ex qua Plato cæterique philosophi non pauca hauserunt: sed quoniam ea, succedente postea translatione illa celeberrima Septuaginta seniorum, primum negligi, deinde etiam amitti cœpit, ita ut longo jam tempore vix memoria ejus conservata sit, e catalogo dimittitur. Prima omnium a scriptoribus numerari solet illa, quam Ptolomæi Philadelphi jussu septuaginta seniores edide-

of the Old Testament out of Hebrew into Greek, before the time of Alexander the Great: but the first that was in note, and remained long in esteem in the world, was that of the Septuagint, in the time of Ptolomæus Philadelphus[1]; who, intending to furnish a library at Alexandria with all the choicest books the world would afford, amongst other places, sent to Hierusalem, to the rulers and guides of the people there, who sent unto him the books of Moses and the prophets, written in Hebrew in letters of gold. Which, he not understanding, sent the second time for interpreters, and they sent unto him seventy-two, in imitation of Moses, who, when he

runt.... vide Eusebium Lib. VI. Hist. cap. 13.: Athanasium in Synopsi: et Epiphanium in Lib. de Mensuris et Ponderibus, qui translationes ordine recensent."—Bellarm. De Verbo Dei. Lib. II. cap. 5. [Tom. I. col. 96.]

[1] "Ὁ μετὰ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον δεύτερος βασιλεύσας Ἀλεξανδρείας Πτολεμαῖος, ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Φιλάδελφος, φιλόκαλός τις ἀνὴρ καὶ φιλολόγος γεγένηται, ὅστις βιβλιοθήκην κατασκευάσας ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας πόλεως, ἐν τῷ Βρουχίῳ καλουμένῳ κλίματι, ἐνεχείρησε Δημητρίῳ τινι τῷ φαλαρηῷ τὴν αὐτὴν βιβλιοθήκην, προστάξας συναγαγεῖν τὰς πανταχοῦ γῆς βίβλους. .... τοῦ δὲ ἔργου προκόπτοντος, ἠρώτησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν τὴν βιβλιοθήκην πεπιστευμένον ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν ὅτι πόσαι δ' ἂν εἶεν βίβλοι εἰς τὴν βιβλιοθήκην συναχθεῖσαι· ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίθη τῷ βασιλεῖ, λέγων, ὅτι ἤδη μὲν εἰσι μυριάδες πέντε βιβλίων καὶ τετρακισχίλιαι ὀκτακόσιαι, πλεῖον ἢ ἔλασσον. ἀκούομεν δὲ ἔτι πολὺ πλῆθος ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ὑπάρχειν, ... ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ὑπάρχουσι βίβλοι θεῖαι, τῶν προφητῶν..... Τότε τοίνυν γράφει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιστολήν, ... καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ ἀπεστάλη καὶ τὰ ἀπεσταλμένα δῶρα· αὐτοὶ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὰ δῶρα ἀσμένως διὰ χαρᾶς ἔσχον σφόδρα. Καὶ ἀμελητὶ χρυσέοις γράμμασιν Ἑβραϊκοῖς τὰς βίβλους μεταγραψάμενοι ἀπέστειλαν ηβ' μὲν τὰς ἐνδιαθέτους, ἑβδομηκονταδύο δὲ τὰς ἀποκρύφους. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς κομισάμενος καὶ ἐντυχὼν καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος ἀναγνῶναι, τῶν στοιχείων Ἑβραϊκῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ διαλεκτῷ τῇ Ἑβραϊκῇ γεγραμμένων δευτέραν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγκάζεται αὐτοῖς γράψαι καὶ αἰτῆσαι ἑρμηνευτὰς τοὺς δυναμένους αὐτῷ φράσαι τὰς βίβλους εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον διὰ τῆς Ἑβραΐδος..... Τότε οὖν ἑβδομηκονταδύο ἑρμηνευτὰς ἐκλεξάμενοι οἱ τῶν Ἑβραίων διδάσκαλοι ἀποστέλλουσι, κατὰ τὸν τύπον ὃν ποτε ἐποίησε Μωϋσῆς ἡνίκα ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος διὰ προστάγματος Κυρίου, ἀκούσας, ὅτι παράλαβε μετὰ σεαυτοῦ ἄνδρας ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἀνάβηθι εἰς τὸ ὄρος. Αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰς φυλὰς εἰρήνην ἵνα μὴ ἐξ ἑνίων λάβῃ πέντε ἄνδρας, ἐξ ἄλλων ἕξ, ποίησῃ στάσιν ἐν ταῖς φυλαῖς, διενοήθη μᾶλλον ἑβδομήκονταδύο παραλαβεῖν, καὶ τῷ ἀριθμῷ προσθεῖναι. Τῷ αὐτῷ δὴ τρόπῳ, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ τούτους ἀπέστειλαν, οἵ τινες ἡρμήνευσαν τὰς βίβλους ἐν τῇ Φαρίᾳ καλουμένῃ νήσῳ."—Epiphanius, De Ponderibus et Mensuris. [§. 9, 11. Tom. II. pp. 266, 8. Colon. 1682.]

went up to the mount to receive the Law, being commanded to take with him seventy of the elders of Israel, added two to the number prescribed, lest taking six out of some tribes, and but five out of other, some dislike might have grown amongst them. These, in seventy days, translated the whole Old Testament out of Hebrew into Greek. For though Josephus and the Jews say, they translated only the books of Moses; yet the consenting voice of all the Fathers, affirming that they translated the whole, moveth us rather to think the whole was translated by them, than only the books of Moses; unless we say with Junius[1], for the reconciling of this difference, that only the books of Moses were translated by the first seventy-two sent to Ptolomy, and the rest afterwards by seventy-two also, though not the same.

That which some report, that they were shut up in several cells, which long after were to be seen at Alexandria, Hierome[2] rejecteth as a fable; shewing that no such thing is reported by Aristæus, that was present at the business, and that no remainder of any such cells was to be found at Alexandria, but that they met in one place, and conferring together every day till the ninth hour, in seventy days perfected the whole work; and Augustine[3] leaveth it doubtful. This fable is urged by some, to prove that these translators were guided

[1] "Credibile est solum Mosem Græce fuisse redditum, quod Aristæus sive Aristeas, Josephus, Philo, Hieronymus, alii senserunt; postmodum vero libros ceteros itidem a LXX. (etsi non ab iisdem illis,) tempore succedente Græcos fuisse factos."—Junius, in Bellarminum. Controv. 1. Lib. II. cap. 6. [Tom. II. col. 450. Gen. 1607.]

[2] "Et nescio quis primus auctor septuaginta cellulas Alexandriæ mendacio suo exstruxerit, quibus divisi eadem scriptitarent, quum Aristæas ejusdem Ptolemæi ὑπερασπιστὴς, et multo post tempore Josephus nihil tale retulerint; sed in una basilica congregatos contulisse scribant, non prophetasse."—Hieron. Præfat. in Pentateuchum. Tom. IX. col. 5.]

[3] "Septuaginta interpretum excellit auctoritas, qui jam per omnes peritiores ecclesias tanta præsentia Sancti Spiritus interpretati esse dicuntur ut os unum tot hominum fuerit. Qui si, ut fertur, multique non indigni fide prædicant, singuli cellis etiam singulis separati cum interpretati essent, nihil in alicujus eorum codice inventum est quod non iisdem verbis eodemque verborum ordine inveniretur in cæteris, quis huic auctoritati conferre aliquid, nedum præferre, audeat."—August. De doctrina Christiana. Lib. II. cap. 15. [Tom. III. part. 1. col. 28.]

by a prophetical spirit[1], and so could not err: which false and absurd conceit Hierome condemneth likewise.

The second translation of the Old Testament[2], out of Hebrew into Greek, was that of Aquila, in the time of Adrian the emperor. The third, of Theodotion, in the time of Commodus. The fourth, of Symmachus, in the time of Severus. The fifth, without name of author, was found in the city of Hiericho, in the time of Antonius Caracalla. The sixth, in Nicopolis, in the days of Alexander the son of Mammea. The seventh[3], of Origen, who translated not, but corrected the translation of the Septuagint, adding some things out of Theodotion's translation, which additions he noted with the mark of a shining star, detracting other things, which he pierced

[1] "Aug. sæpe ac sæpius 72 prophetas appellat, et eodem quo prophetæ spiritu incitatos illa etiam scripsisse, in quibus ab Hebræa oratione dissentiunt, confirmat."—Andrad. de Vulgatæ editionis Auctoritate. Defens. Fid. Trident. Lib. IV. fol. 355. [Ingoldst. 1580.]

[2] "Ἀπὸ χρόνου τῆς ἑρμηνείας τῶν ἑβδομηκονταδύο ἑρμηνευτῶν ἕως Ακύλα τοῦ ἑρμηνευτοῦ, ἤγουν ἕως δωδεκάτου ἔτους Ἀδριανοῦ, ἔτη υλ' καὶ μῆνας δ'.

"Ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Σευήρου χρόνοις σύμμαχός τις Σαμαρείτης.....πρὸς διαστροφὴν τῶν παρὰ Σαμαρείταις ἑρμηνειῶν ἑρμηνεύσας, τὴν τρίτην ἐξέδωκεν ἑρμηνείαν.

"Μετὰ τοῦτον δὲ κατὰ πόδας ἐν τῷ ἑξῆς χρόνῳ, τούτεστι περὶ τὴν τοῦ δευτέρου Κομόδου βασιλείαν, Θεοδοτίων τις Ποντικὸς ἰδίως καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκε.

"Περὶ δὲ τῆς πέμπτης καὶ ἕκτης ἐκδόσεως οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν τινες ἢ πόθεν οἱ ἑρμηνευσάντες, ἢ μόνον ὅτι μετὰ τὸν διωγμὸν τοῦ βασιλέως Σευήρου εὑέθη ἡ πέμπτη ἐν πίθοις, ἐν Ἰεριχῷ κεκρυμμένη, ἐν χρόνοις τοῦ υἱοῦ Σευήρου τοῦ ἐπικληθέντος Καρακάλλου τε καὶ Γέτα.....Τὸν δὲ Καράκαλλον διαδέχεται Ἀντωνῖνος ἕτερος, βασιλεύσας ἔτη δ'. Μετὰ τοῦτον ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μαμαίας παῖς ἔτη ιγ', ἐν μέσῳ τῶν χρόνων τούτων εὑρέθη ἕκτη, ἔκδοσις, καὶ αὐτὴ ἐν πίθοις κεκρυμμένη ἐν Νικοπόλει τῇ πρὸς Ἀκτίᾳ."—Epiphanius, De Pond. et Mensur. [pp. 171, 4.]

[3] "Ubi asterisci, id est, stellulæ prælucentes, ex Theodotionis editione, ab Origene additum est, et ibi Græca transtulimus, hic de ipso Hebraico quod intelligebamus expressimus.... Et miror quomodo Septuaginta interpretum libros legas, non puros ut ab eis editi sunt, sed ab Origene emendatos, sive corruptos per obelos et asteriscos."—Hieron. ad August. [Epist. CXII. Tom. I. col. 746.]

Omnia veteris instrumenti volumina Origenes obelis astericisque distinxit, quos vel additos vel de Theodotione sumptos, translationi antiquæ inseruit, probans defuisse quod additum est."—Id. Præfat. in Job. [Tom. IX. col. 1097.]

through with a spit. The eighth[1], of Lucian the martyr, was not a translation, but a correction only of such faults as were crept into the translation of the Septuagint; this was found at Nicomedia in the time of Constantine, Lucian[2] being martyred long before, in the days of Diocletian the emperor.

The ninth, of Hesychius, was likewise but a correction of such things as were amiss in the vulgar editions of the Septuagint. It appeareth by Hierome[3], in his Preface before the books of Chronicles, that they of Alexandria and Egypt used that edition of the Septuagint which Hesychius corrected: they of Constantinople, that of Lucian the martyr: and they

[1] "Ἑβδόμη πάλιν καὶ τελευταία ἑρμηνεία ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου Λουκιανοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀσκητοῦ καὶ μάρτυρος, ὅστις καὶ αὐτὸς ταῖς προγεγραμμέναις ἐκδόσεσι καὶ τοῖς Ἑβραϊκοῖς ἐντυχών, καὶ ἐποπτεύσας μετὰ ἀκριβείας τὰ λείποντα ἢ καὶ περιττὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ῥήματα, καὶ διορθωσάμενος ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις τῶν γραφῶν τόποις, ἐξέδοτο τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. ἥτις δὴ καὶ ἑρμηνεία μετὰ τὴν ἄθλησιν καὶ μαρτυρίαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἁγίου Λουκιανοῦ τὴν γεγονυῖαν ἐπὶ Διοκλητιανοῦ τοῦ Μαξιμινοῦ τῶν τυράννων, ἤγουν τὸ ἰδιόχειρον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐκδόσεως βιβλίον εὑρέθη ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ ἐπὶ Κωνσταντινοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις ἐν τοίχῳ πυργίσκῳ περικεχρισμένῳ κονιάματι εἰς διαφύλαξιν."—Synops. Sacr. Script. §. 77. adscript. Athanasio, Tom. II. p. 203. Par. 1698.]

[2] "Λουκιανός τε ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ἄριστος, βίῳ τε ἐγκρατὴς καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς μαθήμασι συγκεκροτημένος· τῆς κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν παροικίας πρεσβύτερος, ἀχθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς Νικομηδέων πόλεως, ἔνθα τηνικαῦτα βασιλεὺς διατρίβων ἐτύγχανε, παρασχών τε ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τὴν ὑπὲρ ἧς προῖστατο διδασκαλίας ἀπολογίαν; δεσμωτηρίῳ παραδοθεὶς κτίννυται."—Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. IX. cap. 6.

[3] Hieron. in Lib. XVI. Comment. Esaiæ ad Eustochium, Procem. de illis verbis, 'Sepulchrum patens est guttur eorum,' ait non haberi in Hebraico, nec esse in 70 interpretibus, sed in editione vulgata, quæ communis dicitur, et in toto orbe diversa est. "Omnes Græciæ tractatores, qui nobis eruditionis suæ in Psalmos commentarios reliquerunt, hos versiculos vere annotant et prætereunt, liquido confitentes in Hebraico non haberi, nec esse in Septuaginta interpretibus, sed in editione vulgata, quæ Græce κοινὴ dicitur et in toto orbe diversa est."—[Hieron. Tom. IV. col. 667.]

"Alexandria et Ægyptus in septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat auctorem; Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probat, Mediæ inter has provinciæ Palæstinos codices legunt, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt, totusque orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat."—Id. Præfat. in Paralip. [Tom. IX. col. 1405.]

of the provinces and countries lying between these, that which Origen corrected.

The Greek translation found to need correction, and corrected by these, as it seemeth, was called by the name of the Common edition; not as being a different translation from that of the Septuagint, but as being that which was common in all men's hands, and much altered and corrupted from the original purity, which these worthy men endeavoured to restore it to again. And was so named because there was another[1], preserved in greater purity, in that worthy work of Origen, that filled all the famous libraries in the world in those times; in which, first dividing every page[2] into six

[1] "Illud breviter admoneo, ut sciatis, aliam esse editionem quam Origenes et Cæsariensis Eusebius omnesque Græciæ tractatores κοινὴν, id est, communem, appellant, atque VULGATAM, et a plerisque nunc Λουκιανὸς dicitur, aliam septuaginta interpretum quæ in ἑξαπλοῖς codicibus reperitur, et a nobis in Latinum sermonem fideliter versa est."—Hieron. ad Suniam et Fretelam. [Epist. 106. Tom. I. col. 636.]

[2] "Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ Ὠριγένης . . . . . τὰς γραφὰς ἡρμήνευσεν· ὅτε καὶ τὰ ἑξαπλᾶ καὶ τὰς δύο τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν στελίδας ἄντικρυ ἐκ παραλλήλου μιᾶς ἑρμηνείας πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν συνέθηκεν, ἑξαπλᾶς τὰς βίβλους ὀνομάσας. . . . . Τετραπλᾶ γὰρ εἰσι τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ, ὅταν αἱ τοῦ Ἀκύλα, καὶ Συμμάχου, καὶ τῶν ἑβδομηκονταδύο, καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἑρμηνεῖαι συντεταγμέναι ὦσι. Τῶν τεσσάρων δὲ τούτων στελίδων ταῖς δυσὶ ταῖς Ἑβραϊκαῖς συναφθεισῶν, ἑξαπλᾶ καλεῖται. Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ πέμπτη καὶ ἡ ἕκτη ἑρμηνεία συναφθῶσιν ἀκολούθως τούτοις ὀκταπλᾶ καλεῖται."—Epiphan. De Pond. et Mensur. [§. 19. Tom. II. p. 175.]

"Τοσαύτη δὲ εἰσήγετο τῷ Ὠριγένει τῶν θείων λόγων ἀπηκριβωμένη ἐξέτασις, ὡς καὶ τὴν Ἑβραΐδα γλῶτταν ἐκμαθεῖν, τάς τε παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐμφερομένας πρωτοτύπους αὐτοῖς Ἑβραίων στοιχείοις γραφὰς κτῆμα ἴδιον ποιήσασθαι, ἀνιχνεῦσαί τε τὰς τῶν ἑτέρων παρὰ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα τὰς ἱερὰς γραφὰς ἡρμηνευκότων ἐκδόσεις· καί τινας ἑτέρας παρὰ τὰς κατημαξευμένας ἑρμηνείας ἐναλλαττούσας, τὴν Ἀκύλου καὶ Συμμάχου καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἐφευρεῖν, ἃς οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν ἔκ τινων μυχῶν τὸν πάλαι λανθανούσας χρόνον εἰς φῶς ἀνιχνεύσας προήγαγεν. Ἐφ' ὧν διὰ τὴν ἀδηλότητα τίνος ἆρ' εἶεν οὐκ εἰδὼς, αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπεσημήνατο ὡς ἄρα τὴν μὲν εὗροι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀκτίῳ Νικοπόλει, τὴν δὲ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τοιῷδε τόπῳ. Ἔν γε μὴν τοῖς ἑξαπλοῖς τῶν ψαλμῶν, μετὰ τὰς ἐπισήμους τέσσαρας ἐκδόσεις, οὐ μόνον πέμπτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕκτην καὶ ἑβδόμην παραθεὶς ἑρμηνείαν, ἐπὶ μιας αὖθις σεσημείωται, ὡς ἐν Ἰεριχοῖ εὑρημένης ἐν πίθῳ, κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβήρου. Ταύτας δὲ ἁπάσας ἐπὶ ταὐτὸν συναγαγὼν, διελών τε πρὸς κῶλον, καὶ ἀντιπαραθεὶς ἀλλήλαις μετὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἑβραίων σημειώσεως, τὰ τῶν λεγομένων ἑξαπλῶν ἡμῖν ἀντίγραφα καταλέλοιπεν, ἰδίως τὴν Ἀκύλου καὶ Συμμάχου καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἔκδοσιν ἅμα τῇ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἐν τοῖς τετραπλοῖς ἐπικατασκευάσας."—Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. VI. cap. 16. [p. 275. Cantabr. 1720.]

columns or pillars, in the first he put the Hebrew in the Hebrew characters; in the second, in Greek; in the third, the interpretation of Aquila; in the fourth, of Symmachus; in the fifth, of the Septuagint; in the sixth, of Theodotion; and named the volumes thus disposed, in respect of the four translations, *Tetrapla*, a fourfold work; in respect of these translations, and the Hebrew in two kind of characters, placed in two several pillars or columns, *Hexapla*, a sixfold work; to which afterwards adding, in two other pillars or columns, the first and sixth translations before mentioned, found in Hiericho and Nicopolis, he named the whole *Octapla*, an eightfold work.

CHAPTER XXVII.

OF THE LATIN TRANSLATIONS, AND OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE VULGAR LATIN.

THUS having delivered what translations there are and have been of the Old Testament out of Hebrew into Greek, let us see what translations there are and have been of the Old and New Testament into Latin. "They," saith Augustine[1], "that translated the Old Testament out of the Hebrew into Greek, may easily be numbered; but they that translated the Old and New Testament out of Greek into Latin cannot be numbered." Yet amongst so many and diverse translations, it seemeth there was one more common then the rest, called by Gregory[2], the Old translation, and by Hierome[3]

[1] "Qui Scripturas ex Hebræa lingua in Græcam verterunt, numerari possunt, Latini autem interpretes nullo modo."—August. de Doctrina Christiana. Lib. II. cap. 11. [Tom. III. part. 1. col. 25.]

[2] "Novam translationem dissero, sed ut comprobationis causa exigit, nunc novam nunc veterem per testimonia assumo: sedes apostolica utraque utitur."—Greg. ad Leandrum Episcopum. Præfat. in Expositionem beati Job. cap. 5. [Tom. I. col. 6, E. Par. 1705.]

[3] "Satis miror quomodo vulgata editio fortissimum contra Judæorum perfidiam testimonium alia interpretatione subverterit dicens, 'Congregabor et glorificabor coram Domino:' quum Theodotio et Symmachus nostræ interpretationi congruunt."—Hieron. in Isaiam. cap. 49. [Lib. XIII. Tom. IV. col. 564.]

upon Esay, the Vulgar; who disliketh it, and preferreth the translation of Symmachus and Theodotion before it, in the interpretation of the place of the prophet he there expoundeth.

The first that translated the Old Testament out of Hebrew into Latin was Hierome, and the last till our age; whereupon great exception was taken to him for it, as appeareth by his several epistles, wherein he excuseth and defendeth himself. Yet notwithstanding all these dislikes and exceptions, it appeareth by Gregory[1] that a new translation began to be in use in the Church, not long after Hierome's time: which is thought to be that we now call the Vulgar. Whether this translation be Hierome's[2] or not, there is great variety of judgment. Some, as Pagnine and Paul bishop of Forosempronium, deny it to be Hierome's; others, as Augustinus Eugubinus and Picus Mirandula, affirm it to be his; other, as Driedo and Sixtus Senensis, think it to be mixed of the old and new.

Bellarmine delivereth his opinion in certain propositions, whereof the first is, that we have the Latin text of the New Testament, not of Hierome's translation, but of his correction

[1] In a place above cited. [Vide p. 505, note 2.]

[2] "Non parva quæstio est de hac nostra vulgata Latina editione. Sitne illa antiqua, quæ erat ante Hieronymum, an vero ipsius Hieronymi, an mixta et utraque?..... Nos igitur, gratia brevitatis et claritatis, sententiam nostram quatuor propositionibus complectemur.

"Prima propositio: Testamentum Novum Latinum editionis vulgatæ ex antiqua versione habemus, quam tamen B. Hieronymus emendavit..... Secunda propositio: Psalterium vulgatæ editionis Latinæ non est illud, quod divus Hieronymus transtulit ex Hebræo, neque illud quod transtulit ex versione Græca LXX. interpretum, sed illud quod ipse emendavit translatum ab antiquo interprete ex editione S. Luciani martyris: siquidem beatus Hieronymus circa Psalterium quater laboravit. Transtulit enim illud ex Hebræo in Latinum, ut patet ex epistola ejusdem ad Sophronium: item convertit ex Græco in Latinum e pura editione Septuaginta, ut habebatur in Hexaplis Origenis, ut ipse testatur in epistola ad Suniam et Fretellam: denique bis emendavit antiquam Latinam editionem, quæ translata erat ex Græca communi et vulgata, ut patet ex Præfat. Psalt. ad Paulam et Eustochium. ..... Tertia propositio: Probabile nobis est, librum Sapientiæ, et Ecclesiastici, et Machabæorum nos non habere ex versione Hieronymi, sed ex antiqua translatione, cujus auctor ignoratur..... Quarta propositio: Reliqua omnia ex Hieronymi versione ex Hebræo habemus in editione vulgata."—Bellarm. De Verbo Dei. Lib. II. cap. 9. [Tom. I. col. 108, 9.]

only; the second, that we have the Psalms of the old translation formerly in use: the reason whereof is thought to be, because the Church, fearful to give any offence to the weak, would not admit any alteration in them, being daily read and sung in the assemblies of the faithful: the third, that we have the books of Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, and the Maccabees of the old translation, the author whereof is not known: the fourth, that we have all the rest of Hierome's translation.

This translation some think so perfect, as that it is not to be corrected according to the originals, if in any thing it dissent from them, but that rather they are to be holden corrupt in all such places of difference. Now, because this translation in many places and sundry things is found to dissent from the originals, therefore they infer a great corruption of the originals. This is the erroneous conceit of Lindan[1], Canus[2], and others of that sort, against whom, in the just defence of the truth of the originals, the best learned in the Church of Rome oppose themselves, as John Isaacke, Arrias Montanus[3],

[1] Lindan. Vide ejus "Panoplia Evangelica." Lib. II. passim.

[2] "Latinam vulgatam editionem tutam esse legentium fidelium anchoram sine dubio teneamus.... plures Scripturæ particulæ nobis subtrahentur, quæ scilicet in Græcis aut Hebraicis hujus temporis exemplaribus non leguntur,... atque alia item multa ex Latino exemplari novi isti interpretes expunxerunt. Non igitur in Græca vel Hebraica exemplaria fidei controversia resolvenda est: alioqui eas Scripturæ partes rejiciamus oportet, quas concilium Tridentinum atque adeo Ecclesia una voce et consensu recipit."—Melchior Canus. De Locis Theologicis. Lib. II. cap. 13. [p. 93. Col. Agr. 1605.]

"At vero nunc Sancti Spiritus sine dubio peculiari providentia, Damasi solicitudine, Hieronymi summis laboribus, ecclesia sancta concordem Scripturarum unitatem accepit, omnisque sublata de medio varietas est, unica Latina editio omnium consensione recepta. Quapropter qui ad Græca exemplaria nos revocant, eandem varietatem inferre volunt, a qua olim Hieronymus libros nostros asseruit: imo eandem falsitatem, a qua ille codices nostros expurgavit. Nam varietas codicum, facilis depravationis occasio esse solet."—Id. ibid.

[3] "Nihil mirandum esset, si vel temporum injuria, vel hujusmodi tempestatum in quas populus incidit causa, vel quorundam librariorum incuria, aliquid vitii in scripturam sacrorum voluminum irrepserit,.... duo maxima et cognitu dignissima atque ad calumniatores morosos redarguendos opportunissima animadvertere est, quæ divinam providentiam sacrorum librorum integritati perpetuo assistentem probare possunt. Alterum est fere omnem librorum varietatem, in sola grammatica nonnullarum dictionum scriptura consistere.... Hæc autem

Driedo, Andradius[1], Sixtus Senensis, and many more. The chiefest argument of the adverse part is, for that if this translation be not pure and faultless, the Church had not the Word of God so long as it used this translation only. For answer hereunto, Andradius demandeth, if the Church were not as perfect, and as assuredly possessed of the truth, before this translation of Hierome[2] as since; if it were, he demandeth if

eo omnia tendunt ut ostendamus nullum fere esse in sacrorum librorum lectione detrimentum sententiæ."—Arias Montanus, De varia in Hebraicis lib. lectione, ac de Mazzoreth ratione et usu in regiis Bibliis. [Biblia Sacra Polyglotta per Ariam Montanum. Tom. VIII. Antv. 1572.]

"Magna olim antiquis Israelitis sacrorum librorum lectionis conservandæ religio magnaque cura fuit, et ille sibi divinitus creditus et commendatus thesaurus, in quo vitæ æternæ mysteria continebantur, enim diligentia atque custodia dignissimus habitus, atque ita conservari debere creditus est, ut ne quid non verbo tantum, sed nec minimorum etiam apicum detrimenti in eo fieret, omnibus modis et rationibus fuerit prospectum."—Ibid. Præfat.

[1] Andradius in his 4th book, intreating of the authority of the Vulgar translation, sheweth his own opinion, as also the judgment of John Isaack, and Driedo, for the justification of the originals.

"Si vero legis et prophetarum sententias quæ Christianæ religionis mysteria continent, diligenter expendamus, facile quidem videbimus, non solum in Hebræis voluminibus non desiderari, sed multo aptius plerumque Hebræa quam Latina ea ipsa exprimere. Joannes enim Isaac, vir nostra ætate inter Hebræos doctissimus, ingenue fatetur, prophetarum se ac maxime Esaiæ, quem non nisi Hebraice legere poterat, continua meditatione fuisse pertractum, ut Judaica perfidia deserta, Christo Jesu, a quo mirum in modum antea abhorruerat, nomen lubentissime daret. Quinetiam qui Hebræa pie et religiose tractant, multo in illis ampliora (propter linguæ fœcunditatem) de Christo testimonia, quam in Latinis Græcisque offendunt."—[Ibid. fol. 352.]..."Quod quidem argumentum, quamvis mihi nequaquam contemnendum videatur, aptissime tamen fuisse dilutum a Joanne Driedone existimo, cum editionem inquit Scripturæ sacræ ecclesiæ usu approbari non esse ecclesiam decernere tam accommodate ab interprete omnia fuisse conversa ut nihil desiderari aut possit aut debeat; sed religionis mysteria, divinæque voluntatis consilia, in quibus totius Scripturæ sacræ cardo vertitur, ita fuisse reddita, ut nihil quod ad fidem constituendam, religionem firmandam, pietatem alendam, moresque informandos pertineat, interpretis fuerit fraude abditum, aut inscitia prætermissum."—[Ibid. fol. 357.]

[2] [Hieron.] Præfat. in Paralip. [Tom. IX. col. 1405] scribit: "Si versio 70 integra haberetur ut ab iis edita fuit, se frustra laboraturum in bibliis transferendis."

they that lived in those times did not as much admire the translation of the Septuagint, and the Latin translations out of it, as they do the Vulgar. Now that they did, he proveth at large out of sundry of the ancient, who held that the Septuagint were led in translating with a prophetical spirit freeing them from danger of error, so far forth that Hierome was greatly disliked for adventuring to translate after them, as if he could correct any thing that they had done. Yea, so great opposition did he find, that he was forced to give way to the clamours and outcries of his adversaries[1], to attribute much unto them, and to make shew that he would never have begun this work of a new translation, if that of the Septuagint had remained, and been preserved in original purity; though sometimes he fear not to pronounce[1] that they passed by many things of purpose, mistook many things of ignorance, and suppressed other, because they would not make known the dishonour of their nation to strangers. Now (saith Andradius[2]) I would know, whether in all the places, wherein the translations then in use differed from the originals, the originals

[1] "Tacita mecum mente pertractans non possum invenire rationem, quare LXX. tam perspicuam de Christo prophetiam in Græcum voluerint vertere. Cæteri enim qui verterunt quidem, sed sermonem ambiguum ad impietatis traxerunt sensum, non mirum cur male interpretati sint, nec voluerint de Christo gloriosum quid dicere in quem non credebant."—Hieron. in Isaiam. cap. 2. [Tom. IV. col. 44.]

"Latam explanationem loca ista desiderant, sed parcimus librorum magnitudini ut tollamus fastidium lectionis. Hæc juxta LXX. translationem ex parte perstrinximus, quæ in plerisque dissonat ab Hebræo."—Id. in cap. 8. [col. 127.]

"Cur a septuaginta prætermissum sit, nescio, nisi forsitan pepercerunt populo suo."—Id. in Jerem. cap. 17. [col. 956.]

[2] "Libenter ab hisce Hebræorum voluminum adversariis discerem, An veterem ecclesiam hac nostra fuisse aut eruditionis splendore, aut dignitatis præstantia, aut auctoritatis excellentia, inferiorem existiment? Quod si parem in illa utque in hac dignitatem agnoscunt, rursum quæram, perspiciant ne, quantum inter hanc de qua sermo est vulgatam et LXX. interpretum editionem sit discriminis, et quantum inter se non verbis modo, sed integris etiam sententiis dissideant, quod vel ex hoc constabit, quod hæc Latina editio ad Hebræam veritatem quam maxime accedat, illa vero Græca usque adeo distet ut divus Hieronymus quædam demonstret LXX. interpretes consulto præteriisse; alia vero, quia ante Christi adventum interpretati sunt, nequaquam percepisse; alia, si gentis suæ gloriam obscurarent, noluisse sub Egyptiorum oculis subjicere."—Andrad. Defens. Fid. Trident. Lib. IV. fol 356.

were corrupted. If they were, then our translation, which cometh nearer to the originals and leaveth the former translations, is corrupt; and so, while these men endeavour to defend, they overthrow the authority of the Vulgar translation. But some, perhaps, will demand, whether the Church of God in those times had not the true Scriptures of God, and whether the Church of God at any time have been without an approved translation. Hereunto Andradius answereth, that the Church doth approve translations, not pronouncing that there is nothing amiss in them, or that they depart not from the true sense and right meaning of any particular place, but that the divine mysteries are therein truly delivered, and nothing that concerneth faith, religion, or good manners, ignorantly or fraudulently suppressed.

The council of Trent defined that the vulgar Latin translation shall be holden as authentical; but he saith Andreas Vega, who was present at the council, reported that the Fathers of the council meant not to determine that it is not defective or faulty, but that it is not erroneous and faulty in such sort as that any hurtful or pernicious opinion in matters of faith or manners may necessarily be deduced from it. And that this was the meaning of the council, he saith Andreas Vega alleged the authority of the cardinal of Saint Cross, afterwards Pope, who delivered so much unto him. So that the Church of God doth not receive any translation, as free from all error, and in that sense authentical, but thinketh that to be the peculiar excellency of the originals, which are by some unjustly disgraced and called in question, as if they were so corrupted that translations should be preferred before them.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OF THE TRUTH OF THE HEBREW TEXT OF SCRIPTURE.

FOR, first, touching the Hebrew text, which some suppose hath been corrupted by the Jews, it is not likely that of purpose they would corrupt it: for then they would specially have corrupted those places which make most clearly against them and for the Christians; but those places are not cor-

rupted, as Andradius sheweth, and proveth by the testimony of John Isaake, who was won to Christianity by the pregnancy of a chapter of Esay's prophecy in Hebrew.

Neither is it likely, *dum aliis invidérent authoritatem, sibi abstulisse veritatem*[1]: "that while they were unwilling that we should have any authority for confirmation of our faith in their Scriptures, they would deprive themselves of the truth of them," which they ever held the richest treasure in the world. Especially[2], seeing it hath ever been thought by the wisest in God's Church, that God in his providence hath therefore preserved these forlorn and forsaken creatures, and dispersed them into the several nations and kingdoms of the world, that they might give testimony to the truth of our faith by those monuments of Moses and the prophets which they honour and embrace as received from God himself.

Thus, then, we are persuaded that there is no great nor general corruption of the Hebrew text of Scripture, and that the faults, which by negligence in time crept into it, are but few, and such as by help of the Mazzoreth may easily be amended. But because Andradius[3], Bellarmine[4], and other of our adversaries, have undertaken the defence of the truth and confutation of their fellows' error in this point, I will no longer insist upon it: let us come therefore to the New Testament.

[1] August. de Civ. Dei. Lib. xv. cap. 13. [Tom. VII. col. 392.]

[2] "Ipsa prophetia quid aliud nisi a nostris putaretur conficta, si non inimicorum codicibus probaretur? Ideo ne occideris eos, ne ipsius entis nomen extinxeris, ne quando obliviscantur legis tuæ; disperge illos in virtute tua. Si enim in uno loco essent terrarum, non adjuvarent testimonio prædicationem evangelii quæ fructificat in toto orbe terrarum: ideo disperge illos in virtute tua, ut ejus ipsius, cujus fuerunt negatores, persecutores, interfectores, ubique sint testes per legem, &c."—August. Paulino. Epist. LIX. [Al. 149. Tom. II. col. 567.]

[3] Lib. IV. Defens. Fid. Trident.

[4] De Verbo Dei. Lib. II. cap. 2. ["Num Hebraica editio sit corrupta."]

CHAPTER XXIX.

OF THE SUPPOSED CORRUPTIONS OF THE GREEK TEXT OF SCRIPTURE.

IN the New Testament, saith Sixtus Senensis[1] out of Hierome[2], if any question arise amongst them that read the Scriptures in Latin, and there appear difference and variety amongst the translations, we must have recourse to the Greek as to the fountain, assuring ourselves that there were ever some incorrupt and true copies of the New Testament found amongst them that read the same in Greek, out of which the Latin might be corrected; and that if some faults be found in the Greek copies, by the negligence or mistaking of them that wrote them out, they may easily be discerned by laying together sundry copies casually corrupted, it so falling out, that what in one book is depraved by the fault of the writers, in another is found right. Now, saith he, whereas certain heretics did say that either Hierome did not translate the same Greek that now is, or that he translated it very ill; it is to be answered, that the Greek is the same which all Christians read and translated before and after Hierome; but that he translated it not, but only in some things corrected the old translation he found in use before, and that yet notwithstanding that vulgar and old translation is not wholly to be abandoned and rejected: for that, though it do not exactly agree with the Greek, which is the original, yet it omitteth nothing in matter of faith or truth of story, nor hath any thing contrary to the truth of religion.

The Romanists, to prove that the Greek text of the New Testament is corrupted, and consequently that it is not safe to correct the Latin translations by it, allege certain places,

[1] "Ex quo jam patet, unde Latinum Novum Testamentum (quod hæreticis impossibile videtur) emendari potuerit, nempe ex collatione Latinorum codicum ad Græca exemplaria, et Græcorum item inter seipsa."—Sixtus Senensis. Bibliothec. Sanct. Lib. VII. Hæres. 1.

[2] "In Novo Testamento si quando apud Latinos quæstio exoritur, et est inter exemplaria varietas, recurrimus ad fontem Græci sermonis, quo novum scriptum est instrumentum."—Hieron. ad Suniam et Fretelam. [Epist. CVI. Tom. I. col. 637.]

which they presume they can easily demonstrate to be corrupted. Bellarmine[1] giveth instance in these that follow. In the 1 Cor. xv. the Greek that now is hath in all copies: "The first man was of the earth, earthly; the second man is the Lord from heaven:" the latter part of this sentence Tertullian[2] supposeth to have been corrupted, and altered by the Marcionites, instead of that the Latin text hath, "The second man was from heaven, heavenly;" as Ambrose[3], Hierome[4], and many of the Fathers read also. Touching this place we answer, that not only the Greek copies now extant have it as we read and translate, but the Syriac and Arabic also, and that Damascene[5], *De Orthodoxa Fide*, readeth in the same sort.

Notwithstanding, because many of the Fathers, both Greek and Latin, follow the other reading, we think it very doubtful

[1] "Quod autem non sint ubique incorrupti, sed aliqui interdum errores irrepserint, saltem negligentia librariorum, et non sit tutum semper Latina ad Græca corrigere, aliquot exemplis planum fiet. Certe 1 Corinth. xv. 47, legendum est: 'Primus homo de terra terrenus, secundus homo de cœlo cœlestis,' ut non solum nostra Latina versio habet, sed etiam Calvinus probat, cap. 7, Instit. §. 12: at Græci constanter legunt: 'secundus homo, Dominus de cœlo,' ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος ὁ Κύριός ἐξ οὐρανοῦ: quam depravationem mansisse vitio scriptorum ex corruptionibus Marcionis, patet ex Tertulliano, Lib. v. in Marcionem."—Bellarmin. de Verbo Dei. Lib. II. cap. 7. ['De editione Græca Testamenti Novi.']

[2] "Factus primus homo Adam in animam vivam; novissimus Adam in spiritum vivificantem: licet stultissimus hæreticus noluerit ita esse. *Dominum* enim posuit *novissimum*, pro *novissimo Adam*..... Eodem modo et in homine hominis revincetur. 'Primus,' inquit, 'homo de humo terrenus, secundus, Dominus de cœlo.'"—Tertull. contra Marcion. Lib. v. [cap. 10. p. 473. Lut. Par. 1664.]

[3] "Primus homo de terra, terrenus; secundus homo de cœlo, cœlestis."—[Pseudo] Ambros. in 1 Cor. xv. [Tom. II. Append. col. 166. Par. 1690.]

[4] "Primus homo de terra terrenus; secundus homo de cœlo cœlestis."—[Pseudo] Hieron. in eundem locum. [Tom. XI. col. 947.]

[5] "Εἰ δὲ καὶ λέγει, ὁ πρῶτος Ἀδὰμ ἐκ γῆς χοϊκὸς, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος Ἀδὰμ, ὁ Κύριος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, οὐ τὸ σῶμα φησὶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὡς οὐ ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐστιν. ἰδοὺ γὰρ καὶ Ἀδὰμ αὐτὸν ὠνόμασε, καὶ Κύριος, τὸ συναμφότερον σημαίνων. Ἀδὰμ μὲν γὰρ ἑρμηνεύεται γηγένης. γηγένης δὲ δῆλον ὅτι ἔστιν ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσις, ἡ ἐκ χοὸς πλασθεῖσα· τὸ κύριος δὲ τῆς θείας οὐσίας ἐστὶ παραστατικόν."—Joann. Damasceni, de Fide Orthodoxa Lib. III. cap. 12. Paris. 1712.

which is the original verity. This difference of the reading of the apostle's words is a matter of no great moment, seeing neither of them contain any thing contrary to the rule of faith, or verity of Christian religion. The second place they produce is 1 John iv. 3, where the Greek hath, "Every spirit that confesseth not," &c., but the Latin, "Every spirit that dissolveth Jesus." It is true that Socrates[1], in his History, saith, that the ancient Greek copies had as the Latin now hath, and that these words were put out by such as divided the person of Christ: yet seeing not only all copies of the Greek text, but the Syriac translation also hath, "Every spirit that confesseth not," &c., and Cyprian[2] so citeth the place, and Augustine[3] readeth and interpreteth both; we think it likewise very doubtful which is the original verity.

The next place is the 1 Cor. vii., where in the vulgar Latin, we read in this sort: "He that is with a wife, is careful for the things of the world, how he may please his wife, and is divided," that is, "distracted with many cares:" but in the Greek it is thus: "He that hath a wife is careful for the things of the world, how to please his wife: there is a difference between a wife and a virgin, or they are divided one from another." That the former is the true reading of the

[1] "Αὐτίκα γοῦν ἠγνόησεν, ὅτι ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ Ἰωάννου γέγραπτο ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἀντιγράφοις ὅτι πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ λύει τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστι. ταυτὴν γὰρ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων περιεῖλον, οἱ χωρίζειν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἀνθρώπου βουλόμενοι τὴν θεότητα. διὸ καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ ἑρμηνεῖς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπεσημήναντο, ὡς τινες εἶεν ῥᾳδιουργήσαντες τὴν ἐπιστολήν, λύειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν ἀνθρώπον θέλοντες."—Socrat. Eccl. Hist. Lib. VII. cap. 32. Cantab. 1720.

[2] "In epistola Johannis: 'Omnis spiritus, qui confitetur Jesum Christum in carne venisse, de Deo est; qui autem negat in carne venisse, de Deo non est, sed est de Antichristi spiritu.'"—Cyprian. contra Judæos. Lib. II. cap. 8. [p. 37. Oxon. 1682.]

[3] "'Omnis spiritus qui non confitetur Jesum Christum in carne venisse, non est ex Deo.'... Iste negavit illos Spiritum Dei habere qui non confitentur Jesum Christum in carne venisse.... Adeo ut noveritis quia ad facta retulit; 'Et omnis spiritus,' ait, 'qui solvit Christum in carne venisse, non est ex Deo.' Solvere ex factis intelligitur. Quid tibi ostendit? Qui negat; quia dixit, 'solvit?' Ille venit colligere, tu venis solvere. Distringere vis membra Christi. Quomodo non negas Christum in carne venisse, qui disrumpis ecclesiam Dei quam ille congregavit?"—August. in Epist. Johann. tractat. 6. [Tom. III. part. 2. coll. 869, 70.]

apostle's words, Bellarmine proveth, because Hierome[1] against Jovinian affirmeth it to be so, and some other of the Fathers follow the same.

But he should know, that not only the most part of all the Greek copies have as we translate, but the Syriac and Arabic translations also, besides Basil, the Greek Scholiast, Theophylact, and Hierome himself against Helvidius, and to Eustochium, *De Custodia Virginitatis;* so that this proof of the corruption of the originals proveth too weak. The next allegation concerning the twelfth to the Romans, of "serving the Lord, and serving the time," is much weaker. For Beza sheweth that some Greek copies have, as the Vulgar hath, and as Bellarmine saith the truth is, "serving the Lord." That the story of the adulteress in the eighth of John is not found in many Greek copies, doth not prove the general corruption of the Greek text, which is the thing our adversaries undertake to prove; for if it did, the Latin also should be rejected, as corrupted and false. For as Hierome[2] witnesseth, many of the Latin copies wanted this story, as well as the Greek. Some of the ancient[3] were of opinion, that this story was first found in the apocryphal Gospel according to the Hebrews. But whatsoever we think of it, it maketh nothing against the authority of the Greek text, seeing it was ever found in some Greek copies, though not in all.

The Rhemists[4], to disgrace the Greek, allege sundry places

[1] Lib. I. loquitur de Latinis codicibus et in illis ait legi, 'divisa est mulier et virgo:' quod quanquam habeat suum sensum, et a se quoque pro qualitate loci sic edissertum sit, tamen non esse apostolicæ veritatis pronunciat.—[Tom. II. col. 260.]

[2] "In evangelio secundum Joannem in multis et Græcis et Latinis codicibus invenitur de adultera muliere quæ accusata est apud Dominum."—Hieron. contra Pelag. Lib. II. [cap. 17. Tom. II. col. 748.]

[3] "Existimant autem quidam ex vetustioribus, præsentem historiam huc fuisse translatam ex evangelio quodam apocrypho secundum Hebræos, in quo narrationem talem fuisse descriptam, Eusebius in tertio Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ, et testimonio Papiæ, indicat his verbis: 'Papias simul et historiam quandam subjungit de muliere adultera quæ accusata est a Judæis apud Dominum: habetur autem hæc in Evangelio quod dicitur, *Secundum Hebræos*, scripta parabola.'"—Sixtus Senensis, Bibliothec. Sanct. Lib. I. "De secundo ordine Script. Nov. Test."

[4] "Againe, Erasmus, the best translator of all the later by Beza's

where, they say, our translators choose rather to follow the vulgar Latin than the Greek, thereby acknowledging that it is corrupt. But if we examine the particulars, we shall find that this their allegation is nothing else but a lying and false report. For they ever follow some, and those the best and most incorrupt Greek copies, as Beza[1] sheweth. Wherefore, failing in this allegation, they betake themselves to another, not of falsehood but of superfluity: the first instance whereof that they give, is the sixth of Matthew, where the Lord's Prayer, in the vulgar Latin, endeth with that petition, "deliver us from evil," leaving out "for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory," which they suppose to be superfluously added in the Greek. But these men should know, that though it were granted that these words were superfluous, yet nothing is thereby derogated from the Greek, seeing some Greek copies, and they very ancient, omit them, as Beza sheweth.

judgment, saith, that the Greek sometime hath superfluities corruptly added to the text of Holy Scripture: as Mat. vi. to the end of the Pater Noster, these wordes: 'Because thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glorie, for evermore.' Which he calleth 'nugas,' trifles rashly added to our Lord's praier; and reprehendeth Valla for blaming the old vulgar Latin because it hath it not. Likewise Rom. xi. 6. these words in the Greeke, and not in the vulgar Latin: "But if of workes, it is not now grace: other wise the worke is no more a worke.'... and Marc vi. 11. these wordes, 'Amen I say to you it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrhe in the day of judgement, then for that citie:' and Matt. xx. 22, these wordes, 'And be baptized with the baptisme that I am baptized with,' which is also superfluously repeated againe vers. 23, and such like places exceeding many."—In their Preface before the New Testament translated by them. [Rhemes Testament, Preface. Rhemes. 1582.]

[1] In his annotations upon the several places objected by the Rhemists. [See "Rhemes Testament," Pref. as above.]

"Non desunt qui existiment totam istam coronidem, 'Quia tuum est regnum,' &c., in contextum irrepsisse, magnificam quidem illam et longe sanctissimam, sed quæ tamen in vetustissimis aliquibus codicibus Græcis desit. Exstat tamen apud Syrum interpretem, et in plerisque Græcis aliis legitur."—Beza in Matt. vi. [p. 23. Cantabr. 1642.]

"Hanc partem totam non legunt vetus interpres, nec Origines, nec Chrysostomus, nec Ambrosius, quam tamen summo consensu in Græcis codicibus inveni, Claromontano excepto."—Id. in Rom. xi. 6. [p. 437.]

"Hæc periodus in omnibus nostris exemplaribus Græcis legitur, exceptis tantum duobus et meo vetustissimo; in Vulgata tamen versione prætermittitur."—Id. in Marc. vi. 11. [p. 115.]

Their next instance is Rom. xi., where the vulgar Latin hath, "If of grace, not of works; otherwise grace should be no more grace:" to which is added, by way of antithesis and opposition, in the Greek, "If of works, not of grace; otherwise works should be no more works." It will be very hard for our adversaries to prove that these latter words are superfluously added, being found not only in the most Greek copies, but in the Syriac translation. But if it were granted, yet there is one Greek copy of great antiquity, that omitteth these words, as well as the vulgar Latin. The next instance is the sixth of Mark, and the eleventh: "Verily I say unto you, it shall be easier for Sodom and Gomorrha," &c. If it were granted that these words were superfluously added, which yet there is no reason to do, seeing, besides very many Greek copies, the Syriac translation hath them also; yet would this make nothing for the improving of the credit of the Greek, seeing, as Beza professeth, there are three Greek copies that omit them. The like may be said touching the next allegation of Matthew, the xxth., 22, 23, where these words, "and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with," are supposed to be superfluous; for there are some Greek copies that omit them, as well as the Vulgar.

Thus having examined the several allegations of our adversaries against the authority and credit of the Greek text of the New Testament, we see that they fail in them, neither being able to convince it of falsehood, nor superfluity. Wherefore, to conclude this matter, we say with Hierome, that the Latin editions are to be corrected by the Greek; and that, by the providence of God, the verity of the Scriptures of the New Testament hath ever been preserved in the original; that those faults and errors which are crept into some copies, may easily, by the help of others, be corrected; and that there is no difference, in matter of substance, in so great variety of copies as are found in the world. If any man say, The Greek hath been corrupted since the days of Hierome, and that therefore, though he in his time thought the translations might be corrected by the originals, yet now we may not take the same course; we answer, It may easily be proved that all those supposed corruptions which they now find in the Greek, were found in it in Hierome's time. For there are but two places, to wit, 1 Corinth. xv. and 1 John iv. 3, where all

Greek copies have otherwise than they say the truth is; and these places were corrupted, (if there be any error in the present reading), before Hierome's time. Thus much touching the sufficiency of the Scriptures, and the editions wherein the authentical verity of the same is to be sought.

CHAPTER XXX.

OF THE POWER OF THE CHURCH IN MAKING LAWS.

NOW it remaineth that we come to the next part of our division, touching the power of the Church in making laws. As the will of God, willing and purposing the being of each thing[1], is the first and highest cause of things; so the same will of God, determining what is fit to be, what, of what kind, in what sort, each thing must be, that it may attain and possess the uttermost degree of perfection, the orderly disposition of things requireth to be communicated to it, is the first and highest law to the whole world. And as the will of God determining what is fit, defining what ought to be, and what must be, if the creatures attain their highest perfection, is a general law to all creatures; so, when he maketh known to creatures rational, and of an understanding nature, which have power to do or omit things thus fit to be done, that though he leave it in their power and freedom of choice to do or omit them, yet they shall be tied either to do them, or to lose the good they desire to enjoy, and incur the evils they would avoid: it is more specially named a law of commandment, precept, or direction, binding them upon whom it is imposed to the performance of that it requireth.

The precepts and commandments of Almighty God are of two sorts: for, either they are such as, in respect of the nature and condition of the things themselves, are good, and so bind all men, at all times; or else they are positive, prescribing things variable according to the diversities of times,

[1] "Sicut divina voluntas est efficiens causa, quia vult aliquid esse vel fieri, sic ipsa est lex obligatoria, qua vult aliquid ad aliqualiter esse vel non esse teneri."—Petrus ab Aylliaco, Cameracensis. In principio in primum Sententiarum. [fol. 3. B. Par. sin. ann.]

and the different condition of men living in them. The former kind of laws God imposed upon men in the day of their creation, or redemption and restoration, together with the very nature and being which he gave them: the later, prescribing things not naturally and perpetually good, but good only at some time, to some men, and to some purposes and uses to which they serve, were not imposed at first, together with the institution of nature, or the restoration of the same by grace, but are then imposed when the things they prescribe are judged good and beneficial. So God prescribed, before the coming of Christ his Son, those sacrifices and offerings which now he regardeth not: and hath now instituted those sacraments, ceremonies, and rites of religion, which before were not known in the world.

Thus we see that the original of all laws is the will of God: who, as he reserveth for himself the honour of being the supreme, first, and highest Cause of all things, and yet communicateth part of his divine power to subordinate and inferior causes; so, though he alone be the great Lawgiver to every creature, yet he communicateth part of his authority to such among the sons of men as he is pleased to make greater than others, giving them power to command and prescribe laws unto them.

Touching this matter thus generally delivered, there is no difference between us and our adversaries. For it is confessed on both sides that God, who is the great Lawgiver to the whole world, hath chosen out some from amongst the rest of the sons of men, whom he hath been pleased to honour with his own name, to set upon his own seat, and to make rulers and lawgivers unto his people: but the question is, within what bounds this power is contained, and how far the band of laws, made by such authority, extendeth.

CHAPTER XXXI.

OF THE BOUNDS WITHIN WHICH THE POWER OF THE CHURCH IN MAKING LAWS IS CONTAINED; AND WHETHER SHE MAY MAKE LAWS CONCERNING THE WORSHIP OF GOD.

TOUCHING the first, the question is usually proposed, whether the rulers of God's Church and people may make laws concerning God's worship and service. For the clearing whereof, Stapleton[1] distinguisheth the things pertaining to the worship and service of God into three sorts. The first, such as are seals, assurances, and, in their sort and kind, causes of grace; as the sacrifices in old time, and the sacraments now: the second, such as remove the impediments of grace, dispose to the receipt of it, and work other spiritual and supernatural effects, though they give not grace in so high degree as the first; as the signing with the sign of the cross, sprinkling with holy water, and the like: the third, such as are used only for order and comeliness in the performance of the principal and essential duties of God's worship and service. These being the diverse sorts of things pertaining to the worship and service of God, the question and controversy between us and our adversaries is only touching things of the second rank; for they confess the Church hath no power to institute things of the first sort: and we willingly grant unto it a most ample power in things

[1] "Ad cultum religionis externum et publicum aliquid pertinere potest tripliciter. Primo modo, sic ut opus ipsum et substantia cultus sit causa gratiæ, ideoque vel necessaria vel certe instituta ad salutem; qualia sunt sacramenta ipsa et sacrificium externum, nam de eo solo hic agitur, qui proprius est Dei cultus. Hæc, ut primaria cultus fundamenta a solo Christo per potestatem excellentiæ quam habuit, instituta sunt. Alio modo, ut sint quædam ceremoniæ disponentes ad gratiam, vel tollentes impedimenta gratiæ, qualia sunt signare se signo crucis, aspergere aqua benedicta, et similia. Tales ceremonias ecclesia potest instituere, quia pertinent 'ad ædificationem corporis Christi,' ad quam potestatem acceperunt. Ephes. iv. Tertio modo, ad cultum religionis aliquid pertinere potest quatenus ad ordinem et decorem facit circa administrationem cultus primo modo dicti; et hoc totum in dispositione ecclesiæ reliquit Christus."—Stapleton. Relect. Controv. v. de Potest. Eccles. Quæst. 6. art. 1. in explicatione Articuli. [Tom. I. p. 798.]

of the third sort. Let us, first, therefore, lay down their opinion, and then examine the truth or falsehood of it.

Their opinion is, that the Church hath power to institute ceremonies and observations, though not to justify and give grace, as do the sacraments, yet to cure diseases, drive away devils, purge out venial sins, and to work other the like spiritual and supernatural effects; and that not only by way of impetration, and by force of the prayers of the Church, which hath prayed that they that use such things may enjoy such happy benefits, but *ex opere operato*, by the very work wrought, the use of these things, applying the merits of Christ to the effecting of these inferior effects, as the sacraments do to the effects of justification and remission of sins.

The sign of the cross, saith Bellarmine[1], driveth away devils three ways: first, by the devotion of them that use it, it being a kind of invocation of his name that was crucified for the redemption of the world, expressed not by words, but by this sign: secondly, by the impression of fear, which the very sight and apprehension of it worketh in the Devil, as being the thing whereby Christ wrought his overthrow: thirdly, *ex opere operato;* in which sort, infidels using this sign, have wrought these effects.

The Rhemists[2], upon 1 Tim. iv. 5, "Every creature is good," &c., have these observations; first, that every creature

[1] "Nota tres esse effectus crucis mirabiles. Primo, terret et fugat dæmones. Secundo, pellit morbos et omnia mala. Tertio, sanctificat ea quibus imprimitur. Et quidem primum effectum ex tribus causis habet; ex apprehensione dæmonis; ex devotione hominis; et ex instituto Dei.... Existimo tamen etiam tertio modo, id est, ex instituto Dei, et ex opere operato valere signum crucis contra diabolum."—Bellarm. De Imaginibus Sanctorum. Lib. II. cap. 30. [Tom. II. col. 1028. Ingoldst. 1601.]

[2] "Al creatures be of God's creation, none of the Divel, or of any other cause and beginning, as the Manichees blasphemed, and therefore none are il, abominable, or uncleane by creation, nature, and condition, but al good, and made for man's use, though al be not alike holy nor equally sanctified... creatures be sanctified also by the word of God and praier, that is to say, by benediction and invocation of our Lordes holy name upon them, especially by the signe of the crosse.... Furnish yourselves with such examples and groundes of Scriptures and antiquitie, and you shall contemne the adversaries cavillations and blasphemies against the Churches practise in such things, and further also find these sacred actions and creatures, not only by increase of

is, by nature and condition of creation, good: secondly, that Satan unjustly usurpeth upon these creatures, in and by them, seeking to hurt the bodies and souls of men: thirdly, that by prayer and invocation of God's name, notwithstanding the curse upon all creatures, and Satan's readiness to do us harm, they are good and comfortable to us, so that in them we taste the sweetness of divine goodness: fourthly, that the blessings of God's Church and her ministers do not only stay and hinder Satan's working, remove the curse, and make the creatures serve for our good, accordingly as at the first they were appointed; but apply them also to so sacred uses, as to be instruments of remission of sins, justification, and infusion of grace, as appeareth in the sacraments instituted by Christ: fifthly, that besides and out of the use of sacraments, the prayers and blessings of the Church do sanctify divers creatures to the working of spiritual and supernatural effects, as to expel devils, cure diseases, and remit venial sins; and that, not only as sanctified things are wont to do, in that they stir up and increase devotion and the fervour of piety, but in that the ministers of the Church, by their sovereign authority, have annexed to the use of them power to work such effects. This last proposition containeth the whole matter of difference between them and us; for touching all the former, we consent and agree with them.

For clearing of this point, we lay down these propositions: First, that by ordinary prayers the creatures of God are sanctified to ordinary uses. Secondly, that the presenting them, or some part of them, in holy places, and to holy persons, to be blessed of them, maketh the use of them more comfortable than the former blessing, but addeth no supernatural force, efficacy, or grace unto them. Thirdly, that Christ appointed, and the Church daily sanctifieth, the creatures of God, and elements of this world, to be the matter of his sacraments. Fourthly, that bread being appointed to be the matter of the sacrament of the body of Christ, and

faith, fervor, and devotion, to purge the impuritie of our soules, and procure remission of our daily infirmities, but that the cheefe ministers of Christ's church by their soveraine authoritie graunted of our Lord, may joine unto the same their blessing and remission of our venial sinnes or spiritual dettes."—[Rhemes Testament, p. 576. Rhemes. 1582.]

water of baptism, the Christians in ancient time held that bread which had been offered and presented at the Lord's table, (out of which a part was consecrated for the use of the sacrament), more holy than other bread: and this is that bread, Augustine[1] saith, was given to the Catechumens: as also they religiously kept of that water which had been hallowed for the use of baptism, and by the use of it strengthened their assurance of enjoying the benefits which are bestowed on men in baptism. Neither can our adversaries clearly prove any separate sanctifying of water to have been used in the primitive Church. If they could, it were nothing else but the bringing of some part of this element into holy places, with humble desire that they which in memory of baptism should use it, and so have their faith strengthened, might more and more receive the effects of saving grace; as the Christians of Russia, and Ethiopia[2], unto this day, on the Epiphany, on which day they remember the baptism of Christ, go into the water, praying unto God that the effects of the sacrament of baptism may more and more be seen and appear in them. Fifthly, that the Church consecrateth sundry outward things, to the use of God's service, not giving them any new quality, force, or efficacy, but only praying that God will be pleased to accept that which is done in or with them, and to work in us that the use of them importeth. Sixthly, holy men, having the gift of miracles, did use sometimes water, sometimes oil, sometimes other things, and gave them to be used by other, for the working of miraculous effects after the example of Elizeus and Christ himself: of which sort is that of Joseph mentioned by Epiphanius[3], who, filling a vessel with water,

[1] "Non unius modi est sanctificatio; nam et catechumenos secundum quendam modum suum per signum Christi et orationem manus impositionis puto sanctificari; et quod accipiunt quamvis non sit corpus Christi sanctum est, tamen et sanctius quam sibi quibus alimur, quoniam sacramentum est."—August. De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione. Lib. II. cap. 26. [Tom. X. col. 62.]

[2] "Item in memoriam Christi baptismi singulis annis omnes in Epiphaniis Domini baptizamur. Id quidem facimus, non quod ad salutem spectare credimus, sed propter Servatoris nostri laudem et gloriam."—Damianus a Goes, de Moribus Æthiopum. [p. 65. Par. 1541.]

[3] "Λαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸ ἄγγος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐνώπιον πάντων (συνηθροίσθη δὲ πλῆθος Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν, τὸ ἀποβησόμενον ἰδεῖν σπουδάζοντες, καὶ

signing it with the sign of the cross, and casting it into a certain fire, caused it to burn, though Satan hindered it before that it could not burn; as likewise that of Hilarion[1], who gave a kind of hallowed oil to certain who, by using it, were cured of their diseases. But the consecrating of oil, salt, water, and the like things, by men not having the gift of miracles, to drive away devils, cure diseases, remit venial sins, and work other spiritual and supernatural effects *ex opere operato*, by application of the merits of Christ, was never known in the primitive Church, nor any such form of exorcising or blessing as they now use.

That which the Rhemists allege, touching the liver of a fish used by Tobie[2]; the piece of the holy earth where Christ was buried preserving a man's chamber from the infestation of devils; and the force of holy relics tormenting them, maketh nothing to this purpose, all these examples being miraculous. Touching the harp of David quieting Saul[3], there is a reason for it in nature, though the repressing of Satan's rage were miraculous. That infidels have sometimes driven away devils by the sign of the cross, it was by the special dispensation of Almighty God, who would thereby glorify his Son, whose cross the world despised; and not as if this ceremony had force, *ex opere operato*, to work such effects. That the name of Jesus did miraculously cast out devils, in the primitive Church, (which is the next allegation), who ever made doubt? but what maketh this to the purpose? That which they allege, that St Gregory did usually send his benediction, and remission of sins, in and with such tokens

ὅ τι ἐπιχειρήσειεν Ιώσηπος πράττειν) μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ σταυροῦ σφραγῖδα ἐπιθεὶς τῷ ἄγγει διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου δακτύλου, καὶ ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ, εἶπεν οὕτως· Ἐν ὀνόματι Ιησοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου, οὗ ἐσταύρωσαν οἱ πατέρες μου καὶ τούτων πάντων των περιεστώτων, γένηται δύναμις ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ὕδατι, εἰς ἀθέτησιν πάσης φάρμακείας καὶ μαγείας, ἧς οὗτοι ἔπραξαν, καὶ εἰς ἐνέργειαν δυνάμεως τῷ πυρὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπιτελεσθῆναι τὸν οἶκον Κυρίου. καὶ οὕτως λαμβάνει τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ, καὶ ῥαίνει ἑκάστῳ φόρνακι ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος. καὶ ἀνελύετο μὲν τὰ φάρμακα, τὸ πῦρ δὲ ἐνώπιον πάντων ἀνέβλύστανεν."—Epiphanius. adv. Hær. Lib. I. Tom. II. Hær. 30. cap. 12.

[1] "Constantia, quædam sancta fœmina, cujus generum et filium de morte liberaverat unctione olei."—Hieron. in vit. Hilarion. [Tom. II. col. 39.]

[2] Tob. xi.

[3] 1 Sam. xvi. 23.

as were sanctified by his blessing and touch of the martyrs' relics, as now his successors do the like hallowed remembrances of religion, is very vain. For Gregory[1] did not send any such blessing of his own, or remission of sins, by force of it, as now his successors do, but only certain things[2] that had pertained to Christ or his apostles: as part of the wood of the cross of Christ, or of the chains wherewith the apostles were bound, and with them the blessing of Christ and those apostles, to such as should conform themselves to his sufferings, or their faith. That which they allege out of the third council of Carthage[3], touching the blessing of milk, honey, grapes, and corn, bewrayeth their ignorance. For that Canon speaketh not of any such blessing; but forbiddeth anything besides bread, and wine mingled with water, for the matter of the sacrament; and grapes and corn to be presented

[1] "Serenitas vestræ pietatis, religionis studio et sanctitatis amore conspicua, propter eam, quæ in honorem sancti Pauli Apostoli in palatio ædificatur, ecclesiam, caput ejusdem sancti Pauli, aut aliud quid de corpore ipsius, suis ad se jussionibus a me præcepit debere transmitti..... Sed quia serenissimæ dominæ tam religiosum desiderium esse vacuum non debet, de catenis quas ipse sanctus Paulus Apostolus in collo et in manibus gestavit, ex quibus multa miracula in populo demonstrantur, partem aliquam vobis transmittere festinabo, &c."—Gregorii Registri Epistolarum. Lib. IV. Indict. XII. Epist. 30. Tom. II. Paris. 1705.

"De hoc valde gaudemus, quod munera quæ transmisistis vestris moribus dissimilia non fuerint. Oleum quippe sanctæ crucis, et aloes lignum suscepimus. Unum quod tactum benedicat, aliud quod per incensum bene redoleat."—Id. Lib. VIII. Indict. I. [cap. 35. col. 924.]

"Præterea benedictionem vobis sancti Petri Apostolorum Principis clavem sacratissimi sepulchri ejus, in qua benedictio de catenis illius est inserta, transmisimus; ut quod ejus collum ligavit ad martyrium, hoc vestrum ab omnibus peccatis absolvat."—Ibid. Lib. VIII. Indict. I. Epist. 35.

[2] These were often accompanied with miraculous effects in those times, as appeareth by Gregory in the places cited.

[3] "Ut in sacramentis corporis et sanguinis Domini nihil amplius offeratur quam ipse Dominus tradidit, hoc est, panis et vinum aquæ mixtum. Primitiæ vero, seu mel et lac, quod uno die solemnissimo pro infantis mysterio solet offerri, quamvis in altari offeratur, suam tamen habent propriam benedictionem, ut a sacramento Dominici corporis aut sanguinis distinguantur: nec amplius de primitiis offeratur quam de uvis et frumentis."—Concil. Carthag. III. can. 24. [secund. codd. antiq. Labbe Concil. Tom. II. col. 1170. Lut. Par. 1671.]

on the altar. The canon of the Apostles[1] is to the same effect, forbidding anything but new grapes, and corn, in their season, and oil for the lights, and incense, to be used in the time of the oblation, to be presented on the altar, willing the first-fruits to be carried to the bishop's house, and prescribing what shall be done with such presents. The sixth general Council[2], finding that some did give to the people, with the sacrament, these grapes, &c., forbad it, and prescribed that, being blessed, they should be delivered privately to the Catechumens and others, that they might praise God, who hath given so good and pleasing things for the nourishment of men's bodies; but speaketh nothing of blessing of them to be instruments of remission of sins, and of the like spiritual and supernatural effects.

Thus we see, our adversaries cannot prove that the Church hath power to annex, unto such ceremonies and observations as she deviseth, the remission of sins, and the working of other spiritual and supernatural effects, which is the only thing questioned between them and us, touching the power of the Church. So that all the power the Church hath, more than by her authority to publish the commandments of Christ the Son of God, and, by her censures, to punish the offenders against the same, is only in prescribing things that pertain to comeliness and order.

Comeliness requireth, that not only that gravity and

[1] "Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου διάταξιν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ, προσενέγκῃ ἕτερά τινα ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἢ μέλι, ἢ γάλα, ἢ ἀντὶ οἴνου σίκερα, ἢ ἐπιτηδευτὰ, ἢ ὄρνεις, ἢ ζωά τινα, ἢ ὄσπρια, ὡς παρὰ τὴν διάταξιν Κυρίου ποιῶν, καθαιρείσθω, πλὴν νέων χίδρων, ἢ σταφυλῆς, τῷ καιρῷ τῷ δέοντι. Μὴ ἐξὸν δὲ ἔστω προσάγεσθαί τι ἕτερον εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἢ ἔλαιον εἰς τὴν λυχνίαν, καὶ θυμίαμα τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἁγίας προσφορᾶς."—Can. Apost. 3. [Labbe. Tom. I. col. 25.]

[2] "Ἐπειδὴ ἐν διαφόφοις ἐκκλησίαις μεμαθήκαμεν σταφυλῆς ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ προσφερομένης κατά τι κρατῆσαν ἔθος, τοὺς λειτουργοὺς ταύτην τῇ ἀναιμάκτῳ τῆς προσφορᾶς θυσίᾳ συνάπτοντας, οὕτως ἅμα τῷ λαῷ διανέμειν ἀμφότερα· συνείδομεν ὡς μήκετι τοῦτο τινα τῶν ἱερουμένων ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰς ζωοποίησιν καὶ ἀμαρτιῶν ἄφεσιν τῷ λαῷ τῆς προσφορᾶς μόνης μεταδιδόναι· ὡς ἀπαρχὴν δὲ τὴν τῆς σταφυλῆς λογιζομένους προσένεξιν, ἰδικῶς τοὺς ἱερεῖς εὐλογοῦντας τοῖς αἰτοῦσι ταύτης μεταδιδόναι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ δοτῆρος τῶν καρπῶν εὐχαριστίαν, δι' ὧν τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ὅρον αὔξει τε καὶ τρέφεται. εἴ τις οὖν κληρικὸς παρὰ τὰ τεταγμένα ποιήσει, καθαιρείσθω."—Concil. General. VI. can. 28. [Sive quinisext. Labbe. Tom. VI. col. 1154.]

modesty do appear in the performance of the works of God's service, that beseemeth actions of that nature, but also that such rites and ceremonies be used, as may cause a due respect unto and regard of the things performed, and thereby stir men up to greater fervour and devotion. *Cæremoniæ*, "ceremonies," are so named, as Livy[1] thinketh, from a town called *Cære*, in the which the Romans did hide their sacred things when the Gauls invaded Rome. Other think, ceremonies are so named *a carendo*, of abstaining from certain things, as the Jews abstained from swine's flesh and sundry other things forbidden by God as unclean.

Ceremonies are outward acts of religion, having institution, either from the instinct of nature, as the lifting up of the hands and eyes to heaven, the bowing of the knee, the striking of the breast, and such like; or immediately from God, as the Sacraments; or from the Church's prescription: and either only serve to express such spiritual and heavenly affections, dispositions, motions, and desires, as are or should be in men; or else to signify, assure, and convey unto them, such benefits of saving grace as God in Christ is pleased to bestow on them. To the former purpose and end, the Church hath power to ordain ceremonies; to the later, God only.

Order requireth that there be set hours for prayer, preaching, and ministering the Sacraments; that there be silence and attention, when the things are performed; that women be silent in the Church; that all things be administered according to the rules of discipline. Thus we see, within what bounds the power of the Church is contained, and how far it hath authority to command and prescribe, in things pertaining to the worship and service of God.

[1] Livii Hist. Lib. v. [cap. 50.] "Inde enim institutum est, sacra *cærimonias* vocari, quia Cæretani ea, infracto reipublicæ statu perinde ac florente, coluerunt."—Valer. Maximus. Lib. i. cap. 1. "De Religione." Tom. i. Argentorat. 1806.

CHAPTER XXXII.

OF THE NATURE OF LAWS; AND HOW THEY BIND.

NOW it remaineth, that we examine how far the band of such laws extendeth as the Church maketh; and whether they bind the conscience, or only the outward man. For the clearing whereof, first we must observe, in what sense it is that laws are said to bind; and secondly, what it is to bind the conscience. Lawgivers are said to bind them to whom they give laws, when they determine and set down what is fit to be done; what things they are, the doing whereof they approve, and the omission whereof they dislike; and then signify to them whom they command, that though they have power and liberty of choice to do or omit the things prescribed, yet that they will, so and in such sort, limit them in the use of their liberty, as that either they shall do that they are commanded, or be deprived of the good they desire and incur the evils they would avoid. None can thus tie and limit men, but they that have power to deprive them of the good they desire, and bring upon them the contrary evils. So that no man, knowing what he doth, prescribeth or commandeth anything under greater penalties then he hath power to inflict; nor anything but that whereof he can take notice, whether it be done or not; that so he may accordingly reward or punish the doing or omission of it.

Hence it followeth, that mortal men forget themselves, and keep not within their own bounds, when either they command, under pain of eternal damnation, which none but God can inflict, according to that of our Saviour, "Fear not them that can kill the body; but fear him rather that hath power to cast both body and soul into hell-fire[1];" or take upon them to prescribe inward actions[2] of the soul or spirit, or the per-

[1] Matt. x. 28.

[2] "Actus confessionis sacramentalis nequit cadere directe sub præcepto ecclesiæ, sed indirecte. . . . . Idem dicimus de quolibet actu interiori aut de exteriori, qui taliter occultus est et secretus ut publicari non possit per testimonium duorum aut trium. . . . . Similiter de aliis actibus extrinsecis præceptorum, ago quidem male apud Deum peccans in legem suam, me tamen pro transgressione humanorum præceptorum nullus accusabit."—Gerson. De Vita Spirituali Animæ, Lect. iv. coroll. 1, 2. [Tom. III. coll. 42, 43. Antv. 1706.]

formance of outward actions with inward affections; whereas none but God that searcheth the heart, can either take knowledge of things of this kind, or convent the offenders, and judge and try them. Thus then we see what it is to bind; and that none can bind men to the performance of anything, but by the fear of such punishments as they have power to inflict.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

OF THE NATURE OF CONSCIENCE; AND HOW THE CONSCIENCE IS BOUND.

IN the next place we are to see, what the nature of conscience is, and how the conscience is bound. Conscience is the privity the soul hath to things known to none but to God and herself. Hence it is, that conscience hath a fearful apprehension of punishments for evils done, though neither known, nor possible to be known, to any but God and the offender alone. The punishments that men can inflict we never fear, unless our evil doings be known to them. For, though we have conscience of them, and be privy to them, yet if they be hidden from them, we know they neither will nor can punish us. To bind the conscience, then, is to bind the soul and spirit of man with the fear of such punishments, to be inflicted by him that so bindeth, as the conscience feareth; that is as men fear, though none but God and them-

"Hac ratione fulciunt se doctores, nominatim Durandus, ponentes præceptum non posse imponi per prælatos aut principes super actibus intrinsecis et occultis, quia videlicet illos traducere nequirent ad forum judicii sui, quod non nisi publicum est et de manifestis. Itaque sociis agere velle, esset hominum proprium officium ignorantium et frustra conantium, immo et divinum judicium temeritate culpabili damnabiliter usurpantium.

"Nullus legislator ecclesiasticus vel civilis habet directe auctoritatem præceptivam super istud, ut interiori actu diligatur Deus super omnia, aut quod in eum speretur vel credatur, patet ex immediate præcedentibus; et ex consequenti dicimus, quod quantumcunque legislatores intendant per suas leges suos subditos debere fieri meliores interius et sanctiores quoad divinum forum occultum, tales tamen intentiones suæ non cadunt sub eorum præcepto."—Id. ibid.

selves be privy to their doings. Now these are only such as God alone inflicteth: and therefore seeing none have power to bind but by fear of such punishments as they have power to inflict, none can bind the conscience but God alone. Neither should the question be proposed, whether human laws bind the conscience[1]; but whether, binding the outward man to the performance of outward things, by force and fear of outward punishments to be inflicted by men, the not performance of such things, or the not performance of them with such affections as were fit, be not a sin against God, of which the conscience will accuse us, he having commanded us to obey the magistrates and rulers he hath set over us. For answer whereunto we say, There are three sorts of things commanded by magistrates. First, evil and against God. Secondly, injurious in respect of them to whom they are prescribed, or at least unprofitable to the commonwealth in which they are prescribed. Thirdly, such as are profitable and beneficial to the society of men to whom they are prescribed. Touching the first sort of things, God hath not commanded us to obey, neither must we obey, but rather say to them that command us such things, with the apostles, "Whether it be fit to obey God or men, judge you[2]." Yet we must so refuse to obey, that we shew no offence to their office and authority, which is of God, though they abuse it. Touching the second sort of things, all that God requireth of us is, that we shew no contempt of sacred authority, though not rightly used; that we scandalize not others; and that we be subject to such

[1] "Quamvis peccet quis transgrediendo leges humanas, non tamen ligant conscientiam: patet per simile de præceptis medicorum, quæ despicere quis non potest sine peccato, et tamen non ligant conscientiam.

"Ex hoc, quod aliquis peccaret mortaliter transgrediendo constitutiones aliquas humanarum traditionum; non sufficienter concluditur quod illæ constitutiones obligent ad mortale delictum: declarabimus istud argumentantes a simili vel minori. Si medicus denunciet ignorantibus tale vinum ne biberitis, ... quis nescit transgressores temerarios criminaliter delinquere, non quidem propter medici præceptum, sed quia prævaricatores sunt præceptorum divinorum et similium."—Gerson. de Vita Spirituali Anim. Lect. iv. corol. 5. ubi reprehendit eos qui fulminant et tot condunt leges, quot nunquam legere possumus. [Tom. III. col. 41.]

[2] Acts iv. 19.

penalties and punishments, as they that command such things do lay upon us; so that God requireth our willing and ready obedience only in things of the third sort. The breach and violation of this kind of laws is sin; not for that human laws have power to bind the conscience, or that it is simply and absolutely sinful to break them; but because the things they command are of that nature, that not to perform them is contrary to justice, charity, and the desire we should have to procure the common good of them with whom we live. We are bound then, sometimes, to the performance of things prescribed by human laws, in such sort that the not performance of them is sin; not *ex sola legislatoris voluntate, sed ex ipsa legum utilitate,* as Stapleton[1] rightly observed. But some man will say, What do the laws then effect, seeing it is the law of justice and charity that doth bind us, and not the particularity of laws newly made? To this we answer, that many things are good and profitable, if they be generally observed, which, without such general observation, will do no good: as for one man to pay tribute, or for one man to stay his goods from transportation, is no way beneficial to the commonwealth; which would be very profitable, if all did so. Now the law procureth a general observation: whence it cometh that a man is bound by the law of charity and justice to that, after the making of a law, which before he was not bound unto.

And this is it that Stapleton meaneth, when he saith that human laws do bind the conscience, not *ex voluntate legislatoris, sed ex ipsa legum utilitate et ratione;* not because they prescribe such things, but because the things so prescribed, if they be generally observed, are profitable to the commonwealth.

By this which hath been said, it appeareth, that they do impiously usurp and assume to themselves that which is proper to God, who will have all their laws taken for divine laws[2],

[1] "Leges ecclesiasticæ multo fortius et certius obligant quam civiles sub pœna peccati, quia pro proprio objecto habent et fine proximo animarum salutem. Neutræ tamen ex sola voluntate legislatoris, sed ex ipsa legis utilitate et ratione, sub peccato mortali obligant."—Stapleton, Controv. v. de Eccles. Potest. Quæst. 7. Art. 2. in Explic. Art. [Tom. I. p. 803.]

[2] "Oppositum satagere, dedit forte occasionem Græcis discedendi

and such as bind the conscience no less than the laws of God; who publish all their canons and constitutions in such sort, that they threaten damnation to all offenders: whereas no creature hath power to prescribe, command, or prohibit any thing, under pain of sin and eternal punishment, unless the party so commanded were formerly either expressly or by implication, either formally or by force and virtue of some general duty, bound unto it by God's law before; because God only hath power of eternal life or death.

The soul of man, as it receiveth from God only the life of grace, so it loseth the same when he, for the transgression of his laws and precepts, forsaketh it. For as none but he can give this life, so none but he can take it away: he only hath the keys of David; he openeth, and no man shutteth; he shutteth, and no man openeth. Hence it followeth, that no lawgiver may command anything, under pain of eternal punishment, but God only; because he only hath power to inflict this kind of punishment: and that no man incurreth the guilt of eternal condemnation, but by violating the laws of God. Whereupon Augustine defineth sins to be thoughts, words, and deeds, against the law of God.

That men do sin in not keeping and observing the laws of men, it is because, being generally bound by God's law to do those things which set forward the common good—many things being commanded, and so generally observed, grow to be beneficial, which without such general observation flowing from the prescript of law, were not so: and so, though not formally, yet by virtue of general duty, men are tied to the doing of them, under pain of sin and the punishments that deservedly follow it.

a Latinis; dat præterea quotidie materiam multam litium, scrupulorum gravium; dum æquali tenore quæritur observari lex humana, sive sit illa canonica, vel civilis, quemadmodum custodiri divinam absque ulla variatione necesse est. Inde venit illa Christi quæstio, Matt. xv. 6: 'Irritum fecistis mandatum Dei propter traditiones vestras.'"—Gersonius, de Auferibilitate Papæ. Considerat. viii. Tom. II. Antverp. 1706.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

OF THEIR REASONS WHO THINK THAT HUMAN LAWS DO BIND THE CONSCIENCE.

THE reasons which Bellarmine[1] and other of that faction bring, to prove that human laws do bind the conscience, are so vain and frivolous that they deserve no answer: yet lest our adversaries should think we therefore pass them over without examination, because we fear the force and weight of them, I will briefly take a view of them, and let the reader see their weakness. "To bind," saith Bellarmine, "is either the essence or essential property of a law: therefore all laws, whether they be of God, or of men, do bind in the same sort." He should have said, Therefore all laws do bind, whether they be of God or of men. For to say, It is the

[1] "Probatur primo: vis obligativa est de essentia legis, ut dictum est Lib. IV. de Pontifice, cap. 16, et obligare est effectus necessarius legis; ergo omnis lex et a quocumque feratur, sive a Deo, sive ab angelo, sive ab homine; et homine, sive episcopo, sive rege, sive patre, eodem modo obligat. . . . . Probatur secundo: nam si lex obligaret solum quia divina, omnes leges divinæ æqualiter obligarent, ut patet; nam eadem esset ratio obligationis in omnibus. At hoc est falsum: nam magis obligat lex, Non occides, quam lex, Non furaberis; et magis lex, Non furaberis, quam lex, Non mentieris; et lex, Non mentiris [qu. mentieris?] quam lex, Non loqueris verbum otiosum. . . . . Quarto: lex divina positiva ideo obligat ad peccatum, quia constituit actum, quem præcipit in genere virtutis, cum ante non esset; nam si Judæus non ex contemptu sed ex cibi appetitu moderate comedisset carnem suillam in lege prohibitam, sine dubio peccasset; non autem peccasset formaliter contra obedientiam, quia non ex contemptu, ergo contra temperantiam; et moderate vesci carne suilla, ex se non est contra temperantiam, sed res quædam indifferens; ergo lex fuit quæ illam abstinentiam fecit actum temperantiæ necessarium. At hoc idem videmus in lege humana: nam lex divina non alia de causa facit esse actum virtutis eum qui ex se erat indifferens, nisi quia est regula morum ab eo posita qui habuit auctoritatem præcipiendi. Sed homo etiam potest præcipere, et regulas morum constituere, ut supra ostendimus; potest igitur homo lege sua constituere actum alioqui indifferentem, in genere virtutis: proinde pares sunt lex divina et humana, quoad obligationem. . . . . Quinto: lex divina et humana ita differunt, ut lex regis et proregis, sive lex pontificis et ejus legati: at istæ obligant eodem modo, et solum differunt firmitate: ergo et illæ."—Bellarminus, 1ma. Controv. Lib. III. De Laicis, cap. 11. Tom. II. Romæ, 1836.

essential property of a law to bind, therefore all laws do bind in the same sort; is as if a man should thus reason: It is essential to all natural bodies to have motion, therefore the same kind of motion; whereas yet, the fire goeth upward, and the earth downwards; things without life move but one way, either towards or from the centre of the world; things living, every way. His next reason is more childish than this; for he reasoneth thus: If laws do bind only in that they are divine, then all divine laws should equally bind. This reason concludeth nothing against us. For first, no man saith that laws bind, only because divine, (for it is essential to every law to bind), but that they bind the conscience because they are divine. And secondly, we add, that all divine laws do equally bind the conscience. For the conscience doth as much fear God's displeasure and eternal punishment for one sin as for another, though not so great displeasure, nor so grievous punishment. And so they equally bind the conscience; though there be no equality, either of the sins or of the punishment the conscience feareth, and seeketh to decline.

His third reason—that God's commandment maketh those actions that were before indifferent to be actions of virtue, therefore men, by their precepts, do so likewise—is very strange, and therefore he endeavoureth to confirm it. The reason (saith he), why God's precepts and commandments make actions that were indifferent, as to eat swine's flesh or not to eat it, to be actions of virtue, is because they are rules of men's manners and conversation; but men's laws likewise are rules of men's lives, manners, and conversation; therefore they, in like sort, make those actions that were before indifferent to be actions of virtue. To this we answer, that there are many great differences between these two rules. First, for that the one containeth a certain and infallible direction: the other oftentimes leadeth out of the way. Secondly, that the laws of God are rules, in such sort, that the very thoughts of the heart, diverting from that which they prescribe, are sinful; but men's laws are kept and fulfilled, with how bad affections soever the things be done that are prescribed. Thirdly, because the use of nothing being lawful unto us, in respect of conscience, longer nor farther than God, the supreme Lord of all, alloweth the same; it is an

action of virtue to abstain from things denied unto us by God, either in the first institution of nature, or by his positive law: but men having no such power, no such thing is consequent upon their commandments or prohibitions. Lastly, God's law, both that which is natural, that is, given when nature was first instituted, and that which is positive, is the rule of men's lives, absolutely: which if they be conformed unto, they are morally good; if they vary from, they are evil and wicked: but the laws of men are rules only in respect of outward conversation, framing it to the good of the commonwealth. So that a man, even according to the rules of philosophy, may be a good citizen that is not a good man. His next reason is taken from the comparison of a king and his viceroy, the pope and his legate, and the laws and edicts of these binding in the same sort.

To this we answer, that the comparison holdeth not: first, because the king and his viceroy command the same things, and to the same ends; but if we compare God and men, the laws of God and the laws of men, we shall find a great difference between them, both in the things they command and the ends for which they command; the one requiring inward actions, and the performance of outward with inward affections; the other outward only. Secondly, because both the king and his viceroy have power to take notice of all kind of offences committed against both the one and the other, and to punish them with the same kind of punishment; but there are many offences committed against God by every man, whereof men can take no notice; and if they could, yet have no power to inflict such punishments as God doth. His last reason is taken from that place of the Apostle[1], where he re-

[1] "That which Bellarmine hath, that faults and punishments are relatives, and that therefore none can subject a man to punishment but he that can bind him to the doing of that, under pain of sin against God, for the not doing whereof he is punishable, is too childish a paralogism. For, it is true that faults and punishments are relatives, but proportionably: faults against God, and punishments inflicted by Him; and faults against men, and the punishments men are wont to inflict. We may therefore conclude, that wheresoever there is any punishment, some fault went before: the reproof that an unskilful painter is subject unto, is a punishment of his fault in painting ill; but not of his sin against God: for defects in this kind are not breaches of His law."

["Sexto probatur, quia videtur implicare contradictionem, posse

quireth us to be subject to power and authority, for conscience sake. To this we answer, first, that it is a matter of conscience to be subject in all things; for subjection is required generally and absolutely, where obedience is not. Secondly, we say, that it is a matter of conscience to seek and procure the good of the commonwealth; and that therefore it is a matter of conscience to obey good and profitable laws, so far as we are persuaded our obedience is profitable. Thus have we briefly examined their reasons who think that human laws bind the conscience; the weakness whereof, I hope, all men of any judgment will easily discern.

Wherefore, to conclude this matter, touching the Church's power in making laws, there are three things which we dislike in the doctrine and practice of the Roman church. First, that they take upon them to prescribe ceremonies and observations, having power to confer grace for the remission of venial sins, and the working of other spiritual and supernatural effects. Secondly, that they assume unto themselves that which is proper unto God, and seek to rule in the conscience. Thirdly, that by the multiplicity of laws they dangerously ensnare the consciences of men, and oppress them with heavy burdens. To this purpose is the complaint that Gerson[1] long since made, that the laws of the Church were

principes obligare ad pœnam, et non ad culpam, si quidem culpa et pœna relativa sunt."—Bellarm. ibid.]

[1] [Gersonius] De Vita Spirituali Animæ: "Et idem de Urbano V. inquit, quod gloriabatur se Papam esse, ob hanc causam præcipue, quod nullis pœnis excommunicationum et irregularitatum esset obnoxius, qui si dilexisset proximos sicut seipsum, et hoc advertisset, relaxasset fortassis tot laqueos, tot onera, tot pericula."—Id. Lect. iv. coroll. 14.

"Has vero traditiones hominum quis cunctas dinumeret, in canonibus summorum pontificum, in constitutionibus synodalibus provinciarum aut diœcesium, religionum regulis, in universitatum, collegiorum, et ecclesiarum statutis, in edictis imperatorum et principum, in plebiscitis communitatum? Quarum plures sub excommunicatione latæ sententiæ, aliæ sub interminatione divinæ indignationis, aliæ sub voto, aliæ et fere omnes sub juramenti aut fidelitatis debito stringunt et obligant. Quod si Adam, vir talis et tantus, unicum disciplinæ præceptum habens, in illo corruit, nos inter innumerabilia positi qualiter evademus? . . . . . Hæc est quærela qualem olim apud devotum Bernardum detulerunt quidam ex monachis, et propter quam compescendam sicut modo nitimur agere, scripsit volumen pulcherrimum 'De Præcepto et Dispensatione,' qui liber huic operi nostro pro funda-

too many, and in a great part childish and unprofitable, bringing us into a worse estate than that of the Jews; as Augustine[1] to Januarius complained, when things were much better than in latter times they have been. "Neither," saith Gerson, "are they content to burden us with the multiplicity of their laws; but, as if they preferred their own inventions before the laws of God, they most rigorously exact the performance of the things their own laws prescribe, and neglect the laws of God, as Christ told the Pharisees and hypocrites of his time, pronouncing against them that, by their vain traditions, they made the laws of God of none effect." To shew how unjust and unreasonable the Roman lawgivers are in burdening men with so many traditions, the same Gerson[2] fitly observeth, that Adam, in the time of his innocency, had but one commandment, which yet unhappily he brake: and that, therefore, they seem to have no sense of man's miserable and wretched condition, nor any way to compassionate his infirmity, that charge him with so many precepts besides those of God and nature. Whereupon he gravely and wisely concludeth, that he supposeth that the wisest and best amongst

mento supponatur."—Gersonius, de Vita Spirituali Animæ. [Lect. II. Tom. III. col. 17. Antverp. 1706.]

"Fit amplius de levi jugo Christi et lege libertatis jugum ferreum et onus grave, dum scil. aliqui suas omnes leges, suas institutiones, suas regulas et statuta arbitrari volunt accipiendas esse sicut præcepta legis Dei, ad æternæ mortis interitum, si prætereantur, mergentia." Ibid.

[1] "Ipsam religionem, quam paucissimis et manifestissimis celebrationum sacramentis misericordia Dei esse liberam voluit, servilibus oneribus premunt, ut tolerabilior sit conditio Judæorum."—August. ad Januarium, [Epist. iv. Lib. II. Tom. II. col. 142.]

"Hoc autem non licet hodie Christianis, et ita forte de quibusdam aliis explicantibus quædam præcepta moralia, sicut patet Matt. v. Quod si non, tunc lex nostra esset gravior quantum ad moralia, sed hæc gravitas non æquiparatur gravitati cæremonialium legis veteris, de qua statim dicetur. Quantum si ad cæremonialia dico, quæ illa fuit multo gravior, et quantum ad multitudinem, et quantum ad difficultatem observandi. August. enim ita significat in epist. ad Inquisitiones Januarii, et tangitur in Can. dist. 12. &c."—Scotus, in iii. Sent. Dist. 40. Quæst. 1. [Tom. VII. p. 1031. Lugd. 1639.]

"Quantum ad cæremonialia, lex nova est longe facilior quam vetus, in quantum a Christo data est."—Ibid.

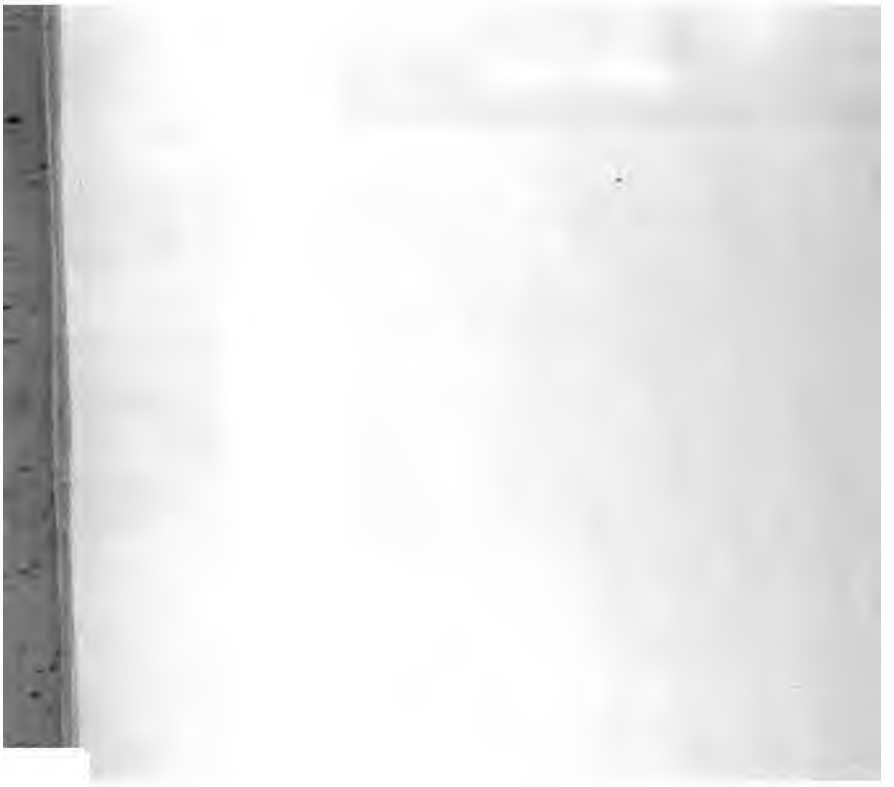
"Pondera hoc contra præsumptuosos prælatos, statuta in laqueum damnationis subditorum quotidie multiplicantes."—Ibid.

[2] De Vita Spirit. [vide supra.]

the guides of God's church, had not so ill a meaning as to have all their constitutions and ordinances taken for laws, properly so named, much less, strictly binding the conscience; but for threatenings, admonitions, counsels, and directions only. And that when there groweth a general neglect, they seem to consent to the abolishing of them again. For, seeing *lex instituitur*[1] *cum promulgatur, vigorem habet cum moribus utentium approbatur:* "Laws are made, when they are published by such as have authority; but have life, force, and vigour, when the manners of men receiving and obeying them give them allowance." General and long-continued disuse is, and justly may be thought, an abolishing and abrogating of human laws: whereas, contrariwise, against the laws of God and nature, no prescription or contrary use doth ever prevail; but every such contrary custom, or practice, is rightly judged a corruption and fault.

[1] [Gratiani Decretum. Part. 1. dist. iv. can. 3. col. 11. Par. 1612.]

END OF VOLUME II.

ERRATA.

PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
7	8	Camaracensis	Cameracensis.
10	25	superstitious	superstitions.
12 *note*,	2	clea	cle a.
19 *note*,	17	cau	can.
—	ult.	velorationes	vel orationes.
20	8	Mary	Maure.
43	14	others	other.
56 *note* 2,	5	negebat	urgebat.
78	17	elleemosynæ	eleemosynæ.
160	2	ther	their.
— *note* 2,	1, 2	Bannonis	Pannoniis.
164	29	commom	common.
184	17	whereutno	whereunto.
188	10	then	than.
233	18	constigere	confligere.
287	14	*dele* fell.	
303	16	mutually	mutably.
335	17	*dele* unto.	
378	18	saith Augustine	saith; Augustine.
395 *note* 2,	11	usque terrenæ	ut Lutheranæ.
437 *note* 1,	22	Canonum	Canonem.
469 *note*,	5	retenet	retinet.
485 *note* 5,	5	Ecclesiasticus	Ecclesiaste.
— *note* 6,	6	verba	verbi.
492 *note* 2,	18	quam	quos.
494	18	eight	eighth.
505	24	then	than.
528	19	then	than.